The Comfort of Men


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Thesis Abstract

This thesis is a critical history of managerial and professional men in post-Second World War Australia. The attention that I have given managerial and professional men has been determined by my own political desire to problematise the continued accomplishment of hegemony. As subjects, these men and their discursive practices enable scrutiny of the regenerative labour necessary to sustain power and necessary to realise the material results that accrue to those performing such work.

My thesis examines the practices of particular groups of managerial and professional men within four discrete social settings or terrain during the post-war period. I interrogate the operations of managerial and professional men in personnel management (the terrain of work), in market research (the terrain of the market), in parenting and marriage guidance (the terrain of the family) and in the service club Rotary (the terrain of the civic). In each of these terrains I find managerial and professional men framing problems and enacting solutions. A process or intervention that makes natural the connections of interest (of advantage or disadvantage) being constantly recreated; an intervention that expresses a comfort with the mechanics and entailments of hegemony.

To enable my critical history I apply, in each terrain, a framework comprising three core elements. I historicize the accomplishment of hegemony; testing the emergence of government and positive expressions of power during post-war modernisation in the local contexts of managerial and professional men’s interventions. I people hegemony; identifying the practices of managerial and professional men as resources for doing social relations (in particular the relations of gender and class) and crucial to the operation of hegemony. And, thirdly, I demonstrate the interventions of these men to be interested; unravelling the
possessive investments managerial and professional men make through their interventions.

My scrutiny of managerial and profession men and their practices, my choice of terrains in which to study them, my analysis of the process enacted in these terrain and the sources that I have utilised are not intended to assemble a biography of men’s experiences or ideal masculinities. Rather, my thesis provides a biography of interventions in order to disassemble that which appears not to be anything in particular: the ordinary regeneration of hegemony by ordinary men doing ordinary things.
Acknowledgments

My research, my writing and this thesis were shaped by the support, insight and challenge of many individuals and groups.

I work from an uncomplicated belief that writing about the past is enabled by our visions of futures possible and is enhanced by engagement with contemporary struggles. For numerous engagements and formative discussions, I am grateful to colleagues and comrades in the student movement (particularly those in Left Alliance, but also the Students’ Representative Council, SUPRA and the National Union of Students). More recent engagements as a community worker in Western Sydney have also enriched this project. I owe many thanks to the colleagues and the communities who have directly and indirectly encouraged my academic project and also challenged its relevance. For accommodating study-leave and other flexible working arrangements to assist my completion I acknowledge the staff and management of Information and Cultural Exchange and Fairfield City Council.

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That I have been immersed in a world of critical thinkers, passionate researchers, stubborn advocates and smooth conciliators is no doubt largely due to the influence and example of both my parents. It is to my mother and my father that I wish to dedicate this completed thesis.

In addition, I wish to acknowledge the assistance provided by several institutions and their staff. My research was partly enabled by an Australian Postgraduate Award and the facilities provided by the History Department, University of Sydney. I am grateful also to the staff at a number of libraries and professional bodies who aided my pursuit of material and often provided useful leads or stimulating responses to my research. In particular I acknowledge the librarians and administrative staff at the Market Research Society of Australia, the Rotary Club of Sydney, Relationships Australia (Westmead), Interact and the IPM who all accommodated my unusual passion for their records. Similarly I am grateful to the librarians and archivists at the Noel Butlin Archives Centre (NBAC), the Mitchell Library, the Victorian Office of the Australian Archives, the National Library and Fisher library. For permission to use John Brack’s Collins Street, 5pm I acknowledge the National Gallery Victoria. For permission to use The Marketing Man I acknowledge the NBAC.
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CHAPTER ONE

The Impermissible Portrait:

An Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In a certain light managerial and professional men can appear quite gaunt and grey. You can see it in the drab men with lined faces, deep-set, darkling eyes and diminishing bodies pictured by John Brack as they marched up Collins Street, Melbourne, at 5pm in 1955 (Figure 1.1). Colourless and inconsequential. If you miss one, another is bound to march by. They will not notice you, they will not look back at you. Moreover, what could their tight lips tell? What could their visionless eyes see anyway? Brack struggled against his “impermissible” portrait, knowing that “life was much more complex” than what his image offered. But “the burial of the dead” required a “tired and subdued palette”.2

My thesis considers a different portrait of these men drawn in another light. I follow managerial and professional men off Brack’s frame. I venture among these men to hear the intimate passions that propel them forward and to observe

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1 Figure 1.1 (on previous page) John Brack, Collins St, 5pm, National Gallery of Victoria.
2 Brack’s struggle with this painting and its moral stance is recounted in Sacha Grishin’s incisive retrospective on Brack. Grishin quotes extensively from two lectures where Brack explores this piece and from which I have drawn my reading. Grishin also cites Brack’s recognition that his portrait contained an allusion to T. S. Elliot’s The Waste Land, in particular Elliot’s passage on ‘the burial of the dead’. It is Grishin who provides the comment on Brack’s palette; see S. Grishin, The Art of John Brack, vols. 1 & 2, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1990; for quotes on Collins Street, 5pm see vol. 1, 47-52.
My use of this painting as a frame for this thesis is also influenced by a comparative reading of Brack’s other paintings. It is difficult to ignore how large and lively the human subjects in most of Brack’s other paintings are (particularly those from the 1950s) in their everydayness and their capacity to speak back at stereotypical representations. The portrait Barry Humphries in the character of Mrs Everage (1969) is neither gaunt nor grey, her enormous hands for example spill out over the foreground, her eyes mischievous and the colour suitably stunning. Brack’s portraits of children refuse idyllic representation: his grumpy Third Daughter (1954), or the series of nearly menacing school children playing in school yards (also 1955) encourage critical reflection on stereotype. My use of Collins Street, 5pm and this comparative reading also references the iconic positioning of Brack in previous histories of post-war Australia. Mrs Everage, for example, graces the cover of a special Australian Historical Studies collection on the period (J. Murphy & J. Smart (eds), The Forgotten Fifties: Aspects of Australian Society and Culture in the 1950s, a special edition of the Australian Historical Studies, vol. 28, no. 109, 1997). A variant on the gaunt and grey, this time inside the post-war home, The New House (1955), also appears on the paperback cover of Nicholas Brown’s, Governing Prosperity: Social Change and Social Analysis in Australia in the 1950s, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1995.
the interests that give them vision. I remix Brack’s mundane palette and work with the colour and the consequence of these men. My examination of the practices of managerial and professional men identifies these men as palpable beneficiaries of the hegemony shaped by and shaping post-war modernisation. They walk through life with authority, they walk as men connected to their place and their time, they walk with comfort. It is this comfort that suggests to me another impermissible portrait of these men and it is the portrait of their comfort that I contemplate as I build my history of managerial and professional men in the period 1945-1965.

Managerial and professional men, like modernity itself, did not suddenly appear in Australia at the cessation of hostilities in 1945. These men were built in a modular fashion, with the mis-shaped building blocks of earlier or uncertain projects and always reworked by engagement in a present that can never quite be mastered. Managerial and professional men were also not unique to an Australian social-scape. These men were an integral part of a global but uneven process of change that engaged people in the economic and social narratives of modernisation and entwined them in the “intimate frontiers” of modern empire. The origins of this process of change and the emergence of managerial and professional men within it are observable in Australia and other western nations during the inter-war period and before. For this thesis, however, it is the Australian setting and the two decades after the Second World War that provide the focus for investigation.

To locate the managerial and professional men that are the concern of this thesis I have drawn from Gramsci’s general identification of the ruling bloc. But the men I examine, the male marchers in Brack’s 1955 battalion, are not among

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4 I have drawn this conceptualisation of “intimate frontiers” from Stoler who uses it, in the context of a discussion on race and empire, to refer to “a social and cultural space where racial classifications were defined and defied, where relations between colonizer and colonized could powerfully confound or confirm the strictures of governance and the categories of rule.” See Stoler, op.cit., 830. Stoler has drawn from A. Hurtado, Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California, University of New Mexico Press, Albuqerque, 1999.

5 This reading of the ruling bloc is drawn mainly from Gramsci’s discussion of traditional intellectuals (as distinct from the organic intellectuals of the working class but also unlike the common definition of the academic intellectual) where intellectuals are the ‘machines that produce machines’, the ‘permanent persuader’; see A. Gramsci, Selections from Prison Notebooks, Q. Hoare and G. Novell-Smith (eds & trans), Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971, 3-23, 52-56; see also my discussion of hegemony in section 1.2.
those usually considered as signs or sole-occupants of this ruling bloc: the prominent elite of business leaders and intellectuals. Managerial and professional men are men who stand in, rather than stand out; men who are operational and organic in twentieth-century modernisation. They include market researchers, personnel managers, members of the men’s service organisation Rotary, parenting and marriage guidance professionals. They march by the side of other similar men, the applicators of management knowledge and expertise, embedding professions and professional bodies into the workings of state and capital, extending the social and human services of the welfare state, attending to the technical needs of new methodologies, industries, multinationals and empire, negotiating career paths and life courses through old cities and new suburbs, old obligations and new opportunity.

Interest in managerial and professional men during modernisation has been shared by a number of scholars utilising a variety of approaches across diverse settings. From some of this existing scholarship several crucial debates and recurring points of contention have contributed to the set of problems motivating my research and shaping the aim of my critical history. Recent U.S. business and labour studies, for example, have scrutinised the influence of managerial and professional men in the development of modernisation, the growth of ‘big bureaucracy’ and the creation of corporate culture prior to and through the twentieth century. Clark Davis’s *Company Men*, examining the culture of the first generation of career employees in corporate America, is one recent example, rich with nuance and insight. Davis investigates the struggles and negotiations to establish and adapt the nature, structure and meaning of corporate employment, culture and process. *Company Men* draws a compelling portrait of company executives and white-collar employees as they construct “visions of manhood” that seek to deliver a successful male identity, counter bureaucratic critiques and respond to the company need for profit. By following the life courses of some of these men from new recruits to mobile, experienced multi-company men, Davis...
warns historians against confusing generational change and ageing with fundamental social transformation.\(^7\) Davis’s work, like Angel Kwolek-Folland’s *Engendering Business* and Jurgen Kocka’s *White Collar Workers in America*, successfully meshes the dynamics of gender, ethnicity and class within his interrogation of social and economic change.\(^8\) Davis locates the richness of everyday life in broad historical transformations by engaging with these men as beneficiaries of modernisation, men who operated the system to their advantage, while he also exposes tensions between individual agency and social structure. Managerial and professional men feature as vital agents, shaping corporate culture, business growth and modernisation as surely as these shaped them.\(^9\)

There have been varying interpretations of managerial and professional men’s precise position in the social relation of class. Historical and sociological debates inspired by the ‘new left’ in the 1970s, in particular, were dominated by the question of class position.\(^10\) At the centre of these debates are competing ideas about the role of these men and their impact in the struggle for change (in the relations of class or indeed other social relations) and, more broadly, the impact of ideology in transforming society or constricting people. The persistent debates over position do mark out an ambiguity in the effective power of these men in relation to social change. But emphasis in historical accounts on categorisation and precise position can also serve to obscure the practice of men and the dynamics in modernisation. Kirsten Ross has made a similar point in her fascinating study of French modernisation *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*. Ross, adopting a phrase by Andre Gorz, positions the *jeune cadre* – the managerial and

\(^7\) This caveat is also evident in the work, discussed below, of K. Ross; see her *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1995.


\(^9\) For further discussion of these developments see also J. Scott, ‘Conceptualizing Gender in American Business History’, *Business History Review*, vol. 72, Iss. 2, 1998, 242-249. Scott’s observations on the potentials that exist in business histories makes more stark Ville and Fleming’s lament that “the study of business history is a somewhat neglected area of scholarly research in Australia.” S. Ville & G. Fleming, ‘Locating Australian Corporate Memory’, *Business History Review*, vol. 73, Iss. 2, 1999, 256-264.

professionals – as “the dominated agent of capitalist domination.” Ross, like Clark Davis, is not drawing finite boundaries or searching for the uni-directional subject instigating change. Ross’s analysis argues for slippage. She acknowledges the jeune cadre’s entrapment in the history and narrative of modernisation shaped at points beyond their power. Ross also recognises the jeune cadre’s agency, their relative economic and cultural power and their profit from a manifold system of exploitation.

A number of cultural histories have grappled with how male privilege interacts with the generation and/or experience of culture and identity. These histories (or, perhaps more accurately, cultural biographies) have tended to step aside from interrogating process and position and instead work with idealised identities or archetypes of experience. Martin Crotty’s *Making the Australian Male*, for example, examines specific articulations that attempt to make boys into men in particular ways: their effect and their response to change. Crotty’s focus is on elite boys’ schools, juvenile fiction and youth groups in 1870–1920 Australia and he provides some indications of the influences operating on post-war men. Taking a similar cultural turn both Frazer Andrewes and Tom Sear have examined representations of “white collar masculinity” which, in 1950s New Zealand and Australia, they separately argue, comes to embody “traits of [a] strong and assertive masculinity.”

New layers in understanding the culture and experience of managerial and professional men have been added by recent Australian biographies that have considered the “persona” and the presence in history of their subjects. Nicholas Brown and Tim Rowse have provided extraordinary biographies of the influential post-war reformers Richard Downing and Herbert Coombs respectively. Both

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11 Ross, op.cit, 7 and Chapter Four.
14 I have used Brown’s terminology (from Bourdieu) to represent these biographies. They are written, however, with quite different political projects in mind and neither are conventional biographies in the sense of an account of their subject’s lives. Rowse’s work on Coombs continues his project from *Liberalism and National Character* (see below), emphasising the “dilemmas of rule” in liberal governance; how the political elite, expertise and a political sovereignty combine in the practice rule in liberal democracy. Brown’s work on Downing shares much more of Downing’s private life but tends to obscure the political implications of Downing’s agency. T. Rowse, *Nugget Coombs: A Reforming Life*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002; N. Brown, *Richard Downing: Economics, Advocacy and Social Reform in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2001, 5-6. Judith Brett’s biographical history of Menzies has also
these men, though clearly occupying a strata above my thesis subjects, share a proximity to the operational roles that managerial and professional men performed. Both accounts have used the living-through of everyday life to draw the reader into connections with broader social and economic narratives of modernisation.\textsuperscript{15}

Studies of the culture of managerial and professional men have deepened (and populated) a more established field that examines the role of knowledge and concepts of management throughout nineteenth and twentieth-century modernisation, particularly in relation to the emergence of social science disciplines, the history of managerial professions and the social impact of the expert.\textsuperscript{16} This field cites a relationship in modernisation between the capacity to know in particular ways and the ability to deploy this knowledge for the purpose or effect of privilege (read by historians most frequently in terms of class, gender, race and nation). In this context managerial and professional men are often presented as possessing the ability to define and interpret contemporary needs relevant to managing a particular social setting. They inherit or capture a role in developing and implementing solutions to problems presented as symptomatic to each setting. They also express, through their practice, a shared belief in the appropriateness and necessity of intervention.\textsuperscript{17}

The capacity for social analysis and management both to understand and to intervene, not simply to draw out meaning but to draft action for particular effect, is an underlying concern in a number of Australian histories concerned with the post-war period. Studies by authors Nicholas Brown, Bob Connell and Tim Rowse have each addressed change and continuity in social analysis and the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[15] John Murphy has also prised open some of the possibilities that oral history offers to understanding how men understood their own lives; see J. Murphy, "Breadwinning: Accounts of Work and Family Life in the 1950s", \textit{Labour \& Industry}, vol. 12, no. 3, 2002, 59-75. Mark Peel has also offered rich insight into the lives of men, particularly working-class men; see M. Peel, "A New Kind of Manhood: Remembering the 1950s", in J. Murphy \& J. Smart (eds), \textit{The Forgotten Fifties: Aspects of Australian Society and Culture in the 1950s}, a special edition of the Australian Historical Studies, vol. 28, no. 109, 1997, 147-157.
\end{footnotes}
interventions of intellectuals and/or business elites. These studies share a focus on unique and prominent figures, men who are leaders in their spheres of influence. In each the dynamic force in social change (at least, that is, on the side of maintaining hegemony), and hence the principal subjects of investigation, are extraordinary men and their puissant acts – not quite the mundane managerial and professional whom I target. Nevertheless, these studies draw out important elements in the meaning of post-war modernisation and the practices of managerial and professional men. Each contends, in different ways, with the simultaneous persistence and mutation of hegemony in post-war Australia and the rewards that accrue to managerial and professional men.

Tim Rowse disassembled the operation of liberal ideology in Australian social commentary and intellectual work in pre and post-war Australia. Rowse demonstrated the discursive unity of the liberal tradition in obscuring interest, explaining social order and, across a range of political inflections, maintaining hegemony. National character is mobilised for a constricted political project; a point that has been largely ignored in the majority of subsequent ‘cultural’ approaches to Australian identity/ies. Rowse’s work provides a more politically grounded exposition of social analysis (particularly as compared to Brown) and the role of intellectuals in the accomplishment of hegemony. Bob Connell’s nascent study explored class questions in (1960s and early-1970s) Australia and focused on what he identified as the dual leadership of the business elite and the state or political elite that together shaped a pattern of hegemony followed at other levels. Connell’s work identified interactions between cultural and economic power, recognising the crucial cultural ‘work’ required to secure privilege.

Nicholas Brown’s *Governing Prosperity* explores a transition in Australian social analysis between the inter-war years and the post-war and fifties period. Influenced by Michel Foucault and Nikolas Rose, Brown conceptualises the transition as realignment from “managing a nation to governing prosperity.” According to Brown’s account, during the interwar period leading social analysts

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19 This emphasis does not of course exclude recognition of the counter-hegemonic as a dynamic force in social change.
“addressed society as a potential, evolving unity [expressing an assumption] that society could be shaped from above by the ministrations of agencies, primarily the state.”

After the initial post-war reconstruction and into the fifties, social analysis adapted to prosperity and was constituted by a more professionalised corps whose concerns had turned inward, towards “the more private spaces”.

Brown follows Rose in identifying a shifting target of intervention for social analysis:

The dominant figure in post-war social analysis was an individual who was to be governed, and to be encouraged in her or his capacity for self-government, not so much through the directives of the state but in terms of the relation between the state and its citizens and the self-regulation of their more subjective propensities.

This changed emphasis in intervention during the post-war period is crucial to understanding the changing role of managerial and professional men. Emerging techniques were altering the meaning of social expertise and management, deepening the participation of these men in the collaboration between ways of knowing the world and productive ways of governing.

John Brack’s portrait is of troubled people. Men with absence in their eyes, obligations pressing upon their disappearing shoulders, opportunities weighing their feet, the invisible hand of management corralling their march, the dead hand of history pressing them to one direction. By contrast, the studies I have briefly introduced together suggest a complex portrait of considerable vitality, a portrait that warrants more sustained appraisal than Brack’s image may initially encourage. Two problems in particular arising from debates in the existing scholarship have shaped my thesis aim and motivated my research. First, the debates presented highlight the problem of managerial and professional men’s participation in the reshaping of hegemony during twentieth-century modernisation. In the everyday exist the concrete microsites, the intimate frontiers, where social relations are enacted and hegemony accomplished. These

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20 Brown, op.cit., 7.
21 Brown, op.cit., 5.
22 Brown, op.cit., 10. I give Nikolas Rose’s work greater attention in section 1.2 and in Chapter Two of this thesis.
23 Brown’s analysis also quite evidently builds upon extensive feminist analysis of this shift, a point he tends to gloss; see in particular K. Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home: Modernizing the Australian Family, 1880-1940*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1985.
men are engaged in the frontiers, they are crucial participants shaped by and shaping hegemony with their minute and mundane acts of management. Second, the existing scholarship has fashioned my aim by raising the problem of managerial and professional men’s interest in the intricate and intimate entailments (or particular outcomes) that accrue through the continued accomplishment of hegemony. These interests can be traced, though I find the power to secure them is not the negative power of submission but the positive power of knowledge and of life itself. My scrutiny of these men and their practices, my choice of social settings in which to study them, my analysis of the process enacted in these settings and the sources that I have utilised are aimed at building a history that examines managerial and professional men’s participation and their interest in the regeneration of hegemony. I contemplate the comfort of men in order to disassemble that which appears “not to be anything in particular”: the ordinary regeneration of hegemony by ordinary men doing ordinary things.24

1.2 An Analytic Framework: social relations, interest and hegemony

On a number of occasions the sociologist Mike Donaldson has used Bob Connell’s laconic aside that it is “no mean feat to produce the kind of people who can actually operate a capitalist system” to signpost the complexity of hegemony and its regeneration.25 For Donaldson, Connell’s comment encapsulates the theoretical and practical significance of “studying up”: engaging with “filthy rich blokes” where more often emphasis in critical sociology (as well as history) has been on “studying down”.26 Donaldson’s interest in “problematising the powerful” through a sociology of ruling class men resonates with the strategic

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26 Donaldson also (and playfully) refers to this as the sociology noir; see Donaldson, ‘Growing Up’, op.cit., 95.
scrutiny of managerial and professional men adopted in my critical history.\textsuperscript{27} For me, Connell’s remark also expresses that initial sense of bafflement in the face of this capacity for domination to be regenerated by people: a ‘mean feat’ in every way. Moreover, Connell’s comment captures the complexity of reading the comfort of men. In response to this complexity, my thesis has drawn from a number of related theoretical approaches in order to establish the research questions, or analytic framework I use to reach my thesis aim. Through the different layers of interrogation and inquiry I take up and develop Connell’s emphasis on scrutinizing the production of men as operators. John Brack’s critical gaze and the gaunt and grey vipers he paints offer a familiar and compelling approach to these men and their participation in hegemony. Acknowledging the complexity of hegemony’s mean feat and recognising men’s comfort suggests however, a palette more vibrant and mixed than the one Brack provides. In this section of my introduction I begin with readings of social relations to outline the first principles that underpin each element in my framework and that colour my palette.

Social practice (individual and institutional) is organised and patterned in the social relations of class, gender and race or ethnicity. At least within western societies, class, ethnicity and gender relations hold the greatest significance for explanations of social practice.\textsuperscript{28} The relational approach posits that the social relations of class, ethnicity and gender are each constituted through their own particular social structures. These key constituent structures together provide a way of explaining the configurations of practice in a social relation. In respect to gender, for example, Connell has identified four such social structures: power relations (internal to the gender order), production relations (divisions of labour),

\textsuperscript{27} Donaldson’s men are indeed different men to the managerial and professional men that populate this thesis. The ‘filthy rich blokes’, like Kerry Packer, Prince Charles and Rupert Murdoch, are (having made or inherited their wealth) far removed from the operational activities of managerial and professional men. Also, Donaldson’s approach tends not to locate either the ruling class he studies or the sources he relies upon in any particular historical context, making future comparative work or analysis of change difficult; ‘Growing Up’, op.cit., 95.

\textsuperscript{28} In defining, understanding and linking these social relations I have found, in addition to the works by Connell cited below, Colette Guillaumin’s essays particularly useful; see C. Guillaumin, \emph{Race, Sexism, Power and Ideology}, Routledge, London, 1995.

Connell calls for recognition of how social relations circulate in global systems but warns against assuming this to be only reflective of a particular ‘Euro/American’ model; see R. Connell, ‘The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History,’ \emph{Theory and Society}, vol. 22, 1993, 597-623, 606.
cathexis (emotional relations) and symbolism (communication relations). Fundamental to my use of the relational approach is the understanding that structure and action are intertwined; Messerschmidt labels this “structured action”. “[S]tructure,” he states, “is not external to the agent, nor is it simply and solely constraining. Rather, structure is implicated in social action and social action is implicated in structure, so that structure both constrains and enables social action.” Social relations are not imposed upon, nor do they pre-exist, practice; therefore, as gender structures configure and pattern practice, gender relations are also transformed by practice. The emphasis on structured action encourages an analysis that situates social relations in the actual practice of people or institutions. Messerschmidt’s analysis of men’s crime “as a suitable resource for ‘doing gender’”, for example, identifies the nexus between the practice of crime and the continuing accomplishment of gender. The concept of masculinity, in a relational approach, holds meaning only to the extent that it names a pattern of practice. Masculinity is specific and situational.

Overall, the relational approach provides an understanding useful for investigating human practice: practice by people produces social relations which then also produces further practice. In addition, the relational approach explains the accumulation and distribution of social resources among certain groups, 29 In Gender and Power, Connell originally identified three social structures (division of labour, structure of power and structure of cathexis) that construct social relations but has subsequently found it necessary to expand further on these structures. Connell’s care in distinguishing between gender as a social relation and the idea of a structural model of gender (and other) relations is important. It is at the level of social structures that most analysis of gender relations and class relations occur and it is also at this level that there is the most evident fluidity of practice. For some discussion of the distinctions and theory see R. Connell, The Men and The Boys, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2000, 23-32 and, more recently, R. Connell, Gender: A Short Introduction, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2002, Chapter Four. For the original development see R. Connell, Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1987, see in particular Part II. 30 J. Messerschmidt, Masculinities and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Maryland, 1993, 62. 31 Messerschmidt, op.cit., 77. 32 Messerschmidt notes that crime “is a form of social practice invoked as a resource, when other resources are unavailable, for accomplishing masculinity.” See Messerschmidt, op.cit., 80-85. The concept of gender, or social relations, as accomplishment comes from S. Kessler & W. McKenna, Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach, Wiley, New York, 1978. Kessler and McKenna’s contribution is critiqued in M. Hawkesworth, ‘Confounding Gender’, Signs, vol. 22, no. 3, 1997, 649-685. The replies by Connell and Scott to this critique are also instructive. 33 This approach also opens for investigation questions around subjectivity, framed not in individualistic terms (as is most often the case in theory infused with liberal understandings of identity-politics) but framed in terms of social subjects; that, for example, we can read the practices of these men as producing and being produced by a subjectivity that is bound to and binds their privileges in the relations of class, gender and ethnicity. I am reminded here of Hardt and Negri’s comments on subjectivity: “Subjectivity must be grasped in terms of the social processes that animate the production of subjectivity. The subject, as Foucault clearly understood, is at the same time a product and productive, constituted in and constitutive of the vast networks of social labour. Labour is both subjection and subjectivation – ‘le travail de soi sur soi’ – in such a way that all notions of either free will or the determinism of the subject must be discarded. Subjectivity is defined simultaneously and equally by its productivity and its producibility, its aptitudes to produce and to be produced.” M. Hardt & A. Negri, Labor of Dionysus: A Critique of the State Form, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1994, 12.
providing an opportunity to address the question of who accumulates what through these social relations. As a result, my thesis identifies the practices of managerial and professional men in the settings examined as structured action, resources for doing social relations, shaping the further practice of other social actors. By studying the discursive practices of these men we gain insight into their participation in the reproduction and operation of social relations and the resulting accumulation of social resources.

One further implication of the relational approach must be that gender, ethnicity or class should not be seen as a particular or singular type of practice, in the sense that a particular practice is never simply an expression of, for example, gender. While it has been theoretically useful (and politically invaluable) to conceptualise the overall patterning of practice as being constitutive of particular ‘orders’ or ‘systems’ such as capitalism or patriarchy with respect to class relations or gender relations, the relational approach encourages a recognition that social relations are interactive; the analytic diagram does not resemble a grid of relations.\(^{34}\) The point is to begin, in Joan Acker’s words, with “the assumption that social relations are constituted through processes in which the linkages are inbuilt.”\(^{35}\) For interpretive studies this is an important caveat. Practices that may have the appearance of being expressions of gender, for example, may also be more fundamentally about the relations of class. The historian Kathy Peiss makes this point in an analysis of women’s involvement in business. She states:

> Gender has offered a language for management practices, worker responses, and conflict resolution that may have little to do with embodied women and men per se. That is, class issues have often been articulated through gendered representations.\(^{36}\)

In addition, the linkage of social relations creates leverage for each other, for further enabling practice and, as I shall explore later, interest. The interactions of social relations do not make each equivalent. I would contend that it remains logical and necessary to theorise and explore social relations as interlocking though distinct entities.

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\(^{34}\) On interaction see for example, Connell ‘The Men and the Boys’, op.cit., 29. I discuss the important question of political strategy in some further detail in section 1.4.

\(^{35}\) Acker is quoted from Messerschmidt, op.cit., 63.

The structured action of managerial and professional men expresses and enacts the relations of class, gender and ethnicity simultaneously. The narrative of modernisation that shapes their post-war context (and that I further explore in Chapter Two) is not simply an economic process impacting on relations of class. Modernisation ensnares the totality of social relations. Kristen Ross has directly linked the discourse of hygiene during post-war French modernisation to racial differentiation and de-colonization. She argues that modernisation was “a means of social, particularly racial, differentiation.”

I am also drawn, at this point, to Stoler’s reading of colonial governance and her recognition of the breadth and depth of European imperialism’s reach. Stoler argues that colonial governance was constructed through the management of intimate relations that called into existence and depended upon racial and gender distinctions. Stoler emphasises her argument by noting that: “A question posed by one sceptical reader, ‘were the intimacies vastly different outside of imperial domains at similar points of time?’, points to another: Was there an ‘outside of empire’?” It is within this understanding that she situates the need to “rethink the boundaries of our analytic and historical maps.” Utilising Stoler’s insight in the context of the period and subjects of my thesis points to these men as engaged in the projects of (neo)colonial empire and ethnicity during post-war modernisation. A transformation in relations between ‘white’ protestant and ‘white’ catholic men, for example, substantially altered social relations of ethnicity in post-war Australia. There were also the more familiar shifts in relation to non-Anglo-European migration, Pacific colonisation and in respect to the activism of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. While employing a framework

37 K. Ross, op.cit., 11 & Chapter Two.
39 Stoler, however, does not sufficiently account for class or for any substantial economic imperative in this article. Stoler, op.cit., 864.
that reveals interaction between social relations and that acknowledges there is no “outside of empire”, my thesis pinpoints the relations of class and gender during modernisation as the scope for discussion.

To connect what managerial and professional men are saying and doing with hegemony and the accumulation and distribution of social resources during modernisation I have placed *interest* at the centre of my analysis. Interest offers a tool to guide my examination. In deploying interest I have built on a tradition of materialist histories that acknowledge, in Anthony McMahon’s words, that “structures of domination and inequality inevitably go hand in hand with the construction of group interests”. The examination of interest is, therefore, intricately tied to an understanding of the inequalities attached to social relations and hegemony. Interest illuminates a link between social relations and people. Interest helps us to understand and explain why managerial and professional men are participating in particular social settings and what their practice might mean.

The materialist method and the investigation of interest have been greatly enriched recently by scholars drawing attention to the interest white people have and express in social relations of ethnicity and in racism. George Lipsitz, for example, writes perceptively of the contemporary and historical expressions of race privilege by white North Americans. I have found Lipsitz’s conceptualisation of “the possessive investment in whiteness” particularly useful in developing my approach to examining the discursive practices of managerial and professional men. Lipsitz uses the term possessive investment both literally and figuratively. The term “investment,” he states, “denotes time spent on a given end.” Lipsitz’s analysis: “attempts to explore how social and cultural forces encourage white people to expend time and energy on the creation and re-creation of whiteness.” The adjective “possessive” is employed:

- to stress the relationship between whiteness and asset accumulation in our society, *to connect attitudes with interests*, to demonstrate that white supremacy is usually less a matter of direct, referential, and snarling contempt than a system for protecting the privileges of whites by denying communities of color opportunities for asset accumulation.

43 Lipsitz draws together the work of a wide range of historians and theorists, Lipsitz, op.cit.
44 Lipsitz, op.cit., vii.
Lipsitz’s working of possessive investments indicates that interest does not simply lie in the outcomes but that interest is fundamental to the process; it is possessive of that process. In addition, the concept of possessive investment resituates the agency of managerial and professional men as being central to the regeneration of social relations and central to the accomplishment of hegemony. The implication is not that the practices of the men I study are predetermined or predictable in terms of their interests; even the most empowered human subjects can not determine the effects of power. Interest is not a blunt economics or a strict, uni-directional causative chain. Nor does utilising interest and investment in analysis mean that finding results of managerial and professional men’s practices, for example, is just a simple case of applying a formula or identifying intention. “[T]o have interest is one thing,” McMahon remarks, “to secure it is quite another.” My approach does however suggest that managerial and professional men do not simply fall into a position of relative advantage: they constantly renegotiate their position and make investments, irrespective of intention. The practices I investigate represent these interested investments. Also, the capacity to act in particular social settings is intricately connected to and concerned with the authority and legitimacy to act. The investments are, as Lipsitz suggests, possessive, operating within intimate frontiers that recirculate authority to men, enabling further investment and the reward of continued interest.

The concept of hegemony was developed by Antonio Gramsci to describe how power and rule operates in modern society. For Terry Eagleton, Gramsci’s formulation of hegemony suggested

45 Lipsitz, op.cit., viii, emphasis added.
46 I return to consider the contentions and misrecognitions of interest in section 1.4
47 McMahon, ‘Taking Care’, op.cit., 33. In this discussion McMahon also comments: “No situation of domination is ever secure or total; all are fraught with contradictions and limitations, and produce resistance. Thus, defending analyses relying on interests, Connell noted: ‘Of course such a claim is merely a starting point; one must then demonstrate how the job is done, examine countercurrents and contradictions, etc.’. It is, however, an important starting point.” The quote from Connell comes in reply to Hawkesworth’s critique mentioned previously. R. Connell, ‘Comment on Hawkesworth’s “Confounding Gender”: Restructuring Gender’, Signs, Spring, 1997, 703-7, 704.
48 Gramsci did not, as it has been extensively noted, develop a comprehensive schema; the advantage and problem being that selective interpretation does render divergent applications. I have relied here on the Prison Notebooks (Gramsci, op.cit.) and the sources listed in the footnotes below plus J. Larraín, Marxism and Ideology, Macmillan,
a whole range of practical strategies by which a dominant power elicits consent to its rule from those it subjugates … diffusing one’s own ‘world-view’ throughout the fabric of society as a whole, thus equating one’s own interests with the interests of society at large.49

In questioning how the ruling bloc could dominate without coercion (and so how power could be life-affirming and of comfort rather than domination), Gramsci’s contribution overturned understandings of the relationship between base and superstructure then dominating Marxist social analysis. He shifted materialism back from detached considerations of base determining superstructure to illuminate the intricate practices of modern rule:

dominant power is subtly, pervasively diffused throughout habitual daily practices, intimately interwoven with ‘culture’ itself, inscribed in the very texture of our experience from nursery school to funeral parlour … the ‘common sense’ of a whole social order, rather than one which is widely perceived as alien and oppressive.50

Gramsci’s work began to “broaden and deepen Marxist notions of ideology” and the intimate reaches of power.51 To understand consent in rule he considered the vitality that lay in the ways people thought about and experienced the world. He repositioned ideology as both a material and a productive (or positive) concept. Gramsci recognised that individual or collective thought and practice – what he called “spontaneous philosophy”, which ranged widely from intellectual thought, to institutional practices, to language and to folklore – was meshed with power.52

Gramsci developed the concept of hegemony in his writings on political strategy where he marked a distinction between a war of position and a war of manoeuvre.53 The war of position was the continual struggle to establish hegemony, to align spontaneous philosophy (or common sense) with the interests of the ruling bloc such that the practices of workers would in fact enhance the
social resources of the ruling bloc. For Gramsci, the achievement of hegemony through the war of position was never complete and nor was it a fixed process lacking human agency. In this respect, the concept of hegemony brings attention to movement, to rule and power being composed by (active and passive) struggle. In addition, Gramsci’s analysis of hegemony does not dictate a particular strategy in the sense of a predetermined masterplan for legitimation. Rather, hegemony must be understood as an accomplishment composed by agents through the generation of multivalent strategies that continually re-position and respond to power. In my reading, Gramsci’s insight, by introducing hegemony to an analysis of modern capitalism, was to illuminate the presence and operation of power at the intersection of practice (in culture, philosophy, common sense etc) and social relation (specifically, and limited for Gramsci to workers’ practice and the social relation of class). Gramsci’s formulations encourage analytical attention to be trained upon the intimate, the ordinary and the everyday; not to find a plethora of undirected practices, but to explore and unsettle the interest and comfort that accrue to the agents of hegemony.

Gramsci’s formulation of hegemony does have crucial limits as an approach. To more thoroughly understand the operation of power I have considered two other interrelated theoretical approaches to power. Both additions engage with Michel Foucault’s reading of modern power and his analysis of transformations in the operation of power. Foucault’s work calls attention to a deepening collaboration between ways of knowing and being and productive

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54 And by illuminating power in this way the concept of hegemony identifies how social relations are made natural and material. This convergence enriches both the understanding of power and also social relations.

55 My purpose at this point is not to expose and detail the limits of Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, I have simply deployed conceptualisations of power and rule that, in enhancing the utility of hegemony, make Gramsci’s limits apparent. Briefly, however it is worth noting two issues: Gramsci places hegemony within civil society and civil society is then counter-posed to the state. The impact is to accord civil society an independent and powerful role in capitalism, suggesting civil society as an outside umpire capable of mediating politics. The result then is to limit capacity to interrogate the state and civil society as intertwined political spheres of rule. It also indicates a continued emphasis on the issue of ‘legitimation’, where the state (as a coherent, unitary creation of the ruling bloc) deploys power to create its civil society. Gramsci’s concept of hegemony also obscures the political meanings in the perceived decline of civil society in post-modern capitalism. Secondly, hegemony (like some readings of ‘government’, see below) can be read as a closed system, with limited place for a politics of struggle (a point particularly evident in the ‘post-marxist’ use of hegemony such as E. Laclau & C. Mouffe, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy, Verso, London, 1985). This reading of the limitations of Gramsci is informed by the work of Hardt and Negri (Labor of Dionysus’, op.cit., 149-151, 205, 266; and M. Hardt & A. Negri, Empire, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 329) and the (Italian) Autonomist Marxist tradition (also know as operaismo). The operaismo critique must be understood in the context of Italian Marxism as a political project and competing politics around the role of the revolutionary party; that is, Gramsci developed hegemony and the notion of ‘war of position’ in direct relation to the role of the revolutionary party in Italy, its particular political interpretation and application was itself an aspect of struggle within the Italian left (on operaismo see S. Wright, Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism, Pluto Press, London, 2002).
expressions of power as it developed and responded to the conditions of modernisation.\textsuperscript{56} Government, the concept that captures this productive power, suggests the immanence of modern power, where subjects are engaged positively and power breathes with the life of people. One supplementary approach to power, represented in works by Nikolas Rose and Mitchell Dean, has been with the methodologies, or ‘ethos’, proposed by recent work in the analytics of government and its emphasis on questions of how power operates.\textsuperscript{57} This ethos encourages an intense and creative engagement with the techniques by which power operates (the techniques including the practices, the rationalities and forms of knowledge, identities and agencies). Of particular value is the attention given, in the ethos of governmentality, to the connections between government and psychological ways of knowing. The second and more substantial approach I consider works directly from the legacy of Gramsci’s politically inflected analysis of power. Marxist scholars Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, with their explicit view to transforming the present, acknowledge that the question of how power works is insufficient without an understanding of who or what drives the system and to what end. Their vital contribution is to reinject into the analysis of power the dynamic and creative interaction that exists with the production of social being and social relations.\textsuperscript{58}

Gramsci’s original formulation and these two additional approaches provide useful models of enquiry to understand managerial and professional men’s engagement with the operation of power. As a concept I continue to use the term hegemony to refer to that situation where the interests of managerial and professional men are common sense, where social relations with particular interests and inequalities are the outcome of ‘natural’ practices. It is the participation of men in the accomplishment and regeneration of this situation that my thesis aims to make problematic. I also contend that through their practices these managerial and professional men are engaged in a war of position, not


\textsuperscript{57} It is this ethos, rather than entire approach or reading of Foucault, that contributes valuable insight into hegemony. On governmentality see Dean, op.cit. and see also N. Rose, \textit{Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought}, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.

\textsuperscript{58} As I discuss further in Chapter Two, Hardt and Negri limit their convergence to an analysis of how the transformation towards government (specifically biopolitical government) is directly linked to the social relations of class (what they term ‘capital’). On production of social relations and social being see Hardt & Negri, op.cit., 28.
following a closely or clearly scripted strategy but conducting life through their common sense to particular and interested effect. I identify a transformation in the operation of power during modernisation, with the men in each terrain enacting interventions that “shape conduct by working through ... desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends.”

And so with my investigations I effect a link between the history of modernisation and the history of government’s deployment.

The analytic framework I have adopted to investigate the practices of managerial and professional men has been cultivated from my reading of these reviewed approaches. My framework is not an amalgam and nor is it nomadic, working without centre. Instead, to develop more flexible layers of inquiry and to be more capable of bending my analysis to meet the mean feat of hegemony and its regeneration, I imbricate these approaches. From the layers of imbrication I have pursued questions that trace the multiple and complex strands of meaning produced by managerial and professional men’s practices. By way of summary the framework I apply comprises three core elements: I historicize the accomplishment of hegemony; testing the emergence of government and positive expressions of power during post-war modernisation in the local contexts of managerial and professional men’s practice. I people hegemony; identifying the practices of managerial and professional men as crucial to operating, administering and calibrating hegemony while also being resources for the doing of social relations (in particular the relations of gender and class). And, thirdly, I demonstrate the participation of these men to be interested; unravelling the possessive investments managerial and professional men make through their practice. Each element, informed by the theoretical and political background explored later in Chapter Two, works to disrupt the comfort of men and combines to build my critical history.

59 “Government,” Dean states, “is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.” Dean, op.cit., 11.
1.3 A Standpoint on Men

It was while waiting for a friend on Collins Street each afternoon that Brack found the perspective that would shape his portrait. To construct the sketches that made his portrait, Brack positioned himself in the doorway of his friend’s office. Later he reflected on this “eery” position, sketching people walking “within three feet or so … none of whom took the slightest notice.”60 John Brack’s recognition of his own standpoint in the creation of his impermissible portrait serves as a useful reminder. My aim in this thesis and my framework are informed by my standpoint in relation to managerial and professional men. Like Brack, I am not a disinterested, perspectiveless observer of these men. They are a part of my own history, my inheritance and also my practice now. For Jeff Hearn, “critical studies of men” require a reflexive engagement, a deliberate step away from the dispassionate and ostensibly undirected.61 Reformulating Marx, Hearn posits that:

Men are theorized, at least partly, in the attempt to change them: it is only by changing the world (in this case men) that (in this case) men come to know it.62

Building an understanding of managerial and professional men is vital, but not as a goal in itself. I believe that by understanding the social relations and structures that advantage these (and other) men we can contribute to dismantling those relations. My attention to managerial and professional men during modernisation has been determined by my own political desire to problematise the reproduction of social relations and the continued accomplishment of hegemony. As subjects, these men and their discursive practices enable scrutiny of the regenerative labour necessary to sustain the intimate frontiers of power and to realise the material and other comforts that accrue to those performing such work. I make managerial and professional men subjects in order to change us; I work along the grain of hegemony to illuminate both the shape of power and the possibilities for change.

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60 Grishin, op.cit., 47-52.
Critical studies of men, to be effective, must engage with the ways that men are made absent, as men, in history. When men manage others, when their practices make others subjects men also create their own objectivity. Men’s objectivity and absence has been a manoeuvre, the effect of which has been to remove them, and the mechanics of hegemony, from scrutiny.\(^{63}\) Hearn remarks:

The subject, men, maintain power partly by the/our hold of/on objectivity. Yet this hold of/on objectivity is maintained by subjects, men, whilst usually denying both our subjectivity and our status as objects, yet to become potential subjects. This process has existed by and through all objectification developed and controlled by men…\(^{64}\)

On this point U.S. historian Dana Nelson, in an examination of nineteenth-century “professional manhood”, has suggested that managerial and professional men do not simply disembodied their discursive practices or make themselves neutral. Nelson argues that managerial and professional men’s discursive practices produce an “occulted space”: their practices place others within social relations to be managed by men while they simultaneously place themselves outside of social relations and out of view from a relational engagement.\(^{65}\) Nelson’s perspective suggests that these men are not simply obscuring the operation of social relations through their claims of objectivity, but are stepping beyond gender and class by linking and limiting social relations to the subjects they manage. Gender, ethnicity and class happen to others (to women, to non-whites, to the working class) and are a reason to manage others.\(^{66}\) In response, critical studies of men must not simply study men but make explicit their position as men and adopt a framework, as Hearn suggests, “that critically address[es]…

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\(^{65}\) The term ‘occult’ is used here in the sense of an object being ‘cut off from view by interposing something else’. Nelson’s work here is derived from Guillaumin, op.cit., in particular 29-60. For Nelson’s informative discussion see D. Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1998, 13-15, 103, 123-5. In Guillaumin and Nelson’s discussions I am also reminded of a more familiar Marxist argument regarding attempts by the ruling class to free itself from the dynamics of the working class. Hardt and Negri, for example, quote from Tronti: “The political history of capital is a sequence of attempts by capital to withdraw from the class relationship, [or more properly] attempts of the capitalist class to emancipate itself from the working class, through the medium of the various forms of capital's domination over the working class.” Hardt & Negri, *Labor of Dionysus*, op.cit., 16.

\(^{66}\) Thus, in this argument they are ‘outside’ social relations in the sense that men view gender as being managing women and women’s difference (to a genderless norm), or white people view race as being managing people of colour and their difference (to a norm). In both examples social relations are assigned to subjects (to identities and ‘difference’) by the practices of men or white people and thus subjects are governed on that basis.
men in the context of their power and gendered power relations.”

Critical studies of men must unpack the process by which men position themselves in relation to others and by which men make *alibis* for their own interested practices.

If these comments underscore the standpoint I adopt in relation to men and social relations, they also express a difficulty with studies of masculinity and much of men’s studies. Masculinity has become a non-relational rubric deployed widely as a fixed category; an identity that men possess or aspire to. McMahon has provided a thorough critique of popular usages of masculinity, but his comments also ask difficult questions of how masculinity can be deployed in academic work:

Like the accounts of male personality …, many descriptions of masculinity are really descriptions of popular ideologies about the actual or ideal characteristics of men … In popular usage, notions of masculinity (and femininity) are inextricably embedded in naturalizing and policing discourses, which construct appropriate models of gendered practice, and which can be used to bring the appropriateness of an individual’s gender identity into question. Thus, men may well experience themselves as ‘expressing their masculinity’ or experience doubts about the status of their masculinity.

A great deal of men’s studies is based upon slippage from a recognition of social relations to the reification of identity. Masculinity is attributed a causative power, situated outside or beyond the practices and interests of men and women and the relations of gender. In some historical studies, for example, men appear to be reaching towards a masculinity that lies beyond them (or is only finally attained at the end of the particular period being examined). The relational approach counsels against the elevation of social relations as identity rather than as practice; if social relations lie in what people do, rather than what people are, analysis needs to be directed to the patterns of practice that indicate these relations. Commenting on these tendencies in the use of masculinity but asserting its ongoing utility, Connell has warned of the “drift away from concern with institutions, power relations, and social inequalities.”

Men’s studies that deploy masculinity and gender in such ways fail to make men’s interest in social

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relations or the tenacious persistence of men’s dominance problematic; they fail to disrupt the comfort of men.

My history of these managerial and professional men is not a history of masculinity or a history of the experience of a masculinity. I have not attempted to define an ideal professional manhood that, as individuals, united them or that they aspired to experience. As Connell notes:

The object of knowledge is not a reified ‘masculinity’ (as encapsulated, with its reified partner ‘femininity’, in the psychological scales measuring M/F and androgyny). The object of knowledge is, rather, men’s places and practices in gender relations.

In examining the discursive practices of these men I do explore how their investments and interests articulated and built gender and class. I position their practices as resources for doing gender and class in particular ways that are tied to the manifold changes of modernisation. The same process that makes men absent in history – the occulting of self – can be observed in the development of government during post-war modernisation. The practices I study are gendered investments; the returns for these men include important social structures like the division of labour. They are also engagements with others: managerial and professional men are attempting to consolidate their own position as a counter to the political dynamic in working-class mobilisation and feminist agitation. Therefore my work does demonstrate managerial and professional men constructing and defining a masculinity relevant to themselves and multiple others. In this regard my analysis supports an argument for the emergence, with the development of government, of a particular managerial and professional masculinity during modernisation, a point further discussed in Chapter Two. Nevertheless, my focal point remains with men’s participation and interest in the regeneration of hegemony rather than with tracing the expressions of masculinity in culture, individual experience or identity.

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70 Connell, ‘The Big Picture’, op.cit., 601. In Masculinities, Connell also remarks: “Masculinity, to the extent the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture.” R. Connell, Masculinities, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1995, 71.
1.4 Splinters From Along the Grain

Historical research that works along the grain, with the narratives of domination and the interests of the hegemonic rather than across them, risks being read as a contribution to those narratives. The inadvertent opportunities for misrecognition, however, can also usefully illuminate a number of distinctive features in the framework and standpoint I apply to understand the participation and interest of men in these narratives.

Alibis, investments, interest; these concepts all create an impression of considerable control and strategy. The intention of my critical history has been to allow the logic, the legitimacy, the authority and representations by managerial and professional men to be at the foreground of my presentation. Inequitable social relations must work for someone; they must give as well as take. Unpacking the mechanics of hegemony and identifying its efficacy calls attention to the logic and attachments that reside intimately in its operation. Arguing the efficacy of hegemony is not the same as acquiescing to its logic, instead it provides a closer proximity to the men who are its interested operators. Stoler, addressing a tendency in critical scholarship to see the participants and beneficiaries of hegemony as always elsewhere, makes a pointed consideration:

As long as we treat colonizers and the common sense they harboured as realities of another moment, and empire as something on which domestic history and prosperity does not depend, colonialism will remain safe for scholarship rather than the source of effective histories of the disquieting present.\(^71\)

Reading along the grain to identify the logic in managerial and professional men’s interventions is an important addition to critical scholarship. It should make us more sceptical of histories (and presents) that operate to excuse or distract from the outcomes or entailments of hegemony: its advantages to some and its divestments from others.

Analysis that works along the grain must not be based, in my view, upon value-free claims for inclusion or the exploration and celebration of difference simply for its own sake. As I have noted in respect to men’s studies, critique and the contribution to emancipation are essential contexts to research and writing. Identifying an empirical, theoretical and political vantage point in turning

\(^71\) Stoler, ‘Response’, op.cit., 897.
attention towards the comfort of managerial and professional men is quite distinct from rejecting attention to resistance, or the “small voices of history” or claiming a privilege to the analysis of domination. This reflects a political perspective: knowledge of the historical conditions of enslavement can complement knowledge of the struggle for emancipation. Anthony McMahon’s insightful study *Taking Care of Men* provides a positive example that also works from this perspective. McMahon examines the persistence of men’s exploitative relationship to the labour of care even in the face of women’s activism. But McMahon’s study is not simply about how men experience this relationship or benefit from it. By building his analysis with the insights of feminist critique McMahon’s work on the practices of men is able to make a contribution to further critique and to resistance.

This issue of logic raises another important point regarding analysis that works along the grain. Suggesting a logic or coherence to hegemony and investigating the interests that managerial and professional men may hold in hegemony’s entailments are separate from adopting an analytic strategy that assumes a unity of intention and outcome. This latter analytic strategy reflects a distorted form of critique, one that positions all outcomes as a function of discernible and pre-existing intentions. Such a critique suggests also the repressive application of an over-arching power to maintain outcomes; it produces straw men-as-dominators in place of complex actors.

In contrast, to work along the grain depends upon a framework that can interrogate the generative mechanics of power in hegemony: exploring how problems come to be imagined, how solutions are deployed and how subjects are engaged. This is an analysis that encourages a productive torsion of intention and outcome. By focusing the aim of my thesis on the participation and interest of men in hegemony rather than the outcome or experience I contribute to understandings of

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72 A. Stoler, ‘Matters of Intimacy as Matters of State: A response’, *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, 2001, 893–897, 895. Stoler stumbles however in her argument when she appears to claim that studies of empire need to consider the logic of the colonizers ‘first’ (896). This ordering is inconsistent with her broader argument and the slippage appears to be a function of the rhetorical position of her discussion; being in response to the claim of ‘privileging processes of domination’.

73 McMahon, op.cit.

74 In many respects, however, this is in fact the orthodox tradition of critical analysis; for discussion see N. Rose, ‘Beyond the Public/Private Division: Law, Power and the Family’, *Journal of Law and Society*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1987, 61-76.
the logic of operation or conditions of possibility that propel the mean feat of hegemony.

In addition, working with the logic of hegemony illuminates the profound sense of legitimacy and authority to act carried by managerial and professional men. The intricate movements necessary to recirculate authority and legitimacy reroute and neutralise attention to the particularity of social relations (for example the individual’s potential doubt over ‘why them’\(^\text{75}\)), enabling men to participate in hegemony. Histories of identity and experience have emphasised the fluidity of power, underscoring the representation of crisis tendencies in masculinity. But even amid apparent crises and challenge, comfort, I argue, begets comfort. The identities and authority may be porous but there is a persistence to the position of managerial and professional men in hegemony. The machinations that achieve this recirculation of authority become a key line of investigation within this thesis.

Finally, in working along the grain I acknowledge that managerial and professional men were engaged in a constant process of representation; understanding and acting in the world on the basis of their own common sense. Their practices depend upon and call into being what I have called ‘imagined’ subjects and ‘imagined’ communities. These are imagined not in the sense of fictive spectres but as human products, built from common sense and engraved with the social relations and structures that make this common sense. While emphasis in my analysis is on the process that makes these representations and the connections that embed men’s interests, my attention to the imagined is not an indication that such representations were an accepted reality for the subjects and communities men were acting on. Working along the grain does not compel the assumption of a seamless social world that people in power may suppose. The imagining of subjects and communities is always countered by the resistance in social relations:

‘hegemony’ does not mean total cultural dominance, the obliteration of alternatives. It means the ascendancy achieved within a balance of forces, that is, a state of play. Other patterns or groups are subordinated rather than eliminated. If we do not recognize this it would be

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\(^{75}\) Nelson remarks: “the process of identifying with national manhood blocks white men from being able efficiently to identify socio-economic inequality as structural rather than individual failure, thereby conditioning them for market and professional competition.” Nelson, op.cit., ix.
impossible to account for the everyday contestation that happens in social life, let alone for historical changes in definitions of gender patterns on the grand scale.76

Social relations are not, Connell argued, reproduced from a black box, a conceptual space where it “just happens”.77 Hegemony is a partial accomplishment and analysis always requires the “dose of reality” that agents and action exist within social processes; complicating, contesting and contradicting.78 While my focus is exclusively on the practices of managerial and professional men, I have not relegated other social actors (the working class or women for example) to the status of spectators and these men to the status of always-in-control master-tacticians. Hegemony exists in a peopled history and a history of struggle, and with this recognition the familiar political questions of counter-positioning can proceed.79

Furthermore, evidence of contestation is present not only in generative acts of counter-positioning (in direct resistance to managerial and professional men’s representations), but is present also in the constant composition and re-composition of hegemony by those seeking to govern; hegemony is always responsive and dialectical. Penny Russell has demonstrated a similar point in relation to the Australian colonial gentility. Despite their image as a static and transplanted ruling bloc, closer examination reveals the “reality of an endlessly evolving and responsive social group.”80 Working along the grain illuminates a gap, therefore, between the struggle required to secure hegemony and aspirations by managerial and professional men for a seamless, imagined world or any assumptions of control. For a politically inflected investigation, this gap functions as a productive analytic space.

79 This goes to the heart of the question of counter-strategy. Lipsitz, for example, identifies ethnicity as an ever-changing social and historical phenomena. He demonstrates that “[p]olitical and cultural struggles over power have shaped the contours and dimensions of racism differently in different eras.” See Lipsitz, op.cit., 5. There is also a need for political recognition that interest need not be oppressive, that it can in fact be transformative; “interest can be expressed in different ways and interest can be transcendent – nothing can be deduced mechanically from this,” Connell, ‘Gender and Power’, op.cit., 263-265;
1.5 A Note On Method and Sources

To address the aim and research questions posed by this thesis my research investigates specific practices of particular groups of managerial and professional men within several different social settings and organisational contexts – which I take to be distinct but interrelated terrains. With each terrain and each group of men I commenced my inquiry by considering the mundane and minute ways these men managed people and the way they managed knowledge during post-war modernisation: their practice, their theory and their articulation of aspiration. I follow managerial and professional men as they mediate and manage the relationships central to each setting. In each terrain I find these men framing problems and enacting solutions; a process or intervention that makes natural and invisible the connections of interest, of advantage or disadvantage, that are being constantly recreated. An intervention, I contend, that expresses a detailed comfort with the mechanics and entailments of hegemony. Not a biography of particular men, their experiences or ideal identities, this is a biography of interventions.

Though I have not attempted to provide a complete history of each setting, its origins or the entire engagement of managerial and professional men within it, I do observe these men adapting their interventions to the changing conditions in post-war Australia. In each terrain I trace the emergence of new techniques that enable managerial and professional men’s interventions. These emerging techniques reveal transformations in the mechanics of hegemony, providing an opportunity to join the history of each terrain and the practices of managerial and professional men with the history of government during modernisation.

The research to support my method is based upon sources generated by managerial and professional men. I utilise a unique set of sources in each chapter appropriate to the particular terrain and group of men under examination and the relationships they mediate. At a general level my emphasis on process has

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81 I have called each social setting a terrain. I am aware that Bourdieu has usefully deployed the concept of “fields”. However, fields, for Bourdieu, have their own internal logics that encompass both institutions and individuals generally competing for some kind of dominance. It is within fields that a specific habitus is developed. In addition Rose, Dean and Foucault discuss power operating in particular ‘regimes’ or domains of government that make the operation of power intelligible. I have adopted a much looser framework to understand terrains. For fields see P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1990. For regimes see M. Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*, Sage Publications, London, 1999, 18-23. I discuss the terrains selected for examination with further detail in section 1.6.

82 At the commencement of each chapter I provide, in footnotes, precise details on the particular collection of material utilised in the respective chapter.
encouraged use of materials that give expression to the ideas and understandings that lie behind the interventions and techniques enacted in each terrain. In my research, structured around a distinct occupational group (personnel management and market research) or bundle of occupational groups (parenting and marriage guidance), the output of representative bodies or professional associations has provided a crucial opening. Through newsletters, journals, conference proceedings, minutes of committee meetings, training texts and career advice managerial and professional men articulated their purpose, practice and presence in each setting. These materials are functional texts, rarely drifting from their immediate operational imperatives. But in their technical density and operational specificity, they provide a purposeful window to quotidian practice. Rotary, as an organisation of professional and managerial men, shared the characteristics of professional associations and thus the men of Rotary generated a similar archive for my research.

In each setting managerial and professional men make loquacious subjects. Wanting to speak and having the capacity to speak ensures a cornucopia of archival creation. There is so much these men produce. Everywhere, it seems, managerial and professional men are engaging, talking, managing and producing texts. Their public presence is overwhelming. For effective reading along the grain use of this body of evidence depends on recognition of two aspects symptomatic to these men’s authorship. First, in identifying and responding to the changing conditions of different terrains managerial and professional men were constantly interpreting and positioning people in relationships. The texts of managerial and professional men are populated by imagined subjects and communities. In this context my purpose is not to explore how the imagined interacted with the real but to understand what the imagined tell us about the men imagining. I conceptualise and use these texts as interested artefacts rather than as blueprints of how (other) subjects or communities existed in, experienced or reacted to social relations.

Second, managerial and professional men’s creation of public sources occurs in such a way that their own position as authors and subjects/objects is obscured. Men’s direct discussion of their own experiences, feelings or reference to a (defined or undefined) masculinity or class location are uncommon in the
public sources I scrutinize. In Hearn’s informative taxonomy of men theorizing
men, managerial and professional men’s texts of the post-war period fall into the
“absent, avoided or present yet non-problematic” category.\(^{83}\) The sources I use
and the textual absence of men reflect the alibis, discussed above, that make
grappling with men’s specific participation in the mechanics of hegemony so
obscure. Absence is symptomatic of the naturalising of social relations but it also
takes the critical reader to those social relations. Absence is a strategy in which
power is rendered unproblematic and as a result it becomes profoundly revealing
and \textit{present} in these sources.

Rather than rendering the effusive utterances of my subjects redundant both
these aspects point to the salience of exploring discursive practice. The concept of
discursive practice iterates the point that the meaning of physical objects and
patterns of practice must be understood by locating the system of socially
constructed relationships they exist within.\(^{84}\) Discursive practice highlights the
materiality of discourses and their location in relations and it asks, as Foucault
suggests, “how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?”\(^{85}\)
But analysis of discursive practice also calls attention to the agent making these
decisions. It brings interest into the foreground and becomes an entry point for
locating men’s engagement with social relations. The explicit talk of their gender
and class may rarely be present in the source material but gender and class are
always everywhere being ‘done’.

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\(^{83}\) “Men,” says Hearn, “are constantly known, referred to, implicated, assumed as the subject of discourse … Men are
implicitly talked of, yet rarely talked of explicitly. They are shown but not said, visible but not questioned.” Hearn,

\(^{84}\) Foucault sees discursive practices as formations arising “[w]hen ever one can describe, between a number of
statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic
choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functioning’s, transformations).” M.

Laclau and Mouffe provide the famous example of the football and the spherical object to explain the meaning of
discursive practice: “If I kick a spherical object in the street or if I kick a ball in a football match, the physical fact is
the same, but its meaning is different. The object is a football only to the extent that it establishes a system of relations
with other objects, and these relations are not given by the mere referential materiality of the objects but are, rather,
This is quoted and discussed in M. Barrett, \textit{The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault}, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991,
76.

In addition, however, and in response to Laclau and Mouffe’s interpretation it is valuable to reiterate the materialist
impulse that co-exists with my use of discursive practice. Hardt and Negri, among many others, were keen to
distinguish critique from recreation: “Let us return to speaking about things, and about theories as part of things, let
us enter the linguistic sphere not to make it a game, but to see how much reality it grasps.” Hardt & Negri, ‘Labor of
Dionysus’, op. cit., 19.

1.6 Terrains of Intervention: an overview of chapters

Each chapter in my thesis follows managerial and professional men as they walk off Brack’s frame, through the terrains of my investigations and towards their own destinations. The connection between chapters is underscored by the chapter progression, which emulates the march of Brack’s men: I proceed from the workplace, through the market, into the family and then to the civic and the managerial and professional man as citizen. These selected terrains and the particular interventions within them form samples. They portend a more total history of the comfort of managerial and professional men in hegemony and the completeness of men’s engagement with social relations. The flow of chapters also allows me to pick up and return to a number of less prominent themes. These themes are carried like remora, attached to my broader analytic framework, enriching the understanding of comfort.

Before entering the terrains, in Chapter Two I have placed the period I study, the process I observe and the men I target in some context. I explore the connected histories of modernisation and government, emphasising the political dynamic that shapes their composition in liberal democracy. My purpose in Chapter Two is to develop an understanding of the changed circumstances creating and confronting managerial and professional men in modernisation and to indicate the tools at their disposal. This background demonstrates why in modernisation government gains ascendency as the principal strategy to the operation of power and the achievement of hegemony. In addition, by moving beyond existing accounts of government and modernisation Chapter Two creates the theoretical space for linking the practices of these men to the regeneration of hegemony.

From examining the spaces of my project and the context of modernisation in Chapter Two, the four following chapters each individually address a selected terrain. In Chapter Three my thesis considers the workplace and the discursive practices of personnel managers as they positioned themselves to mediate the relationship between workers and the workplace. The chapter outlines the emergence of what personnel managers referred to as ‘the positive approach’ or ‘human relations’ in personnel management. The positive approach offered a new

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86 In this I also emulate a progression found in Blumin’s analysis of middle-class formation; see Blumin, op.cit., 312.
way for personnel managers to understand relationships in the workplace. It sought to represent the workplace in psychological terms, a place of mutual satisfaction and fulfilment rather than of irreconcilable difference. Chapter Three demonstrates the positive approach to be a response to the conditions of modernisation, a technique of government that invested the class and gender interests of personnel managers into the workplace. In this chapter I also introduce the centrality of gender to the exercise of authority and the utility of concepts of service, citizenship and the common good for occluding the investments managerial and professional men make through their interventions.

Debates on the emergence of consumer societies or consumerism, on the semiotics of advertising and the politics of purchasing power, to name a few, have contributed in different ways to mapping the social and economic history of post-war Australian society. In Chapter Four I turn to the familiar terrain of the consumer market. I analyse the discursive practices of market researchers as they mediated a relationship between producers and consumers and as they addressed the problem of knowing the consumer, their needs and desires. In this terrain the transformation to government is represented by the emergence of the marketing concept, a technique that depended on aligning the desire of consumers to products and mobilising those consumers to purchase. The chapter illustrates that market research men, while working with the freedom and choice of consumers, nevertheless invested their own class and gender interests into the organisation of consumption. My analysis foregrounds the connection found in government between the political philosophy and practice of liberalism and its interested outcomes. Furthermore, and in addition to demonstrating the gendered interests served, the chapter reiterates the centrality of gender to the process enacted by these market research men.

In Chapter Five I consider the more intimate terrain of the family. This chapter utilises two sets of inter-related discursive practices, exploring the interventions of managerial and professional men in marriage guidance and in parenting advice. Through their guidance work these men manage and mediate relationships between family subjects (between mother, father and children), seeking to ameliorate a perception of insecurity in the environment of these relationships. I demonstrate that guidance practices relied on techniques of
government, techniques expressed in advocacy for what I have termed ‘natural’ and ‘democratic’ relationships in the family. To explore the class and gender investments these managerial and professional men were making in their guidance I focus my analysis, in Chapter Five, on advice for fatherhood. Examining the advice on fatherhood, this chapter illustrates that the tender ties of family were crucial for the regeneration of hegemony.

In Chapter Six I continue the movement inwards, exploring citizenship and the civic terrain through the discursive practices of men engaged in service organisations, specifically Rotary Clubs. In this chapter I adapt my method in order to consider managerial and professional men’s understandings of their own participation in Rotary and its relationship to hegemony. Membership of Rotary enabled men to position themselves as civic managers and they understood their own participation in Rotary through the concepts of service and fellowship. These two concepts of service and fellowship rearticulate many of the features evident across the interventions of managerial and professional men. Both concepts reveal the class and gender investments made through the interventions of managerial and professional men and both illuminate the foundations of authority that enabled these men to participate in the regeneration of hegemony.

I return to Brack’s impermissible portrait in Chapter Seven to briefly review the main conclusions from the thesis. Each chapter and the biography of each intervention advances the multiple strands of my critical history of managerial and professional men. These particular men and their interventions provide a clear illustration of the aim in this thesis: to examine the participation and interest of managerial and professional men in the regeneration of hegemony.
CHAPTER TWO

On the ‘frontier of control’:

Connecting Histories of Modernisation and Government

2.1 Introduction
This chapter considers the context of the post-war period and the unique position of managerial and professional men in the period. Its purpose is to illuminate the changed circumstances creating and confronting managerial and professional men, compelling their interventions, informing their techniques and shaping their participation in post-war society. By identifying the context of the period, the men and their circumstances, the chapter underscores the utility of my method and analytic framework for reading the comfort of managerial and professional men.

To create a sense of context this chapter addresses machinations in twentieth-century modernisation, exploring modernisation’s political dynamic and examining three responses pertinent to the emerging practices and role of managerial and professional men. The chapter then moves to consider Foucault’s understanding of power and the passage towards government as a positive or productive mode of power. Foucault’s use of government draws new lines for investigating power and enables an understanding of how power operates through the practices of these men. But in the final section of this chapter I add to the meaning of government to establish its relevance in historicizing the accomplishment of hegemony. By connecting the history of government with the history of modernisation I place alongside the question of how power operates the equally important interrogations of who, what and why. I connect these men’s participation in the emergence of government to their interests in social relations during modernisation to illustrate that hegemony is being built by men who
sustain their own comfort in the process. As a result, this chapter creates the context to bring the three core elements of my thesis framework together before applying them in local settings.

2.2 The Limits of Social Control: a prologue

Published in the *IPA Review* on the eve of the 1949 Federal election, Douglas Copland’s essay ‘The Limits of Social Control’ presents an analysis that embodies the liberal vision of post-war society.¹ Ostensibly written for the benefit of a conservative readership in order to mark boundary lines for legitimate state intervention in the post-war economy, the centrepiece of Copland’s essay is an exposition of the eminence within liberal democracy of individual enterprise and freedom. Without enterprise, Copland argued, the purpose of community is compromised and, more troubling, “economic progress is jeopardised”.² Copland’s liberal perspective on state intervention and enterprise, though undoubtedly authoritative, was not in any way unusual. The IPA and its publications were playing in this period a significant role in equipping the political philosophy and practice of conservative liberalism in post-war Australia.³ In the same 1949 edition of the *IPA Review* were included similar pieces to Copland’s that promised to “set out and appraise … the main divergences of viewpoint” between socialism and free enterprise reputedly at stake in the forthcoming election.⁴ But read at another level, Copland’s discussion of state intervention and freedom makes clear the central concerns of this chapter. Copland’s essay paints a portrait of the political composition of modernisation, the centrality of freedom to legitimate operations of power and the interweaving of class and gender interests within this power. It is a portrait that

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² Copland, op.cit., 152.
³ The Institute of Public Affairs had been established by the Victorian Branch of the Associated Chamber of Manufacturers of Australia (who included leading industrialists such as Herbert Gepp) as a think-tank designed to counter socialist thought. The IPA, under the leadership of C. D. Kemp, played a significant role in the formation of the Liberal Party in 1944. On the role of the IPA in conservative thought and organising see M. Simms, *A Liberal Nation: The Liberal Party and Australian Politics*, Hale and Ironmonger, Sydney, 1982.
positions managerial and professional men and discloses the purpose in their practices.

Copland framed his essay around previous recommendations for state intervention made during his contribution to a conference on ‘Authority and the Individual’ in 1936. In framing his essay around this speech, Copland directly called attention to shifts in the circumstances of intervention and the limits of control. According to Copland state intervention had, in 1949, reached a level where, if inched forward, it would compromise the “workable economy”. The limits of state intervention and the limits of social control had been reached. “The time has come,” Copland remarked, “for a stay order in extensions of State activity …” The prescription of this limit is acknowledged by Copland to be the product of historical context and, by direct implication, of political circumstance:

These limits, as we have seen in the past 10 years, are not fixed; there is a sort of moving frontier of control and the limits have to be considered in relation to this frontier. The frontier has itself advanced greatly in recent years, even in the United States, where the doctrines of the New Deal seem to have come to stay.

The frontier was a political space and the appropriate limits depended on the balance of political forces within that space: “it is, in part, as it always has been, the result of pressures within the economy that no political structure in a democracy can resist.” Quoting his 1936 speech, Copland spelt out (without naming the working class) the political problematic shaping the frontier:

Capitalism under the control of the entrepreneur guided mainly by considerations of maximum profit is now completely discredited. It does not give economic security to the masses of the people; it does not provide the administrative machinery whereby increased technical efficiency is transformed easily into a generally higher standard of living; it does not furnish society with the social institutions required to meet the strains imposed by economic fluctuations and rapid technical progress; it does not provide the increasing range of free or collective goods that enter more and more into the standard of living.

In 1949 “the basic problem remain[ed] the same”. On the frontier the agitations and aspirations of the “masses of the people” needed to be carefully balanced by

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5 Copland, op.cit., 160.
6 Copland, op.cit., 153.
7 Copland, op.cit., 153/4.
8 Copland, op.cit., 151/2.
9 Copland, op.cit., 151.
strategic interventions under the reasoned direction of the entrepreneur. Copland’s metaphor of the frontier directly acknowledged that the history of modernisation was a political history, a history not of shifting economic fashion or fluctuating levels of economic growth but of composition and recomposition by capital in response to class struggle. In the body of this chapter and the thesis more generally it is this political history of modernisation that I explore.

Copland’s awareness of the political context in modernisation is evidenced also in his explication of the acceptable grounds for intervention in the economy. Of the six grounds for state intervention, the two most salient and which directly addressed the political context of modernisation were the grounds of security and stability. Security or “covering risk” was idiom for meliorating the most immediately oppressive circumstances of capital; it was also the minimal demand made against the state by the working class. Once again Copland made explicit the political context in which the demand for intervention on the grounds of security was acceptable:

The demand for security is the most powerful political force in modern democracies, and it has affected the sphere of operations of the State in recent years more than any other single force.  

The other ground, stability, referenced the equally imperative demand to protect capital from extremes in the ‘unfettered’ operation of the market:

The goal of stability involves avoiding extremes of either boom or depression, and not merely action to restore activity when times are bad. It requires also the co-operation of all important economic groups in the community.

In the post-war context, intervention to ensure stability found direct expression in the policy of full-employment and the fiscal and monetary mechanisms implemented to maintain full-employment. Copland was eager to emphasise the benefits to capital. “Stability at a high level,” he remarked, “is obviously a good thing for business, and some leaders of enterprise may well bask in the sunshine of their improved milieu.” Intervention, Copland was arguing, could meet the working class challenge without compromising the interests and imperatives of capital. Intervention could be strategic; the frontier of control could serve the interests of capital.

10 Copland, op.cit., 155.
11 Copland, op.cit., 156.
12 Copland, op.cit., 159.
Copland believed that between his 1936 speech and his 1949 essay the emergence of the ‘social justice State’ had taken intervention to the boundaries of the frontier, to the boundaries of what was acceptable in a liberal democracy. Central to Copland’s argument against further intervention was the primacy given to individual freedom and the perspective that control could suppress freedom and, in so doing, limit the capacity of capitalism to “yield its best fruits”. On the frontier of control

the question that determines the issue [of intervention] is whether there is still scope for real enterprise, for the entrepreneur with imagination, courage and initiative to forge ahead, and in the process to enrich the community as well as himself.

On the frontier of control, Copland suggested, the mobilisation of freedom enriched self and community, meeting the interests of an individual and a common good. Control in the form of domination, suppression and proscription could only diminish the possible returns. Enterprise and the interests of stability and security depended, in Copland’s view, on enabling freedom. In the remainder of this chapter I look more closely at freedom in liberal democracy and explore how freedom became integral to the operation of power and the “fruits” of stability and security. Copland’s essay encourages viewing freedom as a part of the political dynamic in modernisation; like modernisation, freedom must be understood through the context of social relations in order to appreciate its connection to the regeneration of hegemony.

To underscore the argument against further intervention, Copland relied in his essay upon gendered images to populate the frontier of control. On the frontier are men compromised in their capacity to achieve stability and security. There was the entrepreneur of capitalism in its early days; unbounded in his singular pursuit of profit, unresponsive to the calls for a common good and unable to reflect on the impact of insecurity and instability. With this entrepreneur was the monopolist, either capitalist or trade unionist, impeding the possibilities of production and failing to see the plan enacted by intervention. Like the early capitalist, monopolists limit the achievement of either stability or security, though they themselves may be the product of the “corroding

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13 Copland, op.cit., 152.
14 Copland, op.cit., 159.
influences” of excessive stability and security. All of these different men are overwhelmed by the heroic entrepreneur envisaged by Copland. The man who could “enrich himself and the community”. The man who would be not merely a provider of wealth, a breadwinner, but who through service could achieve stability and security for all.

Finally, in envisaging his man on the frontier Copland called upon the sound development of “the administrative machinery” of intervention. In so doing Copland implied a special kind of entrepreneur: a man who would calibrate stability and security, adjust freedom and control and balance the frontier in post-war modernisation. The man Copland advocated was not his own doppelganger, the entrepreneur-economist and social critic, the intellectual or business leader. Instead, Copland suggested someone less prominent: an operator, a managerial and professional man.

Copland mobilised the metaphor of frontier to convey a sense of change over time and urgency for limits to intervention. Moreover, his metaphor portrayed the contested dynamic within liberal democracy. Copland’s essay illustrates key issues instructive to this chapter. He engaged with how changes in the economy could be harnessed, how power could be legitimately expressed, how “stability”, or the imperatives of capital, could be maintained. He positioned managerial and professional men as integral to these processes. Copland’s frontier metaphor draws attention to the connecting histories of government and modernisation, their composition through political struggle, their articulation of interest and their dependence on particular interested operators. I understand the frontier of control to signify that place where hegemony is regenerated, a frontier occupied by managerial and professional men. Through the remainder of this chapter I take up each of these insights as I develop the context in which the questions of my thesis are asked.

2.3 A History of Modernisation

Twentieth-century modernisation is sometimes presented as the “coming of objects”; an electric event in the history of the nation when empty suburbs were
filled with houses and empty houses were filled with commodities.\textsuperscript{15} This evocative representation is true to the extent that modernisation \textit{is} about expansion in the productive capacity of the economy and the greater availability, in general terms, of this productive capacity. Such a representation also encourages the perception that modernisation was a moment; the past and future contained in one present.\textsuperscript{16} It follows, generally, that this moment emerged in Australia from the Second World War. The post-war period marks the point of modernisation’s arrival in Australia, war dividing the age of prosperity from the previous age of catastrophe.\textsuperscript{17}

To build my critical history of managerial and professional men in post-war Australia and to understand the circumstances that shaped these men I have worked with a different understanding of modernisation. On the one hand I understand modernisation as an economic narrative, a fact of economic history, as much as of political and cultural history,\textsuperscript{18} a gradual process of change in the twentieth century that encompasses expansion in productive capacity but also the terms of that growth, who it was delivered to and how it was understood across time. On the other, modernisation is a social narrative; a process not separate from economic conditions but existing in landscapes that may not be the economy. In this way modernisation describes the emergence of a set of problems and ways to imagine and resolve them.

On balance, my understanding of modernisation recognises a process bound in history and developed through time (before, during and after the post-war period that is the focus of my thesis). Modernisation, as a process, is not separate from the dynamic of politics or the operations of power; it is pursued for particular interests and it is transformed by those interests. Modernisation can therefore be understood as a series of realignments in the accomplishment of hegemony. In the following section I briefly address this political dynamic in the history of modernisation. I also draw out three aspects of the liberal response


\textsuperscript{16} K. Ross, op.cit., 22: “With such and such a product, the ad reads, traditions, the French way of life, are both conserved and gone beyond; past and future are one, you can change without changing.”


\textsuperscript{18} On the history of the working class, Thompson remarked: “The making of the working class is a fact of political and cultural, as much as of economic, history.” E.P. Thompson, \textit{The Making of the English Working Class}, Penguin, Hammondsworth, revised edition, 1968, 212.
generated during the inter-war period to highlight modernisation’s history. These aspects contextualise the transformed circumstances of managerial and professional men in the post-war period. The response to the political dynamic in modernisation and the particular aspects I explore illuminate the position of these men as operators, locating them in the regeneration of hegemony.

The most immediately striking feature of the political dynamic in modernisation is the rising coherence and significance of the working-class challenge to capitalism in the first half of the twentieth century. The Australian experience of this struggle has been well documented. The fifty years prior to the inter-war decades had seen a remarkable growth in the organised power of labour in Australia. Labour, particularly militant labour, held the capacity to influence the labour process and to resist exploitation. It was capable of putting forward an alternative social vision (or more simply, an opposition) that disrupted the objectives of employers. This growth in organised labour produced the dual responses of tangible concessions to labour demands and tangible repressions of labour’s liberties. The power of labour also underscored the paradox within the operation of capitalism:

From the beginning of the century, capital was increasingly confronted with its own dependence upon labour. This expressed itself both in apprehension of the organised labour movement and in growing difficulty in raising surplus value production sufficiently to offset the rising costs of investment. The imperialist flight of capital to a new workforce, new raw materials and new markets offset the difficulties but also raised inter-capitalist competition to a new level of inter-imperialist rivalry and war.

Labour was not simply a mute resource that rationally adjusted itself according to supply and demand. The human needs and aspirations of labour and their political expression challenged the exploitation inherent in capitalist accumulation. The competing interests of labour and capital acted, therefore, as creative forces. The emergence of modernisation and its manifestation across the first fifty years of


the twentieth century reflected this political dynamic of response and reaction. In modernisation, the basic nature of capitalism had not changed but the centrality of a powerful working class required acknowledgement and response from capital.

The profound misery experienced in the Depression, the reaction it provoked among the working class and the fear of more radical reaction also marked a turning point in the narrative of modernisation during the first half of the twentieth century. The Depression, to the individuals caught within its clutches, meant immediate hardship and lasting fear.22 To the working class, the period could be accurately characterised as one of ‘demoralisation and degradation’.23 High levels of unemployment and long-term unemployment,24 cuts in real wages,25 evictions, malnutrition, poor health26 and the disintegration of families: these were the conditions faced by the working class in the Depression. Self-employed professionals and the white-collar workers of the fledgling middle class were also adversely affected.27 In addition, the misery of the Depression created a legacy that would continue to reverberate in the minds of many for decades to come. This legacy gave the misery of the Depression a presence even when economic and social circumstances had moved on.28 The Depression had defied an order and vision of unfolding economic growth in modernisation. It challenged the relative continuity of profit, a belief in future profit and, as I shall explore further below, also rendered futile the traditional tools for stability.

John Maynard Keynes’ contributions in the inter-war period, including the publication of *The General Theory* in 1936, explicitly recognised this dual circumstance of Depression and working-class power.29 An immediate consensus

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23 Buckley, op.cit., 107.
24 The census of June 1933 recorded that a third of males unemployed in 1933 had been unemployed for over three years; Buckley, op.cit., 107.
25 Roe, op.cit., 108; see also Buckley, op.cit., 94.
26 Buckley, op.cit., 138.
27 Buckley, op.cit., 111-115.
may not have immediately coalesced around Keynesian theory and practice, however by the 1930s and 1940s the industrial and intellectual leadership in liberal democracies including Australia were articulating a shared understanding of the political dynamic at issue. Keynes acknowledged that organised labour had been accumulating considerable power for at least fifty years and that the potential of this power had reached a flashpoint in Russia in 1917. Keynes was patently aware of the political dimensions driving modernisation:

The idea of the old-world party, that you can, for example, alter the value of money and then leave the consequential adjustments to be brought about by the forces of supply and demand, belongs to the days of fifty or a hundred years ago when trade unions were powerless, and when the economic juggernaut was allowed to crash along the highway of progress without obstruction and even with applause.

Antonio Negri has suggested that Keynes identified in his work an ‘inner connection’ between 1917 and 1929. Keynes’ understanding of the political dynamic in modernisation inspired his assessment of the Depression and the crisis in economic theory. According to Negri, Keynes responded to the crescendo of power in organised labour and social and economic failure in the Depression by working from the perspective that “[t]he class can neither be put down nor removed. The only option is to understand the way it moves, and regulate its revolution.”

Acknowledging Keynes’ reading of the political dynamic in modernisation suggests that the liberal responses to modernisation reflected a profound reconciliation; articulating a strategy where security (the demands of labour) and stability (the imperatives of capital) could productively interact for the interests of the system and the continued accomplishment of hegemony. It is this perspective that encourages Copland’s metaphor of frontier and its

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30 Rowse’s analysis of the inter-war ‘new liberalism’ in Australia confirms this contiguity. On the value of Keynes as a tool for these intellectuals Rowse remarks: “Keynesian economics, although understood by only a specialist section of intellectuals by 1945, gave New Liberal theorists of the ethical interventionist state a pertinacity to capitalist problems which they had previously lacked.” T. Rowse, *Liberalism and National Character*, Kibble, Melbourne, 1978, 152; see also comments at 28, 148 & 253.


32 This remark by Keynes comes from his article ‘Am I a Liberal?’ cited in Holloway, op.cit., 13.


34 Negri, op.cit., 45. Negri also remarks: “Working-class political revolution could only be avoided by recognizing and accepting the new relation of class forces, while making the working class function within an overall mechanism that would ‘sublimate’ its continuous struggle for power into a dynamic element within the system. The working class was to be controlled functionally within a series of mechanisms of equilibrium that would be dynamically readjusted from time to time by regulated phasing of the ‘incomes revolution.’” Negri, op.cit., 28.
associations with contest, conquest, the absence and presence of the rule of law. Labour was pushing the frontier forward, challenging the limits to modernisation and threatening the stability of capital. The industrial and intellectual leadership in liberal democracy recognised a need to adjust to this shifting frontier; to regulate and manage.\textsuperscript{35}

In the remainder of this section I consider three aspects of the liberal response to the political dynamic in modernisation, beginning with this first general acknowledgement of the need to adjust and manage. For the purpose of illustration I give emphasis in my exposition to economic theory and the emergence of the managerial approach to the economy. But, each of the three aspects explored inform far wider aspects of liberal social thought and practice in the inter-war to post-war decades. Keynesianism (and ‘theory-informed policy’ more generally) is just one vehicle for progressing the interests observed in the dynamic of modernisation.\textsuperscript{36}

In the inter-war period, particularly prior to the Depression, neo-classical economic theory provided the dominant understanding of the economy.\textsuperscript{37} Neo-classical theory identified the economy as a self-regulating system that tended naturally, in the long-term, to equilibrium.\textsuperscript{38} Market forces were identified as the most effective mechanisms for directing the economy to equilibrium (essentially by self correction). The emerging science of economics asserted that a naturally competitive system generated the most effective use of resources, producing the best outcome for all people. The expanding productive capacity of pre-Depression modernisation was identified as the outcome of both new resources and the new science of workplace regulation that enabled the more effective

\textsuperscript{35} This was a perspective that was also recognised by the socialist critics of modernisation as well. With Marx being the first and most obvious of these (see for discussion D. Harvey, \textit{The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change}, Blackwell, Cambridge, 1989, Chapter Five, Seven and Eight). Gramsci’s analysis of Fordism also identifies this recognition within capital of the political dynamic to modernisation and the importance of intervention (evidenced in Fordism); see A. Gramsci, \textit{Selections from Prison Notebooks}, Q. Hoare & G. Novell-Smith (eds & trans), Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971, Part Two, Chapter Three.

\textsuperscript{36} Negri, for example, can be criticised for overemphasising the role of economic theory in determining the actions of the industrial and intellectual leadership of liberal democracy. The impact of which is to underplay interest in the generation of ‘theory informed policy’ and to underplay the role of the ruling bloc in creating spaces for theory to operate. This point is evident in John Holloway’s critique of Negri; J. Holloway, \textit{Change the World Without Taking Power}, Pluto Press, London, 2002.


\textsuperscript{38} On neo-classical economics in Australia see, for example, Whitwell, op.cit., 25-66.
utilisation of available resources. Neo-classical economics also looked upon most state intervention in the economy (beyond micro adjustments to establish competition) as negative. From this theoretical backdrop some economists in the wake of the Depression argued that the state had overstepped the mark, disrupted the market and created the economic conditions of the Depression.\(^\text{39}\) The Commonwealth government had been forced during and just after the Depression to respond to particular limited demands for some intervention. But generally the government continued to hold a neo-classical fatalism about its capacity to influence economic circumstance.

The collapse in economic growth during the Depression, the evident misery and the associated threat to social order challenged both the validity of neo-classical economic theory and the prevailing “piecemeal” role of the state in the economy.\(^\text{40}\) The state and neo-classical economics had failed to prevent the Depression, they had failed to adequately explain the cause of the Depression or point effectively to any resolution. By recognising the political dynamic in modernisation and by understanding the threat posed by the Depression, Keynes (among others) articulated an alternative strategy to neo-classical economics. Keynes’ analysis recognised a fundamental role for managing modernisation. He advanced the call for direct and indirect intervention into those factors influencing economic equilibrium and he envisaged an active role for the state.\(^\text{41}\) Imbalance would be controlled. Stability for capital and security for workers would be obtained. Where in the Depression demand failed to keep pace with supply, the Keynesian response via the theory of effective demand proposed a “continual revolution of incomes and propensity to consume.”\(^\text{42}\) The state could register and respond to the threat of disequilibrium generated by labour with new weapons of containment.\(^\text{43}\) The economy and society could also be managed.

Although economic historians like Greg Whitwell and Paul Smyth disagree on whether there was a “fundamental theoretical acceptance of Keynesianism” in

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\(^{39}\) Whitwell, op.cit., 37.

\(^{40}\) Whitwell, op.cit., 57. Of course there was also “strong indirect pressure” to maintain in Australia the neo-classical approach that, at this point, was seen as in the best interests for capital.

\(^{41}\) Whitwell states: “The system could not be left alone. It required constant supervision and direction.” Whitwell, op.cit., 48.

\(^{42}\) Negri, op.cit., 45. On the ‘massification’ of demand (ie. consumerism, discussed later in Chapter Four of this thesis) as a political strategy see also Negri, op.cit., 39.

\(^{43}\) Negri outlines this shift in the role of the state through the example of Keynes’ theory on the rate of interest; see Negri, op.cit., 46/7. Whitwell also provides a discussion on the rate of interest; see Whitwell, op.cit., 43.
Australia between 1935 and 1945, the impetus toward greater government intervention is indisputable.\(^{44}\) The Brigden report (1927-1929) was one of the earliest expressions of this movement in inter-war modernisation towards managing the economy. Another inter-war indication was the establishment of the ‘Finance and Economic Advisory Committee’ (particularly from 1938-1941), which brought together key liberal intellectuals to advise on an economic (as opposed to purely financial) role for the state.\(^ {45}\) Nevertheless, the macabre reflection on the salience of the Second World War, that “[d]eath is the greatest of all the Keynesians”, is applicable in the Australian experience of modernisation.\(^ {46}\) The balanced budget was abandoned in 1939 and the war effort turned production and lingering unemployment around. The war situation generated a recognition of the efficacy of the Keynesian direction for intervention and for the economic and social principles that lay behind it.\(^ {47}\) Whitwell has demonstrated the shift within the mechanics of government bureaucracy, from a financial approach to a managerial approach. Simultaneously, the amelioration of unemployment by the management of the war economy also created what Whitwell has termed ‘the spectre of full employment occasioned by the war’.\(^ {48}\) There was popular recognition that after the war “public opinion will [not] tolerate the existence of widespread unemployment [and] there will inevitably be a demand for a continuance of government expenditure.”\(^ {49}\) The potential efficacy of government intervention became a political reality. According to Whitwell, by the war’s conclusion

> [t]here was broad agreement among both government and opposition parties that some measure of active economic management was not only possible but necessary. Such management would be the saviour of

\(^{44}\) Smyth, op.cit., 31.

\(^{45}\) The ‘F & E Committee’, as it was known, was crucial to bringing some of the key liberal intellectuals (such as Coombs, Copland, Gihlin, Mills, Walker, Wilson) together; see Whitwell, op.cit., 64. The consensus around planning was overwhelming, as Whitwell and Smyth demonstrate. Copland continued to be at the forefront of these debates and his argument, cited in the introduction to this chapter, balancing individual interests and the overall managerial imperative were influential. Commenting on post-war reconstruction Copland remarked: “It is not socialism which will crush the individual. It is the economy of mass production which has crushed the individual. Only if we organise ourselves to control this Frankenstein monster of individual production – and we can do so only through as far-reaching an institution as the State, representative of the whole community – can we hope to control mass production and monopoly, avoid unemployment, and regain real freedom.” See Whitwell, op.cit., 71.

\(^{46}\) Holloway is citing Mattick here; see Holloway, op.cit., 20; see also Negri, op.cit., 49.

\(^{47}\) Whitwell, op.cit., 68; see also Smyth, op.cit., 43.

\(^{48}\) Whitwell, op.cit., 60.

\(^{49}\) Whitwell is quoting Roland Wilson’s submission to a 1942 Federal Parliamentary inquiry, see Whitwell, op.cit., 61.
the Australian capitalist system. It would be the exorcist of the insecurity caused by the depression.\textsuperscript{50}

The war and early post-war situation compelled further local refinement and political engagement about the meaning of Keynes. For many in the 1940s, the Keynesian approach represented an opportunity to deliver on tangible social benefits. This was most prominently expressed in the commitment to full-employment. According to Smyth “full employment was not an economic concept, it was paradigmatic of a new social approach to economics.”\textsuperscript{51} Smyth’s analysis of shifts in economic theory and practice in Australia emphasises the political diversity that could be held under the broad Keynesian umbrella. But, as Tim Rowse argues, this diversity fitted squarely within the context of liberal democracy (whatever the longer term ambitions held by those Smyth labels “fabian socialists” may have been) and the imperative to regulate the demands of labour.\textsuperscript{52}

Within modernisation a new understanding of the economy as a problematic space emerged. With it a new solution, in the form of Keynesian intervention, was also proffered; balance could be created by calibrating inputs and outputs in the context of overall objectives understood in both economic and social terms. At a broader level this change in economic theory and practice during the inter-war period represented the development of a managerial approach. The political dynamic in modernisation could be rerouted, the demands of labour (simplified and depoliticised, as Copland’s essay suggests, under the rubric of security) identified as a target to be successfully managed. The frontier was now a space for intervention, a place for the men in management to occupy.

While the importance of managing was first recognised in the inter-war decades among the prominent economists and social scientists who comprise the intellectual leadership of liberal democracy, as modernisation progressed the need to actually manage required a new ‘cadre of corporate management’. The

\textsuperscript{50} Whitwell, op.cit. 56/7.  
\textsuperscript{51} Smyth, op.cit., 46.  
\textsuperscript{52} Smyth misreads the political diversity in the use of Keynesianism. He suggests that the “dominant view in Australia was not of Keynesianism to save capitalism, but more of the variant that sought to deliver a part-socialism.” Advocates for this ‘part-socialism’, those in the war-time Labor government and their advisers, remained captured in the framework of liberal democracy, a more benign version without doubt, but still a liberal democracy; see Smyth, op.cit., 67.
intellectual entrepreneurs required the accompaniment of a ‘new breed of managers’. The second key element of the response shaping the history of modernisation in the inter-war period was the accelerating dependence on specialised managerial professions that claimed to offer particular sets of expertise and knowledge. Modernisation would be maintained by operators. Men able to attend to minute adjustments, men capable of managing an increasingly complex intellectual and technical apparatus.

The economics profession provided the model for this development. Despite the exposure of limitations to neo-classical economics, perhaps even because of these limitations, economic expertise was becoming the principal currency of knowledge. The influence of the economics profession on government and business in the inter-war decades accelerated. In a recent analysis touching on the history of the economics profession in Australia, Michael Crozier has argued that the Brigden Report marks a significant signpost in the rise of the economists. [It signalled] a crucial moment when the economists – rather than social reformers of earlier generations – started to have a serious voice in public policy … From the 1930s onwards Australian professional economists [were] injecting social scientific research and analysis into the formation of public policy. In the process they started to play a significant role in the shaping of Australian social development.

Economics took a leading role in social policy and research during the inter-war decades. The emphasis on ‘public policy’ is significant. Economic policy or advice from economists was not constrained in the inter-war period by an understanding of economics that separated it from the social. Economics, interpreted by managerial and professional men, became a fundamental language for people to discuss the future and the condition of society. Economic and managerial expertise became coterminous with social authority and expertise. Economists positioned their profession as a social science capable of distancing

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53 Historians, in tracing the ‘managerial revolution’ tend to emphasise the importance of the intellectuals developing and espousing the theories of management rather than identifying the growing army of operators. This is true of the sources I cite throughout this discussion of modernisation. But Rowse, while explicitly targeting the intellectual leadership of liberalism, does reference and identify the importance of the men following in the footsteps; see Rowse, op.cit., 61-76, 173, 222. On the managerial revolution see also J. Burnham, The Managerial Revolution, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1942.


55 See for example the works reviewed by Mitropoulos, op.cit.
itself from the sectional interests that could impede the rational assessment of economic and social circumstances. The economist could act as “a guide and adjudicator on the resulting conflicts between public and private interests.” The professional economist was providing a service to the economy and to society. His knowledge and skills were enriched by a spirit of service, and a capacity (which he alone embodied) to contribute freely to a ‘common good’.

In 1948, the economist S. J. Butlin commented that “In Canberra the economist has arrived”. Arriving with the economist were a host of other managers and experts who identified their own capacity to make post-war modernisation a process that delivered people from the fatalism of pre-war economics and that also protected against the instability of the Depression’s economic and social consequences. These men all followed along the path blazed by the advocates for the economics profession in the inter-war decades, though their own terrains for intervention spread across the entire social landscape: in the workplace, the market, the family, the community and beyond. Their primary function was not as intellectual leaders, prominent political advocates or recognisable public figures. These men were the operators, adjusting the levers in the development of modernisation, deploying strategies to regulate the demands of labour and attain the imperatives of capital. Their actions are not coincidental to managing the political dynamic of modernisation, nor are they metaphors for an overarching state power or logic existing beyond these operations. The overall direction towards management, intervention and regulation necessitated agents at all levels to enact this process. These agents were the “administrative machinery” that Copland identifies as crucial to adjusting in the frontier of control. They were the managerial and professional men who form the subject of my investigation.

A third and final element of the response to the political dynamic of modernisation was a shifting perception of who the economic agent was and how their individual actions could be understood. Neo-classical economics had tended to see the economic agent in instrumental terms, as a rational being operating in a highly idealised and constructed market. Even where the economic agent was

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57 Whitwell, op.cit., 11.
identified in biological terms (such as in the theories of Alfred Marshall), the cross-current of order and tendency towards equilibrium pointed analysis away from actual human subjects.\footnote{Whitwell, op.cit., 28.} The Depression and its widespread misery challenged this reading of the economic agent. Simultaneously, the emergence of psychology as a social science was also beginning to impact on the other emerging social sciences.\footnote{I discuss in greater detail the emergence of psychological ways of knowing later in this chapter and touch upon it throughout the chapters of this thesis.} Economic theory started, during the inter-war period, to engage in human motivation and the ‘irrational’ elements within the economic equilibrium.\footnote{Whitwell, op.cit., 43-49.} The emergence of psychological ways of knowing also contributed to a shift in how the economy was made intelligible for management. In Keynesianism the emergence of psychology had specific inflections, most notably in Keynes’ analysis of investment, savings and the indefinite character of future expectations.

‘Economic Man’, the subject suggested by neo-classical economics, was an increasingly unconvincing portrait to those who had started to integrate psychological ways of knowing into their understandings of the social and economic problems confronting the inter-war social order.\footnote{For discussion of ‘economic man’ see Rowse, op.cit., Chapter Four, particularly 147-163.} The inter-war period marked the appearance of a qualitatively new problematic in economic analysis one that “reconfigured the relations between economic knowledge and the subjects and forms of economic and social analysis.”\footnote{N. Brown, ‘A Sense of Number and Reality’: Economics and Government in Australia, 1920-1950, \textit{Economy and Society}, vol. 26, no. 2, 1997, 233-256, 237.} Just as the notion of ‘managing’ an economy emerged, it was linked to a new understanding of the economy comprised of complex people with complex interiors. Keynesianism and its understanding of macro-economic movements was read, argues Australian historian Nicholas Brown, in connection with micro concerns of a psychologically knowable consumer and economic agent. The ‘managed’ were becoming intelligible to the ‘managers’ in new ways. The careful adjustment of these subjects and their behaviours, the regulation of and intervention on these subjects gathered momentum. Though the political dynamic of modernisation responded to a working class, the ‘managed’ subjects in modernisation were consumers, workers, citizens, family members and others. These subjects
suggested a knowledge more inward than that offered by ‘the numbers’ of neo-classical economics. The path from the inter-war to post-war periods encouraged the melding of these movements in thought. The post-war ‘economy’, Brown has suggested, was developing as a different entity to the economy of the inter-war period. The problem space that required management and managers was beginning to be imagined in new ways, understood through different knowledges and linked to subjects that also required new consideration.

The narrative of modernisation from the inter-war to post-war periods, read in its Keynesian context, shaped the circumstances of managerial and professional men in post-war Australia. The political dynamic of modernisation generated resistance from labour and response from capital. I have emphasised in my brief review of the history of modernisation three elements of the response to this political dynamic: the emergence of the managerial approach, the central positioning of managers and the identification of subjects to be managed. In these three responses we can identify a new type of intervention, a new type of operator and a new type of subject. Each indicates transformed circumstances for managerial and professional men. Each suggest renascent ways in which the accomplishment of hegemony was effected and point to the participation of these men as operators, crucial to the regeneration of hegemony.

2.4 A History of Government

Government provides a description of the operation of power. In this section and the next, I return to the concept of government to explain why understandings of the emergence of government can inform the exploration of managerial and professional men’s practices and their contributions to the accomplishment of hegemony.

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63 My reading of this shift and the recognition that the meanings of economy are contextually bound has come from the insightful article by Nicholas Brown cited above. Brown's work does not directly engage in the emergence of psychology, although his theoretical source material does (principally, P. Miller & N. Rose, ‘Governing Economic Life’, Economy and Society, vol. 19, no. 1, 1990, 1-31.). In the background of Brown's schema is recognition that these new concepts were influenced by a new knowledge base, deployed in particular ways and reflecting the emergence of a new operation of power. Brown suggests the “emergence of a new problematic in which the enumerations (the ‘numbers’) which were an integral dimension of inter-war definitions of the sphere of governance, and the concepts of the legitimate ambit (the ‘reality’) of professional ministration, were subsumed into the apparatus and ethics of Keynesianism...” Brown, op.cit., 244. On this response see also N. Brown, Governing Prosperity: Social Change and Social Analysis in Australia in the 1950s, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1995, 87-101.
hegemony during post-war modernisation. The purpose of this first section is to provide an overview of the meaning given to government and to link the practice of government to the position of managerial and professional men. I proceed initially by offering a brief reading of Michel Foucault’s account of power, his account of transformations in power across time and its interpretation and use by two sets of scholars. 64 This section then moves to examine how this understanding of power and the emergence of government refines the location of my own research. Attention to the mechanics of power or the how of power, encouraged by Foucault, provides invaluable points of inquiry to understand the circumstances of these men in the transformation to government. But, as the following section (2.5) demonstrates, Foucault’s theorisations remain incomplete and inadequate for connecting government with the interests that propelled the practices of managerial and professional men or their participation in the regeneration of hegemony.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri have presented a compelling analysis of transformations in the operation of power in recent western history. Although their overall emphasis is on contemporary global politics and the capacity for radical transcendence, they develop this emphasis through the presentation of historical shifts in rule; what they term the “passages of sovereignty” or paradigms of rule and power. Hardt and Negri work within a framework that shares a number of features with the analytics of governmentality presented by theorists such as Mitchell Dean and Nikolas Rose. For both sets of authors it is the strengths and gaps in Foucault’s analysis of power that provide shared points of departure and provocative points of difference. Both sets of authors push and pull Foucault’s work in interesting directions and it is for this reason that I have

64 I find Foucault’s project in propounding these shifts to be somewhat inconsistent and incomplete. As a result what I present below is a somewhat flattened précis of Foucault’s central argument. I have also emphasised the points of consensus in subsequent interpretations of Foucault’s work (particularly the broad shifts in rule), rather than the difference and the detail. In addition, there are terminological skirmishes within Foucault’s work and across different interpretations (for example over the meaning of government); once again, I have tended to work beyond those differences. Finally, while I have only addressed the specific question of government in Foucault’s work (which is only one aspect of his overall contributions), I would suggest that the issues I identify in his reading of government are symptomatic of his broader body of work. I take up this critique in section 2.5. The principal reference for Foucault’s work on government and governmentality is M. Foucault, ‘Governmentality’, in G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (eds), The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmental Rationality, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead, 1991, 87-104.
used a mix of their representations of Foucault’s project to present the broad consensus around the meaning of government.

Foucault traced a shift in rule from sovereignty, where sovereignty was understood as rule over subjects: “a discontinuous exercise of power through display and spectacle, law as command, sanctions as negative and deductive.”

Sovereignty presupposed “the right to take life and let live,” and was memorably represented in the opening torture scene of Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault saw this paradigm of rule as coinciding with medieval Europe, though he recognised that sovereignty held its own history of transformation and that passage from sovereignty coincided with sovereignty itself. Nevertheless, Foucault suggested that coincident to modernity a new paradigm of rule was emerging.

The transformation Foucault traced from sovereignty was towards a paradigm that presupposed the life and freedom of the subject. This new paradigm, which Foucault termed government, followed “a productive rather than a deductive logic.” Rose has drawn out the meaning of government by comparing it to domination:

To dominate is to ignore or attempt to crush the capacity for action of the dominated. But to govern is to recognize that capacity for action and to adjust oneself to it. To govern is to act upon action. This entails trying to understand what mobilizes the domains or entities to be governed: to govern one must act upon these forces, instrumentalize them in order to shape actions, processes and outcomes in desired directions. Hence, when it comes to governing human beings, to govern is to presuppose the freedom of the governed.

The emergence of government was not a simple transformation in ‘types of society’. Locating the transformation is, therefore, an imprecise exercise, made more complex again by the fluctuating applications of key terms. Nevertheless, a

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On the passage of sovereignty coinciding with sovereignty itself, a point that applies equally to the remaining transformations in power, see Dean, op.cit., 104.


70 Dean, op.cit., 105.

rough consensus identifies this broad movement as coinciding with the origins of liberal democracy and shifts in production towards capitalism. Hardt and Negri also link this shift to the rise of the nation and to a radical popular will entrapped by liberal political economists in representations of “the people”.\(^{72}\) Irrespective of the location of this transformation, the key point remains that government represented a new problematic altering the operation of power.

Within this broader transformation, Foucault suggested that government was initially characterised by a mode of power he terms *disciplinary power*. The exercise of discipline, as analysis of the diagram of the panopticon in *Discipline and Punish* was intended to convey, operated from within the person and was bound to new knowledges of the individual. Hardt and Negri read the exercise of discipline as

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absolutely immanent to the subjectivities under its command …
[D]iscipline is not an external voice that dictates our practices from on high, overarching us, as Hobbes would say, but rather something like an inner compulsion indistinguishable from our will, immanent to and inseparable from our subjectivity itself.\(^{73}\)
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With new knowledges of the human soul and new ways of thinking about government, disciplinary power also depended upon the boundaries (or diagrams) of institutions or terrains to enable and limit space for the exercise of power. In disciplinary power

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command is constructed through a diffuse network of dispositifs or apparatuses that produce and regulate customs, habits, and productive practices. Putting this society to work and ensuring obedience to its rule and its mechanisms of inclusion and/or exclusion are accomplished through disciplinary institutions (the prison, the factory, the asylum, the hospital, the university, the school, and so forth) … Disciplinary power rules in effect by structuring the parameters and limits of thought and practice, sanctioning and prescribing normal and/or deviant behaviours.\(^{74}\)
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In tracing the transformation to government, Foucault also developed an awareness of an emerging mode of power that worked more intimately with subjects, a power “whose task is to take charge of life.”\(^{75}\) Foucault named this

\(^{72}\) Hardt & Negri, ‘Empire’, op.cit., 93-111. Hardt and Negri remark: “the feudal order of the subject (subjectus) yielded to the disciplinary order of the citizen (cives). This shift of the population from subjects to citizens was an index of the shift from an passive to an active role. The nation is always presented as an active force, as a generative form of social and political relations.” Hardt & Negri, ‘Empire’, op.cit., 95.


\(^{74}\) Hardt & Negri, ‘Empire’, op.cit., 22.

\(^{75}\) Foucault, ‘History of Sexuality’, op.cit., 144.
biopolitical power (or biopolitical government), which was distinct from but not contradictory to disciplinary power. According to Hardt and Negri, Foucault’s work identified biopower as:

> a form of power that regulates social life from its interior, following it, interpreting it, absorbing it, and recirculating it. Power can achieve an effective command over the entire life of the population only when it becomes an integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her own accord. As Foucault says, ‘Life has now become … an object of power.’ The highest function of this power is to invest life through and through, and its primary task is to administer life. Biopower thus refers to a situation in which what is directly at stake in power is the production and reproduction of life itself.\(^76\)

Historians have tended to read biopolitical government as limited to techniques and rationalities applied to populations as a whole and, in particular, to race, health and environment.\(^77\) While this focus on populations is the initial application that Foucault gives biopower in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, like disciplinary power, biopolitical government is not limited to particular terrains nor particular population levels. The reproduction of life is not meant in the literal sense of sexual reproduction but in a broader (even materialist) sense.\(^78\) The capacity of biopolitical government to act in concert with the life of people suggests a diffuse paradigm of power, with subjects engaged positively and power breathing with the life of people.

Understandings of the transformation to government have been enhanced by work that has examined the proliferation of what Nikolas Rose has called the “psy” disciplines: psychology, psychiatry, psychotherapy, psychoanalysis.\(^79\) Rose argues that the emergence of psy knowledge is essential to understanding the operation of power in government, marking a decisive shift in the boundaries of

\(^77\) Ann Stoler is one historian who has, more successfully than others, applied this understanding of biopolitics to understanding the operation of power in history. A. Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1995. Less successful applications include S. Garton’s review of eugenics in inter-war Australia. Biopower is introduced in the conclusion of this piece to simply note the dispersal of concepts of mental hygiene and degeneracy in post-1930s middle-class professions; see S. Garton, *Sound Minds and Healthy Bodies: Re-considering eugenics in Australia, 1914-1940*, *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 26, no. 103, 1994, 163-181, 181.
\(^78\) And certainly in the *History of Sexuality* there is an explicit recognition (rarely acknowledged by subsequent non-materialist readers) of a connection between biopower and imperatives of capitalism. Unfortunately this recognition remains only a vague acknowledgement thus necessitating the development of theory outlined below in Section 2.5 of this thesis. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, op.cit., 140-1.
power and in understandings of the human subject.\textsuperscript{80} To connect government and psy knowledges of the human subject Rose suggests reading psychology not as a body of abstracted theories and explanations, but an ‘intellectual technology’, a way of making visible and intelligible certain features of persons, their conducts, and their relations with one another. Further, psychology is an activity that is never purely academic; it is an enterprise grounded in an intrinsic relation between its place in the academy and its place as ‘expertise’. By expertise is meant the capacity of psychology to provide a corps of trained and credentialed persons claiming special competence in the administration of persons and interpersonal relations, and a body of techniques and procedures claiming to make possible the rational and human management of human resources in industry, the military, and social life more generally.\textsuperscript{81}

Human subjects made visible through psy-inflected techniques could be known therapeutically and they could also know themselves in these terms. With psy, the inner determinants of conduct became knowable in particular ways that connect the history of government to liberal democracy. Crucial to both is a notion of freedom, or liberalality, a self that could be ‘made-up’ by active choices and one that could be ‘mobilised’ by experts. Biopolitical government is dependent upon experts making social settings intelligible in psy terms and contexts for individuals and for those seeking to govern. The emergence and practice of psy knowledges in various social settings provides concrete instances of the transformation in power to biopolitical government and therefore also opens a line of investigation.

Finally, understandings of government have also been enhanced by characterisations of the ‘control society’ where biopolitical government is dominant. Seeking to draw out the implications of Foucault’s analysis of power for the context of political struggle around production, Gilles Deleuze added to Foucault’s characterisation of the passages of power by suggesting that shifts within government represented distinct epochs in modernity.\textsuperscript{82} Deleuze argued that the disciplinary power of government was the dominant mode of rule in the

\textsuperscript{80} Being both understandings of ourselves and also more general understandings of personhood.

\textsuperscript{81} N. Rose, \textit{Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood}, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, 10. The spread of psychology and its operation was also identified by Gramsci as being crucial to the regeneration of hegemony in the early-twentieth century, though Gramsci understands psychology as a prohibitive knowledge, as an adjunct to moral coercion; see for example Gramsci, op.cit., 280.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and thus composed a “disciplinary society”. Since then, and particularly from the mid-twentieth century, biopolitical government has become the principal mode of power. Deleuze suggests that the history of power in the twentieth century is the history of the “control society” unfolding. The decline of institutions previously central to civil society and to disciplinary power is identified as one central feature of this shift, as Rose explains:

In disciplinary societies it was a matter of procession from one disciplinary institution to another – school, barracks, factory … – each seeking to mould conduct by inscribing enduring corporeal and behavioural competencies, and persisting practices of self-scrutiny and self-constraint into the soul. Control society is one of constant and never-ending modulation where the modulation occurs within the flows and transactions between the forces and capacities of the human subject and the practices in which he or she participates ... Control is not centralized but dispersed.

The concept of the control society usefully captures the rising significance of biopower in the twentieth century. Hardt and Negri more specifically link the emergence of the control society to twentieth-century modernity and find it flourishing in the ‘empire’ of post-modernity. The control society, Hardt and Negri assert, has become one in which

mechanisms of command [are] ever more ‘democratic’, ever more immanent to the social field, distributed throughout the brains and bodies of the citizens. The behaviours of social integration and exclusion proper to rule are thus increasingly interiorised within the subjects themselves.

The operation of power in biopolitical government is no longer contained within particular institutions, each with their own particular ‘lesson’ of power. Nor is the operation of power limited to those marginal in the populace, the deviants and dispossessed whose trajectory required correction. In the control society the structured sites of power spread across society, encompassing every social setting and ordinary act. Within each setting power animates the everyday practices and everyday satisfactions and dissatisfactions of subjects.

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83 Deleuze, op.cit., 177.
84 Rose, ‘Powers’, op.cit., 234. On moulds Deleuze remarks: “Confinements are mold, different moldings, while controls are modulation, like a self-transmuting molding continually changing from one moment to the next, or like a sieve whose mesh varies from one point to another.” Deleuze, op.cit., 178/9.
Government transforms the operation of power and repositions the human subject in modernity, redrawing the frontier of control. Understanding government also generates new lines for investigating power in history. For my critical history of managerial and professional men these insights offer a number of concrete points of analysis. The transformation to government and the movements from disciplinary power to biopolitical government trains attention on the question of how power operates.\(^86\) At its most general level, utilising government underscores the primacy of interrogating the ‘how’ of power; the exercise of power, of power relations and, as Foucault says, the “diversity of their logical sequences, their abilities, and their interrelationships.”\(^87\) Thus I read managerial and professional men engaged in the exercise of power and my research of their discursive practices targets the “immanent conditions and constraints of [their] practices.”\(^88\)

Emphasis on the how of power opens for analysis the position of the expert, the role of knowledge in power and the practice of expertise. Government depends upon a multiplication of forms of knowledge about the subject (as an individual and as a population). Expertise is central to the productive relationship between government and the production of knowledge necessary to govern a population. But expertise is not an intellectual veneer for an overarching state, nor is it under the direction of a svengali ruling elite. Expertise is a part of the mechanism and meaning of power at its intimate frontiers. In addition, expertise is not only the one-step removed pronouncements of social analysts, politicians and others in the intellectual leadership. Expertise is operational. To govern, Foucault remarked, “is to structure the possible field of action of others.”\(^89\) That is, governing is based on operators who must intimately know that field, survey it, and act; governing relies not on a cosmology of power but a “specific reality”\(^90\) of action:

These tactics were invented and organised from the starting point of local conditions and particular needs … They took shape in piecemeal

\(^86\) A note on terminology: through the chapters of this thesis I have used the term ‘government’ rather than specifying ‘biopolitical government’. I collapse government as such to emphasise again that my intention here is to historicise the movement inwards to government in the operation of power rather than to seek a point of origin or trace a shift in social type. My contention is not about the applicability of terms in particular periods, rather it is focused on how power operates to regenerate hegemony.


\(^89\) Foucault, ‘Afterword: The Subject and Power’, op.cit., 221.

\(^90\) Foucault, ‘Governmentality’, op.cit., 97.
fashion, prior to any class strategy designed to weld them into vast, coherent ensembles. It should be noted that these ensembles don’t consist in a homogenisation, but rather a complex play of supports in mutual engagement, different mechanisms of power which retain their specific character.91

The ordinary practices of managerial and professional men are not merely accounted for by the analysis of government, they are not simply the ‘soft’ expressions of a more real, more ‘hard’ intervention lying elsewhere. The specific and concrete operations of managerial and professional men are the crucible in which power is made and remade:

the places where thought is technical, practical, operational, [rather] than [those] attending to the procession of grand thinkers that have usually captivated historians of ideas or philosophers of history.92

Thus the analysis of government opens for research and engagement the position managerial and professional men occupy and their particular practices that make intelligible the social settings and subjects to be governed. It is these operators who enact the transformation in power, who pick up and develop government as a part of their own quotidian practice.

Similarly, a tendency to seek unity in the outcomes of different agents of power across different social settings is displaced by the analysis of how power operates. Instead of seeking to demonstrate common solutions posed in interventions or arguing that the social setting defines the operation of power (that there is a for example a specific ‘family power’ or a ‘workplace power’) emphasis can be placed on problems shared. It is the common process of power enacted, the generation of problems and the generation of subjects that can be placed in a critical spotlight.93

Emphasis on the operation of power in government also enhances the analysis of subjects of power. Government does not dispense power upon composed subjects, instead power is a productive effect existing within subjects. Individuals, Foucault states,

93 On this Rose remarks: “The government of a population, a national economy, an enterprise, a family, a child or even oneself becomes possible only through discursive mechanisms that represent the domain to be governed as an intelligible field with specifiable limits and particular characteristics, and whose component parts are linked together in some more or less systematic manner by forces, attractions and coexistences. This is a matter of defining boundaries, rendering that within them visible, assembling information about that which is included and devising techniques to mobilize the forces and entities thus revealed.” Rose, ‘Powers’, op.cit., 33.
are always in a position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power … The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is the effect, it is the element of its articulation.\textsuperscript{94}

Power is connected with the way ‘being’ is shaped in thinkable and manageable forms. The history of the transformation to government is entwined with a changing knowledge and authority about the self. Thus my investigation explores psy knowledge in particular contexts. Managerial and professional men during the post-war period utilised psy knowledges in imagining subjects and in asserting their own unique role. The terrains of the market, the workplace, the family and the civic were made intelligible with psy-inflected concepts. The interventions of managerial and professional men relied upon an expertise in the human subjects of psy. From the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century psychology began, in Australia, to inform a multiple array of different knowledge areas and find applications in social practices. During the inter-war period prominent advocates for psychology like H. Tasman Lovell and Alfred Martin (both based at the University of Sydney) became ubiquitous figures advising managerial and professional men in a variety of settings.\textsuperscript{95}

The placement of subjects in government also underscores the contiguity between government and liberal democracy in twentieth century history. Rose states that with liberal democracy “the acts of government were systematically linked to the practice of freedom.”\textsuperscript{96} Liberal democracy provides government with a formula of power, or way of operating, that can exist in particular social contexts and also with the interiors and identities of individual subjects. With this understanding liberal democracy can be seen not so much as an ideology enacted by intellectuals, where liberalism is “a dream which clashes with reality and fails to insert itself there.”\textsuperscript{97} Instead, liberal democracy is constituted by the expressions of a diverse range of social actors who concern themselves with the “practice of freedom”. As a result, my research specifically targets managerial

\textsuperscript{95} I return in each chapter to particular deployments of psy expertise in the inter-war and post-war periods. For a general history of Australian psychology in the post-war period see S. Cooke, \textit{A Meeting of Minds: The Australian Psychological Society and Australian Psychologists, 1944-1994}, Australian Psychological Society, Brisbane, 2000.
\textsuperscript{97} This statement by Foucault is quoted in Gordon, op.cit., 18.
and professional men as they developed techniques that enable the practice of freedom. These techniques mobilised subjects in their freedom, building human subjectivity while also ‘selling’ the specific political project of liberal democracy. 98 The insights on liberalism suggested by the analysis of the operation of power encourage investigation of the way managerial and professional men participated in operations that “oblige[d] the subject to be free”; free to choose commodities, to work, to love, to be satisfied, adjusted and engaged citizens in liberal democracy. 99

2.5 Connecting Government and Modernisation: inhabiting the frontier of control

The combined impact of each of the points of analysis drawn from existing theorisations of government is to highlight the salience of scrutinising the practices of managerial and professional men in order to understand the mechanics of power. As a result, my research is focused on the place of their operations, on the techniques that they use and the way that they imagine the subjects they seek to mobilise. These men, as experts or operators, are crucial to the reshaping of power and the emergence of government. They actively engage psychological ways of knowing and work with the primacy of freedom in liberal democracy to reshape their relationship to others in the community. Foucault’s insight, and the impact of the governmental approach generally, is to focus on how power operates and in so doing his approach can inform understandings of the circumstances of managerial and professional men. But while my understanding of government is informed by the Foucauldian model, I have developed a reading that steps beyond Foucault’s account to enable the emergence of government to inform my analysis of the regeneration of hegemony in post-war modernisation. Entwining the history of government with the history and political dynamic of modernisation opens the lines of investigation around the relationship between managerial and professional men’s practices and social

98 I further discuss the selling of liberalism in Chapter Four.
relations, creating opportunities to examine the participation and interest of these men in hegemony.

The limitations to Foucault’s use of government, evident also in the ethos of governmentality, is underscored by the explicit and frequent reiteration that government is concerned only with questions of how power and rule operates. To target questions beyond how, Foucault suggests, is to presume a set of questions and answers regarding who and what. For example the Foucauldian sociologist Mitchell Dean, in addressing the defining features of the analytics of government, comments:

This approach thus stands in contrast to theories of government that ask ‘who rules?’ , ‘what is the source of that rule?’ and ‘what is the basis of its legitimacy?’ An analytics of government brackets out such questions not merely because they are stale, tiresome, unproductive and repetitive. It does so because it wants to understand how different locales are constituted as authoritative and powerful, how different agents are assembled with specific powers, and how different domains are constituted as governable and administrable. The focus on ‘how’ questions, then, arises from a rejection of the political a priori of the distribution of power and the location of rule. ¹⁰⁰

Dean’s comment accurately captures some of the insights that attention to the how of power provides, but he also captures the limitations in this approach. The problem here is that in seeking to reject “the political a priori”, the approach also “brackets out” the crucial questions that give government its temporal and political particularity. ¹⁰¹ The point of connection in modernisation is left somewhat ambiguous in accounts by Foucault and Rose: modernity appears, along with liberalism, and so also government arises. To historicize the transformation to government and to explore connections between government and the regeneration of hegemony during modernisation, analysis needs to extend beyond questions of how power operates. To locate power in history, in a relationship with people and place, questions of who, what and why must be confronted alongside the innovative scrutiny of how. In short, the model advanced by Foucault provides only a limited explanation of change – it is

¹⁰⁰ Dean, op.cit., 46.
¹⁰¹ The emphasis on the how of power is discussed at a number of points in Foucault’s work and is reviewed in Gordon, op.cit., 7-9. While Foucault claims that the attachment to ‘how’ does not represent a detachment from politics, that effect is manifest among those who make use of governmentality. Rose, for example, reduces his own project to an ethical quest that aims to destabilize (as a truth itself) and “make judgement possible” while not actually making any judgement (when, where, how are always deferred). Rose further argues that the possibility of critique lies through historical investigations which can unsettle and de-value the “regime of subjectification”. But this unsettling is given no purpose, nor any ethical or political baseline; see Rose, ‘Powers’, op.cit., 59.
undynamic and it is peopleless. Hardt and Negri also identify this tendency in Foucault’s work:

In fact, if at this point we were to ask Foucault who or what drives the system, or rather, who is the ‘bios’ [in biopolitical government], his response would be ineffable, or nothing at all. What Foucault fails to grasp finally are the real dynamics of production in biopolitical society.\footnote{Hardt & Negri, ‘Empire’, op.cit., 28. This point is somewhat different to the critiques, most notably by Stuart Hall, on Foucault’s inability to point to resistance or his tendency to suspend judgement. Foucault makes plain his intentions on these questions (and, I would argue, pointing to forms of resistance by subjects in government can be seen as one of Foucault’s strengths). The difference with the general critique by Hall is made clear through the discussion of interest and social relations below; see S. Hall, ‘Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms’, \textit{Media, Culture and Society}, vol. 2, 1980, 57-72.}

To make government meaningful and to respond to the insufficient explanations of change in rule and power, I pick up the legacy of Gramsci’s analysis of hegemony; government is an accomplishment, a product of social relations and people in struggle. The point is not, as Gramsci made clear, that the base determines the superstructure or that a single force determines the legitimacy of rule and the operation of power. Instead, the emergence of government can be seen as connected to the history of modernisation; the operation of power is part of the context created by the political dynamic in modernisation and the struggle between opposing interests that this represents. The responses, discussed in section 2.3 above, that gave concrete expression to modernisation (management, the manager and the managed) are each reflective of the emergence of government. The chapters that follow in this thesis provide specific and local contexts to test the connection between post-war modernisation and the emergence of government in the practices of managerial and professional men.

By situating government as a part of the response to the political dynamic in modernisation, my analysis also locates government as purposeful. Government is part of the process to regenerate hegemony in response to the dynamic of modernisation, it is a new operation of power seeking to achieve hegemony. The implication is that government arises from and is formed through particular interests: that managerial and professional men \textit{deploy} government because of its capacities as an effective response to the dynamic in modernisation. The transformation to government and the impact of government can, as a result, be investigated in relation to the social relations acting upon and constituting the practices of managerial and professional men (and not necessarily in
predetermined or coherent ways). Government refers not to an absently conceived ‘new epoch of power’, but to new techniques operated by men with particular interests and operated to the effect of accomplishing hegemony at a unique point in history. Government is located in the realms of human action and human history. It is people’s practices in reference to a political dynamic and their actions in social relations that utilise government and build hegemony; modernisation provides the ‘when’ of government, interest in social relations provides the ‘why’ and the ‘what’.

The impulse for a theoretical connection between government and social relations is also the instructive point in the analysis of power developed by Hardt and Negri.\textsuperscript{103} In Empire Hardt and Negri demonstrate how particular epochs of rule have been determined by the counter-posed forces of ‘the multitude’ and the ruling bloc; that each are active agents pushing and pulling the effects of government. Like the analysis I have developed above, questions regarding the capacity for change and the direction of change are, with some limitation, built into their analysis due to the dynamic nature of social relations.\textsuperscript{104} In contrast to Hardt and Negri’s emphasis on the possibilities for radical transcendence, however, my analysis utilised in each chapter of this thesis reads along the grain of hegemony, focusing on the practices of managerial and professional men in the ruling bloc. I emphasise the conservative implications of government and the contribution government by managerial and professional men makes to ensure the unequal distribution of social resources; in short, I people the regeneration of hegemony.

\textsuperscript{103} Their encouragement of a convergence is intended to unlock the explanatory potential and radical possibilities that different schools of thought (particularly Foucault’s work and Marxist theory) have offered. This work in Empire is a development of Negri’s analysis over an extensive period of writing, although Empire represents a shift to a more comprehensive understanding of government (one of Negri’s useful projects in Labor of Dionysus is to connect the analysis of government to Marx’s analysis of the formal and real subsumption of labour. This reading adds to the materialist grounding that an imbrication with social relations can offer; see Hardt & Negri, ‘Labor of Dionysus’, op.cit., 224).

\textsuperscript{104} Unlike my own work, Hardt and Negri appear specifically concerned with the social relation of class (this they term ‘Capital’ and while it is clear that they intend to mean something more broader than class relations, something that extends across all social relations, this is not a point that they develop). Hardt and Negri’s conclusion is that the contemporary social world (which they term “Empire”) represents the profound synthesis of power and class. Change is represented by the recognition that human subjects are antagonistically related in class, with the capacity to either reproduce class relations or to resist these relations. Like many accounts of government however, the fact that it is white men who are (always) the governors appears as a coincidence to Hardt and Negri’s analysis. While they do not refer to gender (except to acknowledge the feminist social movement as part of the vaguely defined “multitude”), ethnicity is subsumed within an account of colonialism that operates in purely class terms. Thus Hardt and Negri suggest a connection between government and social relations, but their own work is limited to a monolithic conception of class-as-capital (strangely, given their overall political project, Hardt and Negri seem unable to grasp class as a relation, as a product of struggle, preferring to rely instead upon ‘Capital’ as an (undefined) catch-all).
Connecting the emergence of government to the dynamic of social relations and modernisation enables the exploration of the investments men make through the practices of government. In section 2.3 above, I have already introduced some aspects of the connection that exists between the practices of managerial and professional men and the class dynamic of modernisation. There is also, I argue, an equally important connection to the gender dynamic in modernisation. Copland’s essay opening this chapter, for example, has a clear gender context and the representations of men in his essay suggest gender giving meaning to the dynamics of modernisation and government. The interests of men, as men, in the operation of government during modernisation needs to be incorporated into the theorisations of government and they must be traced in history. The social relation of gender and contestations in gender are a constituent part of modernisation and government. Like the class dynamic explored previously, gender generates the circumstances to which government responded. It is only with this perspective embedded in analysis that an interrogation of men’s interests can commence. There are two particular aspects to the gender dimension in the connecting histories of modernisation and government that require introduction.

First, in relation to the political dynamic in modernisation it is essential to recognise the gender struggle of first-wave feminism in which women were active participants, agitating for transformation of the social relation of gender. In both public and private frontiers women made demands that directly and indirectly challenged the position and interests of men in gender relations. The strength of this movement within gender relations required response from men. Simultaneously, as I have discussed above, working-class struggle challenged the class power and position of men in the ruling bloc. Bob Connell has succinctly


106 I emphasise these arguments about feminism in response to Australian history texts that have downplayed the relational political dynamic producing change. Martin Crotty, for example, has suggested that after the First World War notions of manliness were challenged by the carnage represented as service to the nation. The inter-war challenge to manliness was, Crotty argues, the exclusive result of the war’s impact and a self-generated shift in men’s sense of identity and purpose which, as he presents it, was able to be resolved (again, internally): “Masculinity, once again, had triumphed over femininity in the organisation of an admirable and noble manliness dedicated to the service of the nation.” Crotty, in short, misses the dynamic of gender relations: that change is generated within gender relations and not simply within the poorly defined rubrics of men, manliness or masculinity. M. Crotty, Making the Australian Male: Middle-class Masculinity, 1870-1920, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2001, 167. For an understanding of the dynamic within gender see, for example, R. Connell, Masculinities, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1995, 82.
captured the interconnections of social relations in this contestation and the
dynamic of men’s response:

Earlier in the twentieth century a split began to open in the hegemonic
masculinity of the dominant classes, between a masculinity organized
around interpersonal dominance and one organised around knowledge
and expertise. Under the pressure of labor movements and first-wave
feminism, and in the context of the growing scale of mass production,
dominance and expertise ceased to be nuances within one masculinity
and became visibly different strategies for operating and defending the
patriarchal capitalist order.¹⁰⁷

Connell suggests the incompatibility of dominance in the practices of (ruling
bloc) men. Modernisation marked a transformation that re-placed men in relation
to women and also placed some men in relation to others. Dana Nelson has
researched a similar movement, though in the more specific context of
nineteenth-century professional white men in the United States. Nelson’s
argument directly connects this dynamic in gender relations to the emergence of
professional knowledge and professionalisation in nineteenth century North
America. Expertise, rather than direct domination, was symptomatic of the
utilisation of power by these men. In Nelson’s argument, expertise is central to
these men’s identification of their own manhood. Expertise was experienced as a
point of distinction and a natural endowment that explained authority and
empowered intervention. Nelson makes clear the political dynamic in this shift
and the operation of men’s interests in response:

In an era where women were testing new theories of public action,
voice, and power, one way to reconsider the professional management
of the ‘private’ sphere by professional men is to understand it – at least
in part – to consolidate the domain of middle-class manhood … This
exercise came over and against an ever-expanding arena of Otherness:
women, nonwhites, the primitive/poor, the insane, criminals, laborers.
Professional manhood diversified and formally articulated national
manhood’s investment in management logic on behalf of its own
gender, racial, and class advantage.¹⁰⁸

Desley Deacon has suggested a similar connection and provides an
illuminating introduction to the Australian context. Deacon’s work on the public
service in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Australia, particularly tracing
the operations of the statistician T. A. Coghlan, connects first-wave feminism and
the demands of the ‘new middle class’ in 1890s. Her analysis, while emphasising

the impact on women of these transformations, makes explicit that: “The new middle class labour market projects of the 1890s and early twentieth century were primarily projects by men for men.” Deacon’s work provides a valuable historical foreground for the transformations that shaped the practices of managerial and professional men in the interwar and post-war decades. Deacon, Nelson and Connell together suggest that the primacy given to expertise, the distancing from direct methods of domination and the authority expressed through professional knowledges were not peripheral to modernisation but were central to its political dynamic. I apply this analysis in positioning the practices of managerial and professional men in post-war Australia. These men continued to respond to this gender dynamic in the post-war period as women’s and working-class activism continued. I argue in each of the terrains examined through this thesis that the application of government represented a continuing project to address the gender dynamic in modernisation.

Second, I identify in the terrains of my thesis that during modernisation government not only responded to gender relations, but that gendered ways of knowing and acting offered crucial leverage to the development and deployment of government. Managerial and professional men relied upon women and men as gendered subjects and existing gendered ways of addressing and acting on men and women in order to make their interventions in particular social settings. The perpetual (usually unacknowledged) coincidence in accounts of government of the presence of men shaping government’s emergence is no accident: the gendering of subjects made the deployment of government in post-war modernisation possible. The techniques of government worked not simply in response to or on behalf social relations and interests but because they were a part of social relations.

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109 D. Deacon, Managing Gender: The State, the New Middle Class and Women Workers, 1830-1930, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1989, 218.

110 Reiger's brilliant work on the inter-war period is also informative on this context, excepting that Reiger’s gender focus is on the construction of womanhood by male experts and tends to work around the position and interests of men, as men, in this process. Nevertheless Reiger provides an invaluable model for identifying the gender dynamic in modernisation. Reiger, op.cit.
2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have mapped with greater detail the interconnecting theoretical and historical context of the framework I use throughout my thesis to examine men’s participation and interest in the regeneration of hegemony. Douglas Copland’s essay on the limits to social control and his use of the metaphor of frontier creates, in my reading, an evocative image of managerial and professional men. The frontier of control is the space where hegemony is regenerated, where managerial and professional men toil in circumstances created by modernisation and government to harness social relations for their interests. I have explored in this chapter the manifestations and meanings of twentieth-century modernisation and the emergence of government. These transformations reshape hegemony in post-war Australia and through the terrains of this thesis I continue to test and explore their presence in the local contexts of men’s interventions.

To better understand the circumstances propelling managerial and professional men’s place on the frontier I have drawn together the history of modernisation and the history of government. Connecting these histories and moving beyond the limitations of existing theories enables the unique participation of managerial and professional men in the ‘mean feat’ of hegemony’s regeneration to emerge. The practices of managerial and professional men have a crucial role during post-war modernisation, responding to the shifting political dynamic (of gender and class relations) and resecuring their interests. For these men, their practices represent investments made in social relations, their interventions sustain their social resources and deliver their comfort. Hegemony emerges as both an interested and a peopled process.
CHAPTER THREE

The ‘Big Stick’ No More:
The Positive Approach in Post-War Personnel Management

3.1 Introduction

The full employment era has thrown the problem of maintaining discipline into sharp relief. Employees are too hard to attract and to hold to dispense with their services lightly and this has considerably modified the use of the ‘big stick’ as a disciplinary measure. Thus supervisors are now encouraged to adopt a positive approach to disciplinary problems. This is probably one of the main reasons for ‘human relations’ having gained so prominent a place in training courses for supervisors.¹

Judging by their ubiquity, the ‘big stick’ and its companion the ‘carrot’ remained popular in the post-war period as metaphors for understanding personnel management. Personnel managers clutched the carrot and the big stick to explicate their own role in the workplace. Like batons in the hands of a conductor, the big stick and the carrot positioned the personnel manager orchestrating the conduct of workers in the workplace. The logic of the metaphor illuminates a self-perception of authority: personnel managers act upon others, compelling and coordinating the performance of others.

Myer Kangan’s remarks in the quotation above allude to the changed conditions influencing the personnel manager’s participation in the relationship between workers and the workplace during post-war modernisation.² In this chapter I proceed by briefly outlining these changed conditions before exploring in richer detail the ‘positive approach’ that Kangan identifies as the response

² Kangan, employed by the Department of Labour and National Service, was the most prominent and respected personnel manager in the post-war period. He would progress through the Public Service during the period, eventually occupying senior positions.
from these managerial and professional men. The emergence of the positive approach during post-war modernisation marked a transformation in how personnel manager’s conceptualised the terrain of work. The positive approach was, I demonstrate, a technique of government. It engaged workers in new ways, utilising new knowledges to align their satisfactions with the objectives of the enterprise, mobilising them as productive subjects in and beyond the workplace.

But the adoption of the positive approach by personnel managers was also purposeful. Their interventions were interested resources for doing social relations, regenerating relations of power and delivering to the class and gender interests of these men (even as they worked to obscure the existence of such interests).

I draw in this chapter from the theorisations and histories presented by Wendy Hollway and Nikolas Rose on personnel management in the United Kingdom to develop my analysis of this terrain. Both authors have identified the transformation from, in Hollway’s words, “factory hands” to “sentimental workers” as a transition from the disciplining of bodies to the self-regulation and positive power of government. Their analyses deepen the more method-oriented approaches to personnel management, adding to the understandings of the ideological impacts of workplace regulation and labour process in international

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3 The sources utilised in this chapter reflect my focus on the discursive practices that shaped, organised and defined the work of personnel managers, as distinct from an emphasis on providing a history of the profession’s growth. This chapter works with the ideas and utterances that lie behind the techniques that personnel managers championed and questioned.

I have relied extensively on the key journals of the profession, prominent training texts from university and management school courses (Australian published and internationally published) and general management and personnel management publications recommended in the period to students/practitioners by the professional bodies. I have supplemented these sources with material from the archives of the Department of Labour and National Service (although due to the size of this archive plus the extent of publicly available published material I have limited my use of this archive).

The two main journals of the profession were the *Bulletin of Industrial Psychology and Personnel Practice* (BIPPP) and *Personnel Management* (PM). BIPPP was created during the war by the Department to gather and disseminate information to the industrial welfare officers of the Department’s Industrial Welfare Division (IWD). After the war BIPPP, which was renamed the *Bulletin of Personnel Practice*, aimed to “publish the results of research and experiments in the fields of industrial psychology and personnel practice”. The journal included book reviews, journal abstracts (concerning developments in the US and UK), notes on the domestic labour market, information about the various professional bodies plus, as its central feature, lengthy government and private research articles and reports. PM was established in 1962 as the journal of the Institute of Personnel Management Australia (IPMA). The IPMA was formed in 1954 from the state based Personnel and Industrial Welfare Officers’ Associations that had originally organised the wartime industrial welfare officers. Before 1962 the branches of the IPMA had produced, at irregular points, branch journals which provided reports of speeches, debates and classes in that, or other, branches. PM’s content had a far less empirical focus that the BIPPP. Articles tended to be far more self-reflective, many of them transcripts of talks given to various member bodies.


and Australian contexts. The culture and meaning of work is a vital terrain in the struggle to accomplish hegemony. The discursive practices of personnel managers offer privileged points to examine attempts by these men to fashion the meanings of work and the universal concepts of service, citizenship and the common good in their own interests. The interventions by personnel managers also enable interrogation of the centrality of gender to the exercise of men’s authority and the history of government.

3.2 Inter-War Foundations of Personnel Management

Since the labour process debates of the 1970s, much more is now known about the international emergence of management and modern workplace regulation, different techniques and alternative interpretations of their meaning. Though these remain an area of considerable academic and popular contention, most analyses accept a skeletal narrative that points to the intensification of interventions in the workplace. The last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is posited, witnessed the development of systematic management techniques as a result of a continuing decline in the rate of profit after the initial intensity of the


First Industrial Revolution. Large scale production, more sophisticated mechanisation and an intensified level of competition encouraged what Bryan Palmer has referred to as a ‘thrust for efficiency’ from capital. The systematic and rational deployment of and control over resources, including labour power, was one central objective of this ‘thrust’. Frederick Taylor’s theory of scientific management and the task idea, plus his particular techniques, represented one – possibly the most important – distillation of this general movement towards the rationalisation of the production process. Taylor’s work reflected a focus on wresting control of the labour process from labour, which itself was becoming collectively organised, powerful and a threat to profits. Like other theorists and practitioners, particularly at the time of the First World War, Taylor sought to develop a managerial view of labour. Implementation of this managerial view required allocating to a specialist strata the management of labour resources in an enterprise and the development of appropriate knowledges. The personnel manager, according to this unfolding narrative, was the man positioned to address the ‘problem’ of labour in each enterprise.

Lucy Taksa has attempted to chart a course away from the emphasis on technique that has dominated debates on managerial development and workplace regulation in Australia. Taksa notes that:

the exclusive attention to techniques by those who have investigated the impact of scientific management on work processes has prevented adequate analysis of the relationship between Taylorist techniques and ideology.

Taksa’s research has explored the ideology of scientific management as it affected workers and workplace culture, enabling a more coherent explanation of

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resistances to Taylorism. Her work counteracts the tendency of the ‘technicist’ perspective to reinforce the view that Taylorism was negligible in pre-war Australia. Her work supports the contention that scientific management was diffused across pre-Second World War workplace culture and that it can be observed in the relationships between employers and employees. At another level, Taksa’s argument also creates important space in the labour history tradition for analysis of culture, community and the relationships that exist around the workplace. Taksa’s contribution directs attention to how people imagined their relationships with others, emphasising that these relationships must be understood as a central part of the interested struggles between particular social actors and their social visions. My interrogation of personnel managers and their discursive practices in post-war Australia emerges in the space created by such an analysis.

Worker welfare and concern with the human dimension of the workplace have histories as long as work itself. Within the industrialising process competing conceptions and techniques targeting worker welfare became embedded in management practices as relations between employers and employees vacillated. The managerial view of labour, associated with Taylor and linked directly to efficiency concerns, also recognised the imperative of managing people in jobs and considering the human dimension to the workplace. Joy Damousi, for example, has identified and briefly explored the welfare work of female factory inspectors in the late nineteenth-century Victorian workplace. The inspectors (male and female) were mandated to monitor workplaces and implement the provisions of legislation that broadly addressed employment conditions. Damousi argues in part that the inspectors personified a liberal commitment to working for the ‘common good’; the mutual benefit of both worker welfare and industry viability. Factory inspectors and the concern for worker welfare should be interpreted as a step towards the increased involvement of management in the relationship employees held with the workplace. Lucy Taksa has also examined welfare measures in early twentieth-century Australia. Taksa has pointed

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13 Taksa recognises that other historians have examined the ideology of scientific management outside of the context of the workplace.

specifically to the blending of welfare techniques with scientific management in the context of New South Wales Railways and Tramways Department. Her argument demonstrates pre-Second World War management strategically intervening into workplace culture and (successfully) attempting to mediate the relationship workers have with the workplace. Taksa’s analysis demonstrates the gathering interest of management in achieving what they identified as effective relationships with workers. The blending of worker welfare and scientific management plus the articulation of common good in workplace relationships are essential points of origin for the discursive practices of post-war personnel managers.

Taksa’s analysis of welfare strategies intersects neatly with Wendy Hollway’s perceptive analysis of the origins of ‘human relations’ in the United Kingdom. Both scholars point to the adoption of a welfare approach that sought to humanise work, relating work to people while also expanding the possibilities of efficiency in labour. Both acknowledge that the welfare approach also reflected a fundamental perception that the workplace could be managed by altering the conditions and also the comfort of the individual worker. The site of workplace intervention was the relationship that the individual worker had to the workplace. The distinguishing feature of the welfare approach according to Hollway, was its emphasis on the body of the individual worker, “the factory hand”; a point supported by Taksa’s analysis. Welfarist measures would make jobs more applicable to individual bodies, distributing the right bodies to the jobs applicable to them. Each individual then, and each job, needed to be defined and known. The maximum welfare and comfort of the individual became a key to the maximum efficiency of the worker and so the profits of the workplace. At its core the welfare approach, as compared to the later variants of personnel management I explore, was concerned with bodies. Not simply the body in work, as expressed in the crudest versions of scientific management, which measured body movements, dimensions and relationships to the machines of work, though

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16 Hollway, op.cit. Part One; see also W. Hollway, ‘Efficiency and Welfare: Industrial Psychology at Rowntree’s Cocoa Works’, Theory and Psychology, vol. 3, no. 3, 1993, 303-322. I emphasise Hollway’s work here (as distinct from Rose) primarily because Hollway’s account of the origins of personnel management, particular in the pre-Second World War period of the twentieth century is far more exhaustive in detail than that provided by Rose.
certainly personnel management built upon this. The welfare approach instead emphasised the body at work, the body around work, the body on the way to and coming home from work; in short, the body as a part of work.18

Another key element to the origins of post-war personnel management was the accelerating engagement by management with psychological understandings of the human subject. Kevin Blackburn’s presentation of the early decades of industrial psychology provides a valuable record of this emerging aspect of workplace regulation in pre-Second World War Australia. Blackburn charts the connection in Australia between the emergence of industrial psychology and the ‘thrust for efficiency’. He documents the growing rationalisation of labour management and the rising awareness that scientific management required a deeper explanation of why certain workers were better suited to particular positions.19 Blackburn traces the concern with workplace issues expressed in the practice of a number of key figures in the emerging discipline of psychology in Australia. Elton Mayo, Bernard Muscio, Tasman Lovell and Alfred Martin each explored how psychological understandings of the human subject could better explain aspects of workplace behaviour.20 Blackburn demonstrates that the demands of industry and the insights of psychology dovetailed to propel the development of industrial psychology:

Advocates of efficiency in industry soon realised that it was not enough to manage jobs. Workers’ emotions about their work and their aptitudes for certain tasks also had to be managed 'scientifically' by industrial psychologists so that each individual could produce the greatest output possible.21

Industrial psychology and its understanding of the human subject enriched the developing managerial view of labour. Industrial psychology added impetus to the emerging view of the human dimension to the workplace. The increased deployment of psychological ways of knowing also reflected and encouraged the reformulation of the subject of workplace intervention; individuals existed in a

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19 Blackburn’s contribution charts the emergence of industrial psychology to test Weber’s thesis on the relationship between industrial rationalisation and the Protestant work ethic; see Blackburn, op.cit.
21 Blackburn, op.cit., 122.
relationship with the workplace and it was this relationship that constituted the terrain of intervention for the early personnel managers.

Despite the limited opportunities for implementation, early twentieth-century management practices created the context for the later emergence of personnel management as a distinct strata of management in post-war Australia.22


The Australian economy’s dependent role as primary resource provider to imperialist Britain, especially prior to the First World War, inhibited the spread of industrialisation and the conditions that contributed to the emergence of workplace regulation in the UK and the US. [Cochrane, ‘Industrialisation’, op.cit., 3-11; C. Forster, Industrial Development in Australia, 1920-40, Australian National University, Canberra, 1964, 3-25.] Consequently, ‘simple, personal supervision’, in Wright’s words, tended to be dominant in the fledgling industrial concerns of Australia. [C. Wright, ‘The Management of Labour’, op.cit., 18. It is worth emphasising that simple, personal or even paternalistic management does not imply a freedom from domination or even significant freedom from workplace brutality more commonly associated with scientific management or other such ideologies of control.]

After the First World War international capitalists established subsidiary operations in Australia so as to avoid strengthening tariff walls, walls in part constructed through the demands of organised labour. These international firms became an important source for the diffusion of new management knowledge. Management consultants, such as the globetrotting Bedaux Company, followed the international firms into the Australian economy and added to the domestic development of management systems. [C. Wright, ‘The Management Consultant and the Introduction of Scientific Management in Australian Industry’, in M. Bray & D. Kelly (eds), Issues and Trends in Australian Industrial Relations, The Association of Industrial Relations Academics of Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, 1989, 227-255, 229; Wright, ‘The Management of Labour’, op.cit., 27; Forster, op.cit., 192-193.]

During the First World War and into the ‘twenties and ‘thirties firm size increased, as did the share that industry contributed to the economy’s Gross Domestic Product. In 1921 primary production was finally superseded by industry as the largest employer in the economy. A greater understanding of the importance of manufacturing was emerging and “the sheep’s back now shared pride of place in the Australian economy with the assembly line and the smokestack.” [Cochrane, ‘Industrialisation’, op.cit., 3; Forster, op.cit., 7; N. Butlin, Australian Domestic Product, Investment and Foreign Borrowing, 1861-1938/9, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1962, 20-21.]

Despite the more accelerated development of capitalism after the First World War and the increasing sophistication of domestic management, significant differences between the Australian experience and what was occurring in more advanced western capitalist countries remained. Wright, for example, acknowledges that “while Australian industry was highly concentrated by the 1920s (6 per cent of firms employed half the manufacturing workforce), average firm size remained low, emphasizing the existence of a large periphery of small firms. For example, in 1929 the average number of wage-earners per establishment in Australia was only 15.6, as compared with 23.3 for Canadian industry and 41.9 in the United States.” [Wright, ‘The Management of Labour’, op.cit., 16; Butlin also comments on a noticeably low rate of labour productivity in the inter-war years; see N. Butlin, Some Perspectives of Australian Economic Development, 1890-1939, in C. Forster, Australian Economic Development in the Twentieth Century, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1970, 266-327, 304; also see Forster, ‘Industrial Development’, op.cit.]

Much of the pre-war development was contained in just a few of the larger enterprises of Sydney. Possibilities for the emergence of a specialised corps of men implementing or developing modern workplace regulation were constrained. Management techniques in Australia, as a result, remained extremely variegated, without coherent form. To successfully distinguish origins and provide explanations of the precocious Australian management and workplace trends, a number of labour historians have given scientific management the wider, ideologically inflected reading. This work has adopted a selective strategy, examining key industries (such as the railways) or locales (such as Lithgow) to illuminate developments. [On Lithgow see G. Patmore, ‘Localism and Labour: Lithgow 1869-1932’, Labour History, no. 78, 2000, 218-243. On the railways see Taksa, ‘All a Matter of Timing’, op.cit.]

There is, in pre-Second World War Australia, a perceptible, internationally significant increase in engagement with different ideologies and techniques of management. Manufacturers formed themselves into the Australian Industries Protection League to further their collective interests and various journals were established, including The Australasian Manufacturer and Australian Manufacturers’ Journal. Management and workplace regulation in the inter-war period became an issue to capital, who were concerned about the diminishing possibilities of accumulation. Workplace regulation was also evidently an issue to workers, spurred to a general strike in NSW in 1917. Debate and experimentation certainly existed. On balance the scholarship has indicated the pre-war era was neither stagnant nor removed from the international developments in management. [On the ‘deadlock’ between capital and labour seeConnell & Irving, op.cit., 270. On the 1917 strike and its relationship to scientific management see L. Taksa, ‘All a
It was these pre-war management trends and the welfarist approach to labour that, with the wartime acceleration of industry and the post-war restructuring of Australian capitalism, grew into what was proclaimed by post-war managerial and professional men as the Second Industrial Revolution, or the Managerial Revolution. In the following section I outline some of these conditions contributing to the problem that the managerial and professional men in personnel management sought to redress.

3.3 The War and Post-War Conditions Contributing to the Transformation in Personnel Management

The total war economy was characterised by a rapid expansion of industry: munitions and related commodities needed to be mass produced, previously utilised supply sources became inaccessible and substitution was required. This high level of output encouraged an associated high demand for labour. Chris Wright illustrates that in the metal industry alone there was a 92 per cent increase in total employment and, across the board, the figure for increase in employment was 36 per cent between 1939 and 1944. Concurrently, those who were then viewed as the chief constituents of the labour force – men – were also required to serve in the armed forces, thus diminishing the supply of labour. These conditions and contradictory movements compelled questions of production and productivity, workforce composition and workplace control to prominence. Accelerated state planning, profit guarantees and state takeover of certain industries were some of the techniques used to ensure production was directed to what was referred to as the ‘war effort’. The facilitation of women’s employment as well as the relaxing of retirement ages and other ‘manpower’ measures were part of attempts to bolster the size of the workforce. Efficiency and control of the labour force were complex and continuing demands central to capital,
however they were demands that, in the wartime conditions, had attained a heightened imperative; an imperative that underscored the importance of the personnel manager.

One personnel manager, reflecting in the 1950s on the perceived origins of his profession, commented on the correlation between the economic and social conditions of the war and the emergence of the profession:

It was an afterthought, but, during the war when there were so many young men away in the forces, the need to get the maximum benefit and maximum productivity out of the ones who remained called for management skill. So personnel management was born to help with maximum productivity during World War II— to stretch our limited resources, and that is where personnel management was conceived after the war.  

Though not an entirely seamless juncture, the wartime and early post-war conditions had strong similarities; conditions in the economy and labour market in particular remained favourable to the emergence and entrenchment of personnel management. The heightened demand for labour was the central feature accelerating recognition of the need for intervention into the relationship between workers and the workplace. Another personnel manager, commenting on the period 1945-1950, reflected on the key features of the labour market:

The labour market during this period has been dominated by four factors: a) the demand for labour has greatly exceeded the supply; b) the size of the labour force has grown; c) labour turnover has in general been increasing, and d) separations have been very great among short-term employees.

The growth of the labour market and the outstripping of supply by demand reflected the strength of post-war economic growth. Labour turnover rates (defined as the rate at which employees change employment) were perceived to be at a level that would “involve the employer in considerable expense in recruitment, training and loss of production”. Labour costs, that is, would impinge on profits.

The increased demand for labour in the post-war economy was also, in part, qualitatively different to previous requirements. Ongoing mechanisation and the
emerging possibilities of automation in industry induced a demand from capital for a labour force capable of being integrated with these technological developments. Issues of training, and more particularly in this early period, the capacity to adapt to machinery, were significant concerns which required the particular attention of management. Furthermore, the partial continuation of some women in the labour force and the strategic use of immigration to bolster the workforce, defence and consumption were also adding to the complexity of the market and, therefore, contributing to a challenging environment for capital.

Simultaneously, demobilisation and immigration supplied a high number of new workers with a variety of different skills and levels of industrial experience to the labour force, making recruitment financially perilous for management. As personnel managers later reflected, the need for companies to recruit in the context of high demand for labour was a significant ingredient securing the expansion of personnel management in post-war Australia. Myer Kangan, for example, later commented:

The large numerical increase of Personnel Officers came late in the 1940s and early 1950s when it became fashionable for industrial concerns to have a designated Personnel Officer to recruit, or seek to recruit, a share of labour for expanding industry from a population too few in number to supply all the labour that everyone needed. Indeed, recruitment of labour in the middle ’40’s and early ’50’s tended to become the Personnel Officer’s main function and some used interesting tricks to poach labour from their counterparts in other establishments.

A key result of the war and particularly early post-war labour market conditions was the increased relative power of workers. Obviously, in strictly economic terms, unmet demand for labour increases the potential for existing labour to demand a greater share of the value of their productive power. In 1945 workers were able to win a minimum two weeks annual leave. In 1947, through the 40 hour per week case, above award wage benefits were extended. Trade

union membership was at a peak and no longer in a war situation, the unions were noticeably more active in pursuing the interests of their members.\textsuperscript{32} The period 1945-50 was a time of incessant industrial disputation and managers pointed to a ‘get in while you can’ mentality in the leadership of trade unions. Prominent management consultant Walter Scott commented: “The unions know at the present time that they have unusual power and they are seeking to make the most of it.”\textsuperscript{33} Clearly understood to employers, the organised power of labour had become a threat to production and labour control. The historical context of the increased power of labour was not lost on workers, or on those attempting to mediate their relationship to the workplace.

The collective and structural power of workers was also understood in individual and human terms (reflecting in part the pre-war welfare approach). Management commentators lamented that, in a period of low unemployment, there was limited possibility of a return to the traditionally favoured solution to workers’ power, ‘queues at the gate’.\textsuperscript{34} Individual workers were seen as free from this threat and, as a result, employers saw themselves as being confronted with what one frustrated author referred to as “refined Luditism[sic]”.\textsuperscript{35} Individuals were identified as being capable of determining their relationship to work and, in the absence of ‘queues at the gate’, management recognised that the goals of individuals may not match the ‘thrust for efficiency’. The situation was stark:

\begin{quote}
A large proportion of the population of working people do not accept the principle that increased production arising from a steadily improving standard of efficiency is more important than a redistribution of current production.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

Even national and social obligations could no longer be relied upon. Commenting on rising levels of absenteeism in 1943, the Department of Labour and National Service (DLNS) counselled:

\begin{quote}
It must be remembered that, to the ordinary worker, the idea that there is anything morally wrong in staying away from work unnecessarily is something new. He has always conceived himself as free, individually, to give or withhold his labour according to his own needs. Again, long
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{34} BIPP, vol. 2, no. 1, 1946, 4.
\textsuperscript{35} BIPP, vol. 2, no. 1, 1946, 10.
\textsuperscript{36} BIPP, vol. 2, no. 1, 1946, 9.
periods of pre-war unemployment have dulled in some the sense of social and national obligations.\textsuperscript{37}

Management began to acknowledge that “most men will not work hard for anything as abstract as society.”\textsuperscript{38} The solution from management appeared to offer little to workers sceptical of their intentions and track record:

With their experience of poverty and unemployment during the interwar years, it is exceedingly difficult to convince people that increased effort will in fact result in an increased standard of living, or that by following the advice of economists with their new fangled theories regarding the maintenance of total outlay it will be possible to arrive at high and stable employment.\textsuperscript{39}

During the war and early post-war period, labour conditions were encouraging further shifts in the organisation of government and capital within the labour market. These shifts provided the foundations for the interventions of personnel managers and opened the possibilities for more effective workplace regulation. A significant example was the 1941 formation of the Industrial Welfare Division (IWD) of the Department of Labour and National Service.\textsuperscript{40} During the war 161 ‘industrial welfare officers’ were trained. These officers were deployed to work in select government factories and some private enterprises.\textsuperscript{41} This programme was the most significant systematic attempt to develop personnel management in Australia. The IWD also initiated publications that sought to gather and disseminate information to the war-time industrial welfare officers and to managers in private enterprise. The most significant publication was the \textit{Bulletin of Industrial Psychology and Personnel Practice}. The \textit{Bulletin} became an important vehicle for the training and intercommunication of the welfare officers and related professionals.\textsuperscript{42}


\textsuperscript{38} Scott, op. cit., 18.

\textsuperscript{39} BIPPP, vol. 2, no. 1, 1946, 10.

\textsuperscript{40} The Department of Labour and National Service was itself formed in 1940. The Department had several Divisions, they were: Secretariat, Industrial Relations, Industrial Training, Industrial Welfare, and Employment; see Australian Archives, Victoria (hereafter AA), Department of Labour and National Service (hereafter DLNS), Series B3533/1, Item 1002/1/65, \textit{Staff Information Manual}, 1945.


\textsuperscript{42} The centrality of the BIPPP to the DLNS is reflected in the many circulars and reviews on the BIPPP’s effectiveness as a propaganda tool. In 1949 the print run stood at 1400 copies; see AA DLNS Series B3533/6, Item 1045/1/1.
The work of the DLNS and the formation of institutions such as the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS) and the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) reflected and entrenched a new understanding of the role of the state in the labour market.43 The support of the state was, and continued to be, essential to the emergence of personnel management. During the total-war period manpower legislation was all encompassing. In the early years after the war, the IWD continued to employ twenty full-time officers spread across the country. The IWD conducted a vigorous research programme into the needs of industry and the impact of particular management techniques. The IWD officers also maintained regular contact with personnel officers in industry. Many of the officers of the Division, after a short period, were employed in private companies or took up teaching positions lecturing in management courses and many continued to write extensively in the area.44 The government also provided tax concessions to industry for the construction of amenities advocated by personnel management (addressing one frequent criticism of personnel management techniques: their short-term cost). Government patently identified a role in vigorously promoting and making possible the expansion of personnel management as an integral component to the Keynesian reconstruction of the labour market.

The changed economic conditions of post-war Australia also exposed inefficiencies in the practices of management. Peter Cochrane has remarked that the “vastness and complexity acquired by industry in these years called forth a managerial strata for the planning and co-ordination of the production process.”45 The conditions required increased specialisation of functions in the administration and control of resource use; labour management was one aspect of this. In 1965 one personnel manager even suggested that in the early post-war period managers “stopped blaming workers and realised that higher productivity was in the capacity of the managers of an enterprise.”46 Momentum was also created by the emerging profession eager to replicate and enhance its own prospects. In 1949 the

43 See for example Department of Post-War Reconstruction, Training to Win the Peace: An outline of the plans being made at the direction of the War Cabinet to train broad categories of servicemen and war workers for peace, The Department, Canberra, 1944.
44 M. Kangan is notable for staying with the Public Service through his entire career. Other early protagonists such as W. Bytt, K. Walker, R. Taft and M. Bucklow moved into academia or industry.
Australian Institute of Management (AIM) finally became a federation, adopting a constitution that aimed to ensure ‘the promotion, encouragement and coordination of the art and practice of industrial management in all its branches’. The AIM created a special committee for the promotion of personnel management, this committee embellished the work of the Personnel and Welfare Officers’ Association (later renamed the Institute of Personnel Management, Australia) created during the Second World War. This body was, as Wright has indicated, intended to provide a network for the new DLNS trained welfare officers. The Association, like the AIM, took considerable interest, as it grew in size, in pushing industry and government to fund training and education in the practices and perspectives of personnel management. The formation of coherent associations capable of representing and articulating the needs of personnel management was accompanied by promotion of, and debate around, personnel management in popular and specialist management journals such as Rydge’s, The Secretary and The Australian Accountant. Though not all publicity was uncritical, much of it was positive and illustrated a talent, among the personnel managers, for public and internal relations. An essential aspect of this debate and discussion was critical engagement with previous attempts to intervene into the relationship workers held with the workplace. The history of personnel management was at least partially understood at the time by the protagonists in this chapter. The recital and representation of management history by personnel managers served an important function in identifying the separate and significant place their own profession occupied in management, providing one important condition for renewal and expansion. Personnel management, even in this formative stage, recognised its indebtedness to and differences from the prewar attempts to establish management in Australian industry. Within the professional associations there was an appreciation of the importance of education, of understanding their own historical lineage and the dissemination of international debates indicating a developing profession and discourse intent on securing itself a position in the parameters of the labour market.

Finally, just as in the pre-war era when managerial consultants from overseas brought new techniques with them to Australia, so in the post-war era a similar process occurred, with new consultancies and regular managerial tours overseas. The continuing significance of multinationals in the post-war Australian economy encouraged the further expansion of the personnel function both as a mark of company modernity and as an integral part of economic competition to reduce costs. Wright’s analysis of unpublished DLNS research and the widely recognised increased significance of multinationals in the economy indicates that “[l]ocal subsidiaries of foreign companies acted as a direct means of importing overseas personnel techniques, and provided examples to local industry of more advanced labour management practices.”

Taken together, all these emerging conditions and shifts in structure highlight the growing perception of the urgency of intervention and they also demonstrate an increased capacity to effectively intervene. The war and post-war labour conditions were expressive of a modernising economy and society. The conditions challenged the pre-existing managerial view of labour. In the terrain of the workplace the power of workers called for new strategies that would address power and also address the continuing demands for efficiency. The changed conditions therefore compelled reformulation of the problem confronting management in the workplace. Managerial and professional men in personnel management represented the war and post-war conditions as generating a need for more effective mediation of the employee’s relationship to the workplace; an intervention was necessary. They sought to redevelop the solutions presented in pre-war welfarist strategies by understanding or imagining the needs of workers in what they presented as new lenses. The interventions that these men constructed through their practices drew from and contributed to the broader transformations of post-war modernisation adumbrated in Chapter Two.

3.4 The ‘Positive Approach’ in Post-War Personnel Management

The post-war discursive practices of personnel management centred on deepening understandings of the relationship workers had to the workplace. Initially, just as with the pre-war developments, the human welfare of workers remained the principal directing concern. Attention was given to studying the conditions of the workplace, what the workers did in the workplace and how these conditions impacted on efficiency. A DLNS publication of 1943 entitled *How to Reduce Absenteeism and Increase Production* expressed this continuing interdependent concern with welfare and efficiency: “the basis of improving the effectiveness of labour is the recognition of the human needs of people in production”.50 The relationship of personnel management to maximising efficiency was openly acknowledged and endorsed as ‘good practice’. As another author explained: “Good personnel practice enables the most efficient use to be made of available labour resources and helps smooth out the human difficulties that cause lags in production.”51 Greater attention was now focused on these ‘human difficulties’ in the relationship workers had to the workplace. The belief that efficiency and the imperative of profit could be intimately tied to the welfare of workers was now diffused across workplaces and the economy.

In formulating the role of the IWD officers, for example, much emphasis was placed on worker welfare. Absenteeism, which in the war time reached ‘excessive levels’, was recognised as being caused by low morale, itself a product of poor working conditions and worker welfare.52 In response, the discursive practices of personnel management sought reductions in absenteeism by “better arrangements for shopping, for transport and the care of children, but particularly by improved conditions inside the factory.”53 The fatigue studies of the war and post-war also stressed the need to consider basic amenities and working conditions. The emphasis on working conditions as being one of the key determinants of worker productivity directed the activities of the men in personnel management and so also the remedies that they put forward. The

52 BIPPP, vol. 7, no. 4, 1951, 3.
wartime and early post-war discourse is generous in its emphasis on studies into lighting, problems of repetition in machine use, the provision of hygienic toilets and change room facilities, the impact of a colour scheme in the factory, the use of in-house magazines, suggestion boxes, and canteens. These studies assessed and suggested remedies, revisited companies who had followed their advice and castigated those who would consider ignoring their work.

Demobilisation provided a significant opportunity for the techniques of job selection and guidance to be enacted on a grand scale across entire workplaces and the economy. Vocational guidance predates the post-war expansion of personnel management in Australia. However, post-war economic conditions strengthened the motivations compelling a focus on methods of recruitment and the more complete application of pre-war personnel management knowledges. Fears over the capacity of former soldiers to adjust to peace-time work was a feature in the discursive practice of early personnel management. Reflecting these concerns over potential difficulties in adaptation to peace-time conditions, and also reflecting deep concerns for the capacity of the economy to continue to expand after the war, the Commonwealth government emphasised vocational guidance and job placement in the demobilisation process. The methods applied by the Vocational Guidance Section of the CES encapsulate the response by personnel management to the post-war labour market conditions and the belief in the “industrial inefficiency and social maladjustments that result from the employment of square pegs in round holes.” Both relied on the conception of ‘fitting the man to the job’. Certain jobs were applicable only to certain people. Job selection techniques such as aptitude tests were represented as “essential for efficient placement”. In a period of high demand for labour the question was never just about finding labour, but more about allocating efficiently the potential labour that existed. As one personnel manager commented:

all the talents available should be used to the best advantage, and there is little question that efficiency can be materially improved in most

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54 The DLNS provided a variety of widely read pamphlets on many related work condition issues for company management and personnel officers.
55 See for example Blackburn, op.cit.
56 AA DLNS Series MP 243/3, Item 45/101/12254, Box 1, Employment Services Circular no. 41, 1945.
factories by a thorough review and rearrangement of the personnel already employed.58

Through mass application personnel management was able to cement the significance of ‘scientific methods’ of job selection into understandings of the relationship between workers and the workplace.59

Amid this continuity from the pre-war origins of personnel management, the changed conditions of modernisation encouraged a transformation in the way the workplace and the worker’s relationship to it was imagined by personnel managers. The discursive practices addressed new solutions in the interventions of personnel managers. The transformation is evidenced by the growing prevalence, in the discursive practices of personnel management, of references to the worker’s satisfaction and contentment in the workplace. Personnel management examined “the jobs performed in the factory, with a view”, according to one typical formulation, “to relieving boredom and making employees work more interesting and personally satisfying.”60 Kangan recognised that, in the context of the post-war labour market conditions “the attitudes of [factory] operatives will become a more decisive factor.”61 The principal focus of the personnel manager became “creating and maintaining a contented workforce”.62 Though there may have been a “decline of the idea that employees are merely ‘hands’”,63 as personnel management stepped away from the language of disembodied worker-limbs, the workplace was nevertheless fractured into individual human units comprised of satisfactions and sentiments.

The focus on worker satisfaction and contentment illuminated a developing micro focus on the mind of the individual worker and their motivations in work. “[F]ailure to appreciate the complexity of human motivation” was now identified as an ‘outstanding weakness’ in industry.”64 Personnel managers were advised to develop mechanisms in the workplace to incorporate and encourage (positive)

58 BIPPP, vol. 2, no. 1, 1946, 8.
59 In practice the aptitude studies and selection processes were very basic but they did include an attempt to know the worker’s state of mind.
emotional attachment to the workplace. Pleasure in work became a goal. The link to the workplace was no longer an external one. The relationship to work became a part of the worker’s very constitution:

The notion that work is somehow an unfortunate but unpleasant necessity is a weird hangover from earlier ages. Work is important to people, and a great deal of human satisfaction and happiness can be derived from it.65

Initially, satisfaction and contentment were terms used widely and loosely by personnel managers. But the emphasis on satisfaction and contentment reflected a growing preoccupation with psychological ways of understanding the individual’s relationship to the workplace. Although Industrial Psychology had made important contributions to personnel management in pre-War Australia, the post-war developments were more intricate and extensive. Psychological understandings came to be acknowledged as axiomatic to the discursive practices of personnel management. The worker’s mind and the internal dynamics of the worker became knowable; personnel management would working at “making the unpredictable, predictable”.66 Understandings of motivation and emphasis on psychological ways of knowing illuminated the capacity for the individual’s relationship to work to be adjusted. Personnel management became preoccupied with the sentiments of the worker and with directing their reactions to the workplace. The worker was identified as possessing an emotional relationship to work that was quantifiable, able to be rationally known and adjusted:

important [wrote Myer Kangan] has been the advice to try to understand the personnel ambitions, disappointments, grievances, worries – at home or at work – of the individual, for therein may lie the key to the readjustment of a troublesome worker.67

The relationship to work came to be seen as integral to the identity of the productive subject, such that personnel managers sought to “modify traditional organisations to release motivating forces and to provide satisfaction of important human needs, particularly those of self-actualisation.”68

With the inward turn and the emphasis on human relations, mediating the relationship between the worker and the workplace was recognised as something

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66 Rose, op.cit., 112.
to be achieved not through coercion, the ‘big stick’, but by more subtle engagements that linked the satisfactions of workers with the workplace. Personnel management explicitly recognised that “control [in the workplace] should essentially be a positive thing.” Management, said one personnel manager,

will be achieved if the concept of self-control is established and if the targets which were set as the basis for self-control are at least ostensibly established by the person whose area is being controlled.

Emphasis on worker contentment was linked by personnel managers to the conditions they identified in the post-war labour market. The positive engagement of the worker and the relationship the worker had with the workplace was recognised, at the time, as a response to the power of workers. With some understanding of the conditions of the labour force, one personnel manager commented:

man lives for bread alone only when there is no bread. But a man whose stomach is satisfied by a secure supply of food becomes conscious of other needs. And in our society where unemployment has been virtually unknown for 25 years or so people require things additional to an adequate wage to give them all the satisfactions they want from work.

Without the capacity, or the desire, to alter the existing ownership of production or the fundamental practices of production, personnel management mobilised significant concessions in response to the expansion in the power of labour. Myer Kangan’s lament that the use of the big stick had been modified expressed a common identification among personnel managers. The adoption of the positive approach was encouraged by the conditions and demanded by the representatives of labour. The formation of the wartime industrial welfare officers, though represented as an initiative of the DLNS, was influenced considerably by trade union agitation. The committee which selected and oversaw the training of the officers included a number of representatives from trade unions. Workers demanded improvements to working conditions and recognition of the human needs of people in production. Myer Kangan’s comment quoted at the opening of this chapter was indicative: the ‘big stick’ could no longer be relied upon,

69 J. Smith, ‘Changes and Innovation in Management’, *PM*, vol. 7, no. 1, 75-84, 80.
72 See for example AA DLNS Series B3533/1, Item 1020/1/12.
therefore the “positive approach to disciplinary problems [or] ‘human relations’” gained its position of prominence.\textsuperscript{73}

Alongside expressions of concern about the welfare of the worker were statements that quite patently linked the comfort and welfare of workers to increases in production, productivity and, ultimately, profit. The war-time origin of the welfare officers was, as we have already seen, based in concerns over absenteeism and fatigue; all factors that led to slipping production levels. In the post-war world, with less opportunity to piggy-back on exhortations to defend the nation, personnel managers frequently linked their work, the welfare of employees, and the pressing need for increased productivity. The provision of ‘services’ by employees, referred to by Kangan in the quotation above, were services that produced profit. Describing the dual role of personnel managers in 1952, an article in \textit{BIPPP} noted that “Personnel Management in any organisation must contribute to efficiency while recognising that people need to find satisfaction in their work.”\textsuperscript{74} So labour turnover, for example, whilst being lamented as an indication of dissatisfaction, was also represented with a monetary value and as an issue of cost to the employer. To managers and their fellow personnel professionals, personnel management presented the human relations approach as a necessary investment. As one personnel manager remarked “[t]he human assets of any company are of great economic value, they must be conserved, cultivated, and enhanced if the company is to prosper and grow.”\textsuperscript{75} Personnel management openly accepted its responsibility in the struggle to raise productivity.

Imperative to the discursive practice of personnel management was the meshing of the objectives of the enterprise with the internal motivations and desires of the worker:

We have perhaps been deluded into believing that the objective of personnel management was to make the employee happy in his work when all the time we should have been trying to make him happy with his work, which is a different matter entirely.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{73} Kangan, ‘Supervision and Discipline’, op.cit., 8.
Personnel management largely ceased referring to companies seeking profit or profitability and started referring to the ‘objectives of an organisation’. Aware of the conditions of the labour market, personnel managers reiterated that the goal of efficiency
cannot fail if in the end it succeeds in making the purpose of industry
the purpose of the worker, so that the worker associates himself with
the process and considers himself essential to the total effort.77

The function of personnel management became the intermeshing of the objectives of the organisation with the fulfilment and self-actualisation of the individual worker:

In the end, what matters is our individual attitude to work itself, our
belief in success, in productivity and in profitability, our interest in our
products, our loyalty to our employers, our fellow men and, above all, our self-reliance, and our search for fulfilment.78

Satisfaction as it was utilised by personnel management also intersected with an economic vision of the consuming society. While lamenting the apparent disinterest of workers in ‘national and social obligations’, personnel managers promoted the ‘carrot’ of consumption. Workers’ contentment could be reconceptualised by personnel management into a social satisfaction that transgressed the boundaries of workplace. The promise of the commodity-filled good life was transported into the workplace. There was, in post-war Australia, growing interest in the possibilities of wage incentives.79 During the 1950s and particularly the 1960s the perceived advantages of financial incentives to workers became more prominent in the discourse of personnel management. The accelerating importance of financial incentives to strategies of motivation indicated a changed understanding of what it was that workers wanted or needed from paid employment. The clearest expression of the perspective that appeared to underlie the new approaches to financial incentives was given by the personnel consultant W.D. Scott in a 1955 BIPPP article. Scott states that:

It is now commonly said that both the stick and the carrot have lost their efficacy. We know the difference between the power contained in the old admonition “if thou dost not work, thou shalt not eat” as against

77 BIPPP, vol. 1, no. 1, 21.
79 Financial incentives for increased production rates were an integral part of the methods that Taylor and others had championed well before the Second World War. Chris Wright discusses post-war wage incentives in Wright, ‘The Management of Labour’, op.cit., 76-78.
the present “if you don’t work, you won’t starve, but you won’t be able to buy a refrigerator”.  

The more direct appeal to individual economic incentive indicates the persistence of material issues in the lives of workers and in their understanding of what work meant. Despite the developments in personnel management and the shift towards the positive approach and the use of psychology, there remained the recognition that “the human factors of production are likely to show interest when they know they will share in the profits.”

The emphasis on the embodied individual in the discourse of personnel management was also functional to the viability of the profession that nurtured the discourse. The worker was knowable, the working conditions quantifiable. Personnel managers would be needed to examine, study and ultimately to control the now knowable satisfactions and attitudes of the worker. Momentum was created to ensure the practice and prominence of the profession. This technique of government now evident in the discursive practices of personnel management addressed the profession’s need to replicate and enhance its own prospects.

The emerging emphasis on satisfaction, contentment and motivation reflected international trends in management knowledge. Australian personnel managers were cognisant of the overseas developments and there were frequent references to theorists like F. Herzburg, Elton Mayo and Ernst Dichter. Internationally it was the famous Hawthorne experiments, conducted by Elton Mayo in the 1930s, that marked out the origins of the transformation observed in post-war Australia. These experiments identified that “work output [was] a function of the degree of satisfaction which in turn depends upon the informal social pattern of the work group.” Mayo’s work was not just about the work group, it emphasised the needs of individuals and it represented them in terms of worker satisfactions and attitudes. From this context Australian personnel managers deployed counselling in workplaces, examined job design, trained managers in ‘positive

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81 Comment by A. Tyner (Ford, Australia) at the Institute of Personnel Management Conference 1962 in PM, vol. 1, no. 1, 1962, 7.
82 Hollway, op.cit., 70.
83 Discussion of the Hawthorne experiments is found in F. Roethlisberger & W. Dickson, Management and the Worker, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1970 [1939].
approaches’ to supervision and made use of ‘psychometric’ aptitude and vocational guidance tests.

Wendy Hollway has characterised the emerging prominence of human relations as a transformation from the disciplining of bodies, the ‘factory hands’, to a strategy dependent on self-regulation, or ‘sentimental workers’. The transformation, she argues, was expressed by

a change in method from an experimental one whose object was the body (or the interface between the body and the job), to one whose object was attitudes as the intervening variable between situation (working conditions) and response (output). Human relations not only made possible the production of different kinds of information for the first time in the workplace, but had a powerful effect on the workers themselves.\(^84\)

Modernisation compelled a reformulation of how personnel management imagined the workers’ relationship to the workplace (or ‘workplace regulation’ in her terms). The stated aims of the discourse of personnel management evolved into securing increases in the productive potential of the entire labour force and in the individual employees of an enterprise. Personnel management developed its knowledges so that it could better quantify, direct, train, evaluate in the interests of productivity. But at the same time personnel management sought a role in the actual constitution of that labour force. Personnel management sought to know the mind of the worker to determine and deliver to it satisfactions in the workplace. Emphasising self-actualisation and fulfilment in the workplace, the positive approach was characterised, in Hollway’s words, by the belief that:

workers would control their own relation to the job (though not control their own job) as management desired if they were treated in a way which was consistent with an understanding of the root causes of their behaviour.\(^85\)

The interventions of personnel management were attempting to operate on the subjectivity of that labour force; to create a productive subject, an identity favourable to the extraction of surplus value. Nikolas Rose has also identified this transformation and, like Hollway, he questions the production of subjectivities through the practices of workplace regulation. Rose advances the implications of this transformation and further explains its connection as a technique of government:

\(^84\) Hollway, op.cit., 71.
\(^85\) Hollway, op.cit., 88.
The worker is an individual in search of meaning, responsibility, a sense of personal achievement, a maximised ‘quality of life’, and hence of work. Thus the individual is not to be emancipated from work, perceived as merely a task or a means to an end, but to be fulfilled in work, now construed as an activity through which we produce, discover, and experience our selves.\footnote{Rose, op.cit., 103.}

Recognising the transformation towards the positive approach as a deployment of government unsettles conventional perspectives on the meanings of personnel management. Interventions by these managerial and professional men were not simply seeking to enslave workers in deeper oppressions nor are they only responses that acquiesce to the welfare demands of labour at a moment of power. While this deployment of government can be understood as part of the production of particular subjectivities (ones, as Rose and Hollway suggest, that are productive and aligned with the needs of production), it can also be understood as an interested process. In the remainder of this chapter I explore aspects of this interested process of government. I examine how the relationship between the worker and the workplace that was imagined reflected and responded to the class and gender interests of the professional and managerial operators of personnel management. I also detail the authority that makes comfortable the capacity to intervene.

\section*{3.5 Citizens of the Workplace: the class interests of post-war personnel management}

In understanding and mediating the relationship workers had with the workplace, personnel managers imagined the workplace to be a ‘society’, a space where individuals came together as individuals and worked for their own satisfaction and a perceived common good. The workplace was represented as a space of freely interacting individuals, as distinct from a vision of the workplace constituted by competing groups or class interests. The individual at work was contained. The individual was demarcated from other individuals, there was no mass and there was no collectivity. At a time when organised labour, the collective expression of workers, was at an historic high, the discursive practices
of personnel management conceptualised the worker in specifically atomised terms. Commenting on industrial relations, one personnel manager stated:

Too often do we divide those in industry into management on the one hand and employees on the other and consider all the problems of industrial relations in terms of this division. Too rarely do we think of an industrial organisation as a society made up of many different types of persons with different attitudes and different contributions, and so see industrial relations problems as problems in the proper functioning of that society as a whole.\(^{87}\)

The workplace became an organisation constituted by different individuals. The worker did not have objective interests at odds with management. The worker was a collection of individual desires, simple motivations and other, knowable, emotions. The strategies of personnel management appear to be directed at dividing, distracting and distancing workers from each other, emphasising individual contentment, individual rewards and the similarities of workers with their bosses. The personnel manager, through the positive approach, facilitated a relationship to work that sought to meld these ideas together.

Representing and acting on the relationship between the workplace and the worker via an analogy of the workplace as a society enabled personnel managers to draw upon liberal understandings of citizenship:

the healthy industrial enterprise is the one whose workpeople regard themselves as being its citizens rather than its subjects, with all the status and opportunities for participation that the distinction implies.\(^{88}\)

Work presented ‘opportunities’ for a workplace citizen to affirm and enact the responsibilities of a citizenship. Citizenship provided an analogy that expressed the neutrality of work and efficiency. Work could be disconnected from profit and connected to a social good. Workers were participants in an enterprise. Their work was a form of service that enabled their own sense of self to be expressed. The analogy of the worker as citizen could be taken further. One personnel manager, in an article entitled ‘The Factory and the Community’, even claimed that to “a generation grown up in democracy [work became] free acts of friendship between equals.”\(^{89}\) More usually, personnel managers positioned themselves as facilitators who were generating the opportunities for individual worker/citizens to achieve their own individual aspirations through more effective

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\(^{87}\) BIPPP, vol. 7, no. 4, 1951, 22.


participation in the workplace. Nikolas Rose has presented this process as the extension of democracy into the workplace:

Work was to be more than merely a contractual relationship between the individual and the employer, in which the former suffered the pains and deprivation of labour in exchange for the wage, and the latter sought to extract the maximum profit from a worker viewed as a mere function in the labour process. Work was the means by which the individual achieved a relationship with society at large, and entered into the bonds of social solidarity and mutuality.⁹⁰

The emphasis in the positive approach on individual aspirations, satisfactions and the analogy to citizenship was focused upon successfully establishing a connection between productive work attitudes and productive work practices. Though revelation and reiteration of individual aspiration was in the foreground, the discursive practices of personnel management explicitly recognised material productivity as both a measure of satisfaction and as a targeted outcome in the workplace. The positive approach articulated an effective response to the collective power of workers by seeking to disaggregate the relationship of workers to the workplace and align productivity to individual satisfaction. It was a response that advanced the class interests of these managerial and professional men.

The analogy with citizenship drawn by personnel managers reveals the class interests evident in both the positive approach and in the liberal conception of citizenship. Work was represented in the practices of personnel management as an integral part of the service to society that defined an individual’s citizenship. The relationship to the workplace could provide a subjective meaning to the worker that was, through the idea of service, bound to notions of a common good. The citizens at work laboured for a common good free from the bonds of class and the institutions of class (such as unions) that distorted their relationship to society. But this service of work was clearly geared to productivity and the achievement of profit for producers. Work was premised on class outcomes and so, also, the common good of liberal citizenship obscured specific class entailments. I return in Chapter Six of this thesis to give greater consideration to the ‘partisan’ meanings of this common good and of citizenship generally.

⁹⁰ Rose, op.cit., 78. Nicholas Brown also shares this analysis in his brief review of the BIPPP in N. Brown, Governing Prosperity: Social Change and Social Analysis in Australia in the 1950s, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1995, 119-123.
Citizenship was not generally evoked by personnel managers as an exhortation (to work for the national interest, as during the war) but in the meaning they sought to attach to their own work mediating the relationships between workers and the workplace. Positioning work as enhancing the citizenship of workers provided a way for personnel managers to understand their own role; the relationship they were intervening into would advance the common good for all. It was an analogy that contributed to their own enhanced sense of authority as managers while also eliding the class entailments of the productive subject’s labours. Class interests could be affirmed in the acts of labour that denied their existence.

In their representation of trade unions the managerial and professional men in personnel management revealed most explicitly the class interests of their deployment of government. Unions were positioned, at best, as a hindrance and, more usually, as an active agent working to destroy the initiatives that personnel management could achieve for both the individual and the workplace. The hostility to trade unions reflected the competing visions of society that unions and personnel management offered. Trade unionism, with its understanding of collective workplace identity and recognition of the class interests of workers was the antithesis to the notion of the productive subject central to post-war personnel management. Personnel management identified unions as the most significant threat to the possibility of individual workers developing allegiance to the company and its objectives. Unions challenged the representation of personnel management as either the natural allies of workers or as fair arbiters. Unions represented an outside and uncontrollable force that could act upon the relationship workers had to the workplace.

In recognising workers as humans and employers as compassionate, personnel management attempted to construct a divide between the oppressive past and a new harmonious present. In 1948, for example, M. Bucklow was able to note a “decline of the idea that employees are merely ‘hands’.”91 Placing malpractice in the past created space for the ongoing intervention of personnel managers who had to watch, record and know the workplace and the worker so as

to render redundant the past. Considerable energy was expended in highlighting that the excesses of the past were no longer a part of the discourse of personnel management. Relegating these ‘excesses’ to the past was part of the strategy to relegate a particular, class-based relationship between workers and the workplace to the past.

Another facet of the hostility towards trade unions centred on the legitimacy of personnel management within the workplace. The demands that unions made were frequently perceived as demands for greater control over the production process, encroaching on what personnel managers claimed to be theirs. Walter Scott, expressing this hostility, commented:

Unions have made repeated attempts to encroach more and more upon those preserves which Management had always previously insisted should remain peculiarly and totally its own. There are numerous instances today of attempts by Unions to interfere with so-called Management prerogative.

The developments of personnel management were presented as scientific and objective developments. Only the objective interpretation and scientific implementation of changes by personnel managers would improve the conditions and so also the efficiency of labour. Unions were discredited for their direct and open identification of the sectional interests of workers. The notion of class solidarity was an anathema to the individualised representation of the worker’s relationship to the workplace and to understanding of the worker as liberal citizen. According to personnel managers, unions failed to improve the conditions of workers because their approach was only sectional. That is, their approach were not based on a rational assessment of either individual desires or common benefits.

Unions were not only invalid, they were also incapable of delivering improved conditions to the workforce because, according to the personnel professionals, they did not possess the skills or techniques. The continued existence and support for unions was perceived as an affront to management’s ability to know the worker best. Technique was an important basis to the authority of the personnel manager in the terrain. Critics of union representation argued that unions failed to “know what is really good for [the employees’] own

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93 Scott, ‘Greater Production’, op.cit., 44.
welfare.” Personnel management positioned itself as being purely objective, balanced in its approach to workers and to management. The emphasis on technique and inquiry enhanced the capacity to act and, as I explore in the next section, was also reflective of a configuration of both class and gender interests. The hostility towards trade unions and the persistent presentation of a case against union involvement in the workplace was an integral part of the strategy to affirm the authority of personnel managers and the validity of their intervention. Knowing the worker best was both a claim to authority and a targeted attack on the capacity of others in the workplace (namely unions) to address the interests of workers.

3.6 A Man Amongst Men: the mastery of post-war personnel management

The familiar allusions to the ‘big stick’, the ‘carrot’ and the image of the personnel manager orchestrating the relationship of the worker to the workplace encourage a reading of the operations of gender in the discursive practices of personnel management. Kangán’s commentary on the adoption of the human relations and the decline of the ‘big stick’ resonates with the historian Kathy Peiss’s remark that “gender has offered a language for management practices” and that gendered representations in management may articulate intricate relations of class, ethnicity or gender. In this chapter section I demonstrate that the positive approach depended on imagining the worker’s relationship to the workplace in gendered ways. In the context of my portrait of managerial and professional men I argue that the transformation to the positive approach can be understood as sustaining the gender interests of the men in personnel management. The self-perception of authority central to the interventions in the post-war workplace by managerial and professional men can be understood as being generated by and entrenching gendered outcomes. To develop this analysis of the Australian experience of transformations in post-war modernisation I have

worked with Wendy Hollway’s reappraisal of the gendered dimension of workplace regulation.

Historical analyses of the impact of scientific management in the workplace have begun to recognise the gender dimensions to workplace regulation. Some analysis has emphasised, in relation to scientific management, the impact upon male workers of the loss of control in the workplace. A number of studies have also pointed to the struggles against scientific management, suggesting them to be contestations between competing understandings of how to be men; the men of management and the men on the shopfloor. Wendy Hollway has provided a reading that usefully identifies the gendered dimension of the application of scientific management and its impact on male workers:

The application of scientific management is gendered in multiple ways. First, we have men stripped of an important support to their masculinity by the appropriation of their craft skill. Second, we have the struggle for control of the powerful technologies of the production line, with the masculine investments in that control, given that its object is (female) nature. Third, there is management’s dependence, not on abstract labour, but on the bodies of male workers who struggle to retain their masculinity, mechanization notwithstanding.

In this regard scientific management expressed a vision of management that compromised the workers’ understanding of their own sense of control and authority in their relationship to work. The mind of management was exercising control (through technique) over the body of the male worker. Hollway suggests that in the deployment of scientific management the interests of management men (to be in control and authority) were met at the expense of gender interests of male workers. It is further argued that this gender dimension was a significant source of discontent with scientific management.

Hollway’s analysis of what she labels ‘the sentimental worker’ or the positive approach indicates that the transformation and development of these strategies can be understood as a response to the impact of scientific management on men as men:

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98 This argument is further assisted by the work of Taksa on the importance of recognising the ideology of scientific management. While Taksa’s initial focus has been on the class interests of the link between welfare and scientific management, the gender dimension is also evident in her work; see Taksa, ‘All a Matter of Timing’ (1998), op.cit. and Taksa, ‘Scientific Management: Technique or Cultural Ideology?’, op.cit.
The purpose of self-regulation, as defined by human relations, was precisely to reinvest workers with some sense of mastery over their work. At its most radical, this was approached by restructuring work, more cautiously through job enrichment and most typically through the impression of autonomy fostered by interpersonal relations typical of a ‘democratic’ leadership style (listening, empathy, consultation), while impersonal rules and technology governed the actual control one could exercise over the job.  

The positive approach, according to Hollway, re-invests the perception of control and mastery with the worker without compromising productivity. The relationship of the worker to the workplace imagined by personnel management is no longer a relationship that undermines the male worker’s perception of his own mastery at work. For personnel managers the positive approach represents a shift that does not compromise their capacity to fulfil their function for management, but does deflect an element of opposition to their interventions in the terrain. Implementation of the positive approach, this deployment of government, responded to the gender interests of male workers and it mobilised those interests, making them productive in the workplace. This narrative is complicated however by the recognition that female workers were prominent as subjects of investigation and intervention in the initial war and post-war transformation to the positive approach in personnel management. Close to half of the Industrial Welfare Division (IWD) studies published in the first five years of the Bulletin of Industrial Psychology and Personnel Practice (1945-1950) were studies that relied on women operatives as subjects.  

The IWD’s targeting of female employees is also revealed in the recruitment of welfare officers. The IWD maintained a policy that “it is an advantage to employ a male officer to deal with male employees, and a female officer to deal with female employees.” Female officers (generally with a male supervisor) were to be assigned to specific factories where the workforce was predominantly women. Compared to total workforce participation rates of the time, the IWD recruited a disproportionately large number of women to be

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100 Of the 35 studies that appear to be based upon empirical surveys of Australian industries, 14 were conducted in factories where the workforce was clearly identifiable as female.
101 AA DLNS Series B3533/1, Item 1020/1/12, Female Welfare Officers. Conditions of Service, correspondence to the Women’s Employment Board. Welfare Section, 1944.
welfare officers. The intention clearly was to focus intervention on female workers and it was through these interventions that the new approach was developed, tested and implemented.

Gail Reekie, in her examination of labour control strategies in the pre-Second World War retail industry, has pointed to the tendency for welfare schemes in the inter-War decades to be implemented in female-dominated workplaces. Reekie argues that this partly reflected a continuation of paternalism and a belief that women were less suited to the workplace. But Reekie’s comments also suggest my broader argument that the gendered composition of the workforce provided significant opportunities for the development of labour control methods (in this instance welfarist strategies) that would be applicable to both male and female workers: “Ideologies of female nature facilitated state intervention and reform and the implementation of welfare programmes and training schemes.”

The IWD also acknowledged its focus on women workers and presented its work as making the factory, particularly during (but not limited to) the war, more ‘suitable’ for women workers. Factory welfare work during the war was recognised as essential to making women’s labour force participation more socially acceptable and also more attractive to women workers. Reekie’s analysis of welfarism suggests, however, that the gender composition of the workforce requires a more critical interrogation. The focus on the female worker during the development and early deployments of the positive approach presented a less hostile subject for personnel managers to explore motivations, satisfactions and contentment. Urban working-class women were the most exposed section of the working class at the time. The movement of women into paid labour cannot be said to have been fully supported by trade unions and studies have illustrated the difficulties that women workers experienced with the leadership of trade unions in the war period and before.

References:

102 There were 2916 male applicants and 963 female applicants for the available positions, a 3:1 ratio, however when employed there was a 50:50 gender split, indicating a conscious decision on the part of the Division selection committee. AA DLNS Series B3533/1, Item 1020/1/12, Female Welfare Officers. Conditions of Service, correspondence to the Women’s Employment Board. Welfare Section, 1944.
compromised in their capacity to represent and defend groups of workers against any regressive movements by management due to a general agreement to limit strikes and industrial action. Industry’s position of power was further embellished by the cost-plus agreements with government, which served to guarantee profits. The combined result of these factors was a climate highly conducive to experimentation with new methods to direct, manage and know the female worker. It was a climate sharply different to other, better known, attempts at altering management methods, such as in the railway workshops of the First World War.\(^{105}\) That many women were less experienced as industrial workers and that trade unions were ill equipped and disinclined to represent women workers does not mean that these women were less aware of the particular conditions of their labour, were less political, or less likely to resist the intrusions of management into the factory floor. In fact the high absentee rates that encouraged the continued training of welfare officers reflect the opposite.\(^{106}\) Nevertheless these workers were more vulnerable to the application of a new technique of workplace regulation.

The focus on women workers provided necessary momentum for the managerial and professional men dominating the profession of personnel management in the war and early post-war years. The positive approach sought to mobilise productive subjects by engaging with their inner satisfactions, needs and desires. It depended upon an intimate interpretation of those desires and a sensitive engagement from a position of authority and expertise. By identifying the female worker as an initial and experimental target male personnel managers could rely upon a gendered tradition of subject/object relations and a gendered assumption of authority. Personnel managers did not identify the positive approach as applying only to female workers, it was clearly intended as a universal intervention. But the application of the positive approach was strengthened by its initial emphasis on female workers. The embodiment of the productive subject enabled the deployment of the techniques of government.

The transformation to the positive approach was also a strategic attempt to entwine the gender interests of men in the profession with the practice of the

\(105\) Patmore, ‘Bureaucracy and Scientific Management’, op.cit.

profession. It reflected and sought to entrench the authority of men within personnel management. Women had long been active in the welfare of workers. Joy Damousi’s analysis of the factory inspector Margaret Cuthbertson provides an early example of this.107 Gail Reekie has also acknowledged that inter-war welfare work was promoted by some advocates as ‘a suitable career for women’.108 Though scientific management and welfarist strategies may have been blended, as Taksa has demonstrated, the twin approaches were also implemented in gendered ways. Industrial nurses may have managed the welfarist strategies but it was generally the men from management who dealt with job design and card systems.109 The discursive practices of post-war personnel management curtailed the spaces available for women to practice in the profession. Understandings of psychology replaced welfare to provide the language to explain the ‘human factors of industry’. The dependence on psychological knowledge gave personnel management a perceived scientific status and also implied a different source for recruits. Although the IWD employed a significant number of female welfare workers, the IWD after the war was active (under Myer Kangan’s stewardship) in professionalising its knowledge base and position within management. This work and the status and salary scale of personnel managers suggested the profession was now identified as integral to management and predominantly male. At least in the short term, the transformation to the positive approach was built upon factors that operated to limit the participation of women in personnel management. The transformation expressed and entrenched the gender interests of the managerial and professional men engaged in personnel management.

3.7 Conclusion

Personnel managers positioned themselves to serve a vital function in the terrain of the workplace. In the conditions of modernisation these men identified the potential threat of increased workers’ power destabilising the capacity for business to profit: the relationship between the worker and the workplace, they asserted,
required intervention. Managerial and professional men provided this intervention, they sought to mediate the relationship between the worker and the workplace and they aimed to build a regime of production that could generate the productivity and profit underpinning modernisation. The positive approach or ‘human relations’ was the key response to post-war conditions.

The positive approach drew from inter-war and international developments and reflected the adoption of techniques of government: it aimed to connect the satisfactions and desires of the worker to the fulfilments and capacities offered in the workplace. To understand the transformation to government and its connection to social relations I have traced the interests evident in the techniques of personal management. The positive approach addressed the social relations of class and gender, delivering tangible outcomes to managerial and professional men. But, the positive approach was also dependent on the leverage provided by those social relations. Responding to the gender interests of male workers and gaining leverage from gender relations were central to the personnel managers’ pursuit of more productive and profitable relationships between workers and the workplace. In addition, although personnel managers explicitly sought to define the relationship to work as being beyond class, their mediations on the common good of work and workplace citizenship were strategies that advanced their own class interests. But the interventions of managerial and professional men in the workplace and elsewhere were not prohibitive, rather they were productive. The regeneration of hegemony becomes, through government, the enabling actions of men. In the following chapter I continue to trace the mobilising of subjects and the interconnection of social relations with subjects by exploring the terrain of the market and the men who addressed the consuming subject so familiar to studies of post-war popular culture.
FIGURE 4.1: The Australian Association of National Advertisers, 
*The Marketing Man* (c. 1963).
Mobilising for Consumption:

The Marketing Concept and Post-war Market Research

4.1 Introduction

The cover page of the Australian Association of National Advertisers’ career advice booklet, *The Marketing Man*, appears to present a succinct illustration of the self-perceptions and aspirations held by the marketing professions and the men who belonged to them in the post-Second World War period (*Figure 4.1*).

Into the foreground strides the marketing man. Imposing himself on the marketplace, his right foot is forward, his briefcase and, presumably, research papers in hand. With his square jaw, sharp edges and angular body, typical of business homunculi in the period, the marketing man is stepping confidently into the cadre of marketing management and stepping above the consumer. For boys reading the career booklet there could have been little ambiguity in this symbolism: our man in marketing was in control, framing and containing the marketplace and its subjects viewed below him. The written text inside the booklet affirmed this message:

The new technique that makes modern marketing different from old fashioned selling can be described in two words … PLAN and CONTROL … It means that modern marketing demands a precise, scientific marketing attack on selected targets.

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1 *Figure 4.1* from The Australian Association of National Advertisers, *The Marketing Man* (no date, circa 1963), in Australian National University Noel Butlin Archive Centre (hereafter NBAC), Australian Association of National Advertisers (hereafter AANA), MS Z169, Box 69. Commencing with this image is also apt as it was these marketing professions who redeveloped the relationship between the visual image and the linguistic sign, especially since the Second World War. For an interesting discussion of this development and its relationship to consumption see D. Lowe, *The Body in Late-Capitalist USA*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1995, 59-62.


3 AANA, op.cit., no pagination.
The black suit, the briefcase and the thin tie announce his precision. The framed spectacle of the marketplace beneath the marketing man illuminates women freely choosing, considering the attractive and well ordered array of products presented to them; all contained in the one brightly lit, neat, clean and air-conditioned store. The reader is invited to view the female consumer engaged in the “constant chatter” of the marketplace. The targets in this looking glass remain oblivious to the viewer peering from outside the frame and being invited to peruse her gestures and decisions. The written text makes explicit the position and role of the superimposed dark suited man in relation to the crisply lit background marketplace and its female occupants. “Market Research”, the text announces, “defines who the best customers are … it pinpoints where that marketing action can reach the target most effectively and economically.”

It is the marketing man, and the market research man in particular, who is the actor: striding out to the reader, he observes the market and the minute individual acts from a position of knowledge, authority and control.

*Figure 4.2* presents a very different image. Here the market research man has been drawn for the purpose of an advertisement in a leading industry magazine. Portly, bedecked in white lab coat, he is constrained and contained within the eyes of the female consumer. The market researcher’s activity is premised on the affirmation of the consuming subject’s agency and a recognition that the perspective most profitable was the “one you see through [the] consumer’s eyes”. The centrality of the consumer and the significance of her capacity to choose are inescapable. The female consumer directs the market researcher’s line of sight and is the active and powerful subject. The target in this image is a target determined by the consumer and recorded with enthusiastic objectivity by the researcher. Power rests with the consumer.

Historical studies of consumption have tended to polarise around the perspectives of consumer (particularly the female consumer’s) empowerment or consumer enslavement, free choice or false needs. Understandings of the position, role and identity of marketing men have also polarised around interpretations that

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4 This remark is attributed to Karl Marx (from *The Grundrisse*) in K. Pinkus, *Bodily Regimes: Italian Advertising under Fascism*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1995, 16.

5 AANA, op.cit.

6 Figure 4.2 from *Advertising and Marketing*, June 1961, 19.
identify a man entrapped by the consumer’s perspective, attending to her needs and those of his employer or an all-powerful male authority determining the market. Each image presented (4.1 & 4.2) could be read as demonstrating one side in these dialectics. The argument I develop through this chapter suggests an alternative reading, however, that draws from each side of the dialectic and interprets the images together as constituent parts of an overall regime of consumption. The post-war market research man aligned his vision with that of the female consumer, he sought to know her satisfactions and he also sought to mobilise those satisfactions through her purchases in the aisles of the shopping centre. His participation and his interests lay precisely in his simultaneous immersion in, and assembling of, those satisfactions. Such a reading, by balancing points of convergence in the dialectic, functions to better understand the intricate operations of power and the regeneration of hegemony though the organisation of post-war consumption.

Consumption has been a fundamental frame of reference in the historiography of the post-war period, in Australia as in other modernising nations. Rather than approaching specific acts of consumption and their relationship to identities, or their manifestations in particular discourses (such as advertising), I have sought to disentangle the web of relations between people, products and the marketing professionals. This chapter pays particular attention to market research men as they sought to mediate the relationship between the producer and the consumer. I identify their intervention into this relationship

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8 To capture the discursive practices of managerial and professional men in market research I have relied on a combination of primary source material. I have worked extensively with the published and archival material from the professional organisations that provided a focus for the profession, in particular the Market Research Society of Australia (formed in 1955). I have also relied on archival material from other related professional bodies who were active in advocating the utility of market research or who were clients of market research (Advertising Association of Australia and The Australian Association of National Advertisers). These materials provide extensive insight into the organisation and understanding of market research practice as a management profession in Australia. The available material (published and unpublished) from the period includes training manuals, career advice, case examples, journals, records of conferences and records of meetings. I have also used the actual research content produced by market research men (in the form of advice to advertisers, producers and other clients). This material is less readily available, some of it being so statistically focused to be difficult to incorporate (for example the records of Anderson
during the post-war period as being centred upon the perceived problem of the producer’s proximity to the consumer. By tracing the development of the marketing concept, the distinctive technique through which these men sought to align the needs, satisfactions and habits of the consumer with particular products, this chapter addresses each element of the overall thesis framework. I demonstrate the marketing concept to be a technique of government and its operation by managerial and professional men to be interested; depending upon and generating the interests of these men in the social relations of gender and class during modernisation.

To develop my reading of the discursive practices of market research men I have drawn from challenges to previous analyses of consumption posed by a number of historians. Peter Miller and Nikolas Rose have targeted the role of professionals and the deployment of psychological knowledge in the mobilising of consumers, a process which transforms the intimate and intricate relationships between people and products during modernisation. They usefully identify what they term a “transformation” in the placement of the consumer and the relationship of products to people in the post-war period; a transformation that coincides with the development of the marketing concept in Australia.\(^9\) Victoria de Grazia has extended analysis of consumption practices by calling attention to convergences in the empowerment/enslavement perspectives and seeking instead to question how consumption regimes are “produced by, support, even undermine varying political systems.”\(^10\) De Grazia’s analysis suggests, in the context of this chapter, that the content and the process of market research can be read in connection with liberal democracy and the class interests of market research men in this political system. Finally, Mark Swiencicki has identified the differing

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\(^9\) P. Miller & N. Rose, ‘Mobilising the Consumer: Assembling the Subject of Consumption’, *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1997, 1-36, 18. Contra to the study in this chapter, Miller and Rose focus on the Tavistock Institute’s contracted market research (i.e. psychologists doing market research rather than market researchers using psychology) in the U.K.

\(^10\) V. de Grazia, ‘Empowering Women As Citizen-Consumers’, in de Grazia (ed.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996, 275-285, 279. de Grazia also comments: “Much of the feminist discussion about women in consumer societies pivots around the question of whether women have been empowered by access to the goods, sites, spectacles, and services associated with mass consumption.” De Grazia, op.cit., 275; see also the partially annotated bibliography in this collection.
participation of men, as compared to women, in regimes of consumption. His contribution challenges historians to rethink the gendered organisation of consumption and the assumption of men’s effective absence in the practice or meaning of consumption.11

4.2 ‘The Careful Inquiry’: inter-war foundations of market research12

The economic circumstances that compelled the development of marketing and market research as distinct components of management were identical to those encouraging a much broader movement in business to greater intervention, planning and control of more aspects of production and distribution processes. Recognition of the need for ‘rational’ or ‘scientific’ approaches to distribution predated the Second World War and the spread of Keynesian economic theory into popular understandings of business practice. The ‘problem of selling’ and marketing strategies have been pondered since the beginning of selling itself: to rephrase Ann Stephen’s remark on advertising, there simply is no white Australian history without marketing.13 Intensification of research, theorisation and implementation of ‘rational’ methods of selling in the early twentieth century is a uniform portrayal in emerging Australian historical scholarship.14 During the first quarter of the twentieth century business commentators argued that the modernisation of production methods compelled a modernisation of distribution. It was accepted, prior to the Great Depression, that innovation in marketing and the organisation of selling could be sourced from developments in the organisation of production. R. Lemmon, at a business forum held with the University of Melbourne in 1928, articulated a common understanding of early twentieth-century modernisation:

In the early stages of the development of industry the problem was one of production. For several generations now inventive genius has been applied with striking successes to the improvement of the producers’ and the manufacturers’ machines and methods, to the development of his productive efficiency and to the reduction of his production costs … The output of industry, primary and secondary, has in this way been enormously increased.

Lemmon recognised, however, the implication for distribution, a point that Keynes would later develop into an analysis of economic growth:

Intensified competition among primary producers and manufacturers has made the problem of selling of greater importance than ever before. While it has become easier to produce goods, it has become harder to sell them; extensive advertising, costly selling methods and instalment selling are some of the results … While much fruitful attention has been given to the processes of manufacture, little in comparison has been given to the methods of market distribution until recently. While new methods of rationalisation are pushed forward in industry, is anything being done to rationalise marketing?  

Marketing advocates, such as those becoming active in the fledgling professional associations like the Victorian Institute of Advertising Men (later the Advertising Association of Australia), identified the need for management to apply scientific methods to distribution. At the Second Convention of Australasian Advertising Men held in Sydney during August/September 1920, ninety-six accredited delegates heard Elton Mayo, then Professor of Philosophy at the University of Queensland, lecture on the character of business. Mayo remarked that the advertiser:

must be more of a psychologist than he is, to know how people think, how they live, how their thoughts can be influenced … Scientific investigation is needed and a body of expert men widely interested, fully acquainted with the public mind, and able to explain the purpose and results of scientific investigation.  


16 The Victorian Institute was formed in 1913, with the first nationwide convention being held in Brisbane in 1918; see for example, National Library of Australia (hereafter NLA), Victorian Institute of Advertising (hereafter VIA), MS 1015.

17 NLA, Advertising Association of Australia (hereafter A-A-A), MS 1014, Series 6. The conference slogan was ‘Truth in Advertising’ and Mayo’s address, reported in the industry newspaper The Draper Australasia, was entitled “The Influence of Advertising on the Character of Business”. Another notable guest at the forum was the ubiquitous psychologist Tasman Lovell. The third convention, held in Melbourne, proposed the slogan ‘efficiency in advertising’. This slogan created a rift between the Victorian and NSW Councils of the Association, with the NSW contingent being concerned that it implied a shift from ‘the truth’. The Victorian response asserted that efficient advertising by definition had to be truthful in order to be efficient.
Mayo’s emphasis on scientific investigation in understanding behaviour was representative of the iterations evident at the conventions, in the publications and the minutes of these early marketing groups (although Mayo’s explicit and knowledgable reference to psychology was far less commonplace). Marketing advocates directly appropriated Taylorist notions of efficiency and scientific management to promote and develop the profession. Science provided a strategic and influential contextualisation of marketing and its related role in the “improvement of commercial efficiency”. The uniform identification of science’s role in distribution and the adoption of rational mechanisms for distribution reflected another impetus central to modernisation. “The Course of civilisation,” Mayo remarked in his address, “runs from fear to freedom in society, in business and in the individual.” The alternative course being alluded to was that provided by the radical overthrow of the capitalist relations of production and distribution. The power of working class alternatives to capitalism and the 1917 Russian Revolution weave through commentary on the intensification of marketing in the pre-Second World War era. The first convention, held in 1918 (the year of the formation of the Australian Communist Party), gave considerable attention to the threat that an alternative model of distribution posed and the first motion passed was in fact a loyalty motion that addressed both the First World War and the Bolshevik Revolution.

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18 Mayo was not the lone voice for psychology; however, he was most definitely in the minority. The engagement with psychology was extremely simplistic and limited, even Tasman Lovell’s address, being mainly exhortations for the seller to be a fit and healthy person, reflected this; see NLA, A-A-A, MS 1014 Series 6. Another voice for psychology published in Australia was A. Richardson; see his *The New Era of Advertising*, Alan Norman Publishing, Sydney, 1927, 10: “The work of advertising is passing into the hands of serious minded men who have a high regard for business ethics and professional conduct as a lawyer or a doctor; men who have made a close study of modern business methods and whose skills depend on two things: a knowledge of markets and of the psychology of persuasion.” See also final footnote to section 4.2 for further discussion of the role of psychology in this early, more instrumental period.

19 N. Catts, ‘Introduction’, *Report and Proceedings of the Second Convention of Australian Advertising Men*, Sydney, 1920, 6, in NLA, A-A-A, MS 1014, Series 6. The Australian Association of National Advertisers cooperated on several occasions with scientific bodies to ensure that where science was referenced in the content of advertisements it was done so accurately; see NBAAC, A-IN-A, MS Z169, Box 45 - referring to a 1940 request from the Australian Association of Scientific Workers.

20 *The Draper Australasia*, September 27th, 1920, 294-295, 294 in NLA, A-A-A, MS 1014, Series 6. Mayo also commented at the 1920 conference: “You must go out into the suburbs and you must think for the housewife and if you do that for her and if she finds you are doing it you will have her confidence and you need not be afraid. It is necessary to understand the fear complexes that are disturbing our social serenity. It is not the slightest use meeting Satanism or Bolshevism by organised rage or hate. Your only chance of dealing with these things is by research, by discovering first and foremost the cause of their mental condition.” *The Waddy*, 20th February, 1921, 6 in NLA, A-A-A, MS 1014, Series 6.
The crisis of the Great Depression and its complex relationship with the internal threats posed by working-class alternatives to capital provided core impetus to the development of modernised marketing in pre-Second World War Australia. Identification of distribution faults as the principal cause of the Depression acted as a powerful motivator, functioning to entrench marketing (as the management or ‘science’ of distribution) into management theory and practice. The Depression was perceived by business commentators as a crisis in the relationship between producers and their consumers. The relationship required mediation and management, a theme that strengthens in the discourse across time. This analysis of the significance of the Great Depression became a mantra echoed by marketing advocates for decades. D. Ferber of the Vacuum Oil Co., in the first edition of the *Journal of the Market Research Society of Victoria*, articulated the profession’s story of origins:

During the building up of the American economy in the last century, and through the early 1930s, the emphasis in the USA was on production. The rewards of money and prestige went to the producer; the distributor was the ‘poor relation’. I think it is fairly evident that the great depression was in no way due to the failure of producers: goods were abundant, but for a variety of reasons they did not get to the consumers in adequate volume.

The past two decades has seen a real change in the US outlook. There is a wide realisation that mass production must be linked to mass consumption. A drop in consumption can provoke or aggravate a recession ... Unless consumption grows, the economy stagnates ...

Under these circumstances the profession of marketing research in the USA has become a vital part of business life – less because of virtue than because of necessity.²²

Out of this context market research began to position itself as a sub-profession in the production of marketing knowledge. Like other managerial professions, the placement of market research as a linchpin to negotiating the problematic relationship between producers and consumers depended on it being identified with the principles and practices of scientific knowledge. The capacity of market research men to provide facts and figures, to be the generators and arbiters of information provided a grounding for the post-war maturation of market research as a distinct and significant aspect of marketing. Market research

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men tapped into the developing sophistication of statistical science, the emergence of predictive statistics in politically orientated opinion polling and the early experiments and growth in radio advertising as an entirely new advertising medium.\textsuperscript{23} Despite these inter-war advances, Reid and Barr, in an influential study \textit{Grocery Buying Power} published in 1953, could still comment that in relation to distributive processes and mapping the situation was “inefficient; no basic principles of operation have been formulated for them; no great body of statistical data has been built up against which they can be evaluated.”\textsuperscript{24} The corpus of knowledge was expanding even if, at a practical level, significant changes in actual marketing practice were less discernible and certainly less sophisticated.\textsuperscript{25}

The marketing profession’s growth and rationale during the inter-war period was largely based around improving the efficiency of distributing products to consumers. The central problem that market research men targeted was proximity to the consumer; the relationship between the producer and the consumer required a mediator to ensure efficiency. The interventions of market research men expressed a predominantly instrumental technology of communicating the features of a product, identified by the producer, to the potential consumer. In a broad conceptual sense, consumption and the motivations for purchase were regarded as primarily a function of the product. Appeals in advertising were made directly to what the product could do or what it could bring (in relation to status, allure and etc) to the consumer. The possibilities of integrating psychological knowledge of the human subject with marketing strategies had been identified by some market research men in Australia but this remained recondite.\textsuperscript{26} The


\textsuperscript{24} W. Reid & E. Barr, \textit{Grocery Buying Power in Australia}, Robertson and Mullens for The Australian Institute of Management, Melbourne, 1953, np. The first Census of Retail Establishments was held in Australia in June, 1948 with others taking place in 1949, 1953, 1957; see D. Bottemley, \textit{Introduction to Market Analysis, revised edition}, Market Research Society Australia (Victorian Division), Melbourne, 1964, 45.

\textsuperscript{25} It is important not to forget that marketing and advertising remained highly contentious activities, as late as 1939 the AANA had to fight off a challenge to ban all brand advertising.

\textsuperscript{26} Studies of pre- and post-Second World War advertising discourse have noted the changes to the way the consumer, particularly the female consumer, was addressed. These developments reflect, and also inform, the development of
modernisation of market research required more favourable economic conditions and a more interventionist approach to relationships in the economy. World War Two provided a segue from Depression years to the buoyant but complex market of post-war modernisation.\(^{27}\)

4.3 Proximity Between Producer and Consumer: the problem for post-war market research

At the outset of the post-war period, market research, like the other sub-professions of management, sought to position itself as a key utility to business. Market research men aspired to entrench their role in the organisation of distribution, mediating the relationship of products and producers to people. In the emerging post-war context market research men asserted that they represented the capacity to bring order and knowledge to the relationship between consumers and producers. They could provide management with ‘a factual handrail’ in communicating the needs of the consumer, just as personnel managers had provided management with a ‘handrail’ in production and employment.\(^{28}\) Market research men prominently announced to management their utility, their foundation in the unquestioned principles of pure science and its capacity to be a conduit to and from consumers. Market researchers claimed an authority to know the consumer.

The profession was also developing an awareness of its own methodology and began to codify and promote itself with more vigour. The early post-war period witnessed the formation of various professional bodies, the development

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\(^{27}\) Sally Clarke’s reading of the emergence of market research in the United States in the inter-war period confirms my conceptualisation of the instrumental approach that was dominant in the period. I would argue, however, that Clarke underplays the importance of psychological ways of knowing in market research in the inter-war period in the United States. The integration of psychology into managerial practices in the United States was far more extensive in the inter-war period and reflects the differing conditions of modernisation. Market research in Australia was not yet, in this period, positioned to adopt the more advanced developments in the United States; see S. Clarke, 'Consumers, Information, and Marketing Efficiency at GM, 1921-1940', Business and Economic History, vol. 25, no. 1, 1996, 186-195.


Researchers in post-war Australia recognised and understood their own role and their history, as one researcher explained: ‘Taylor's close and systematic examination of each of the various steps in factory work – known sometimes as “scientific management”, and requiring the study of each process and subprocess, and the relation of each process to the men employed and their jobs – resulted in finding and putting into operation improved ways of doing jobs. Marketing research similarly examines the steps and operations involved in marketing, any part of which it may subject to close scrutiny.’ E. Bradford, Marketing Research: How to Analyze Products, Markets and Methods of Distribution, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1951, 4-5.
of training modules, the presentation of papers, the publication of journals and books and the hosting of conferences. This activity culminated in the decisive moment of the formation, in 1956, of the Market Research Society of Victoria. The formation of this independent professional body represented decades of gradual development and it symbolised the commencement of a long period of professional growth. The profession was committed to promulgating marketing knowledge and market research men were eager to identify and exploit the profound influences of international marketing and general economic trends.29

Market research men were eager to demonstrate their credentials in the most important pursuit, the pursuit of profit. In the volatile post-war context management could afford to make few mistakes. One survey, early in the period, identified that “[i]nvestigations in the US, Canada and Europe ... [show] that only 58% of executive decisions on marketing were correct.”30 One market researcher assessed the perceived state of play in the post-war business world:

To form a realistic and thoroughly thought-out basic marketing policy had become a fundamental requirement of any manufacturer who had the ambition to remain active in advance of his competitors. Exigencies of mass-production and mass-communication make every change in product formulation or advertising philosophy a highly dangerous procedure if not based on sound facts. Marketing has become a science ... 31

Inaccurate decisions would cost companies and the national economy.32 Market researchers responded by arguing that “[n]o company can really afford to be without a clear-cut picture of where its potential customers and sales outlets are located and where its actual sales are being made.”33 The post-war economy, though demand-oriented with the removal of war restrictions and the possibilities of growth, could be represented as gloomy in outlook. Business and the sub-

29 “The growth since 1955 of the Market Research Society in Australia,” said Bottomley, “has made possible a more rapid diffusion of ideas and techniques and given the research workers and marketing executives who must apply their findings, a chance to seek common ground for understanding each other’s needs.” Bottomley, ‘Introduction to’ op.cit., 21. The invitation, by the Australian Association of National Advertisers, and frequent touring of marketing guru Dr Ernest Dichter to Australia is just one of many examples where international collaboration and dissemination of marketing knowledge was facilitated; see Advertising, November 1958, 25 and also NBAC, AANA, MS Z169, Box 45.
30 Barr, op.cit., 15.
32 E. Barr, op.cit., 21.
professions of management freely circulated the perception of deepening complexity. According to one contemporary observer, factors engendering complexity in managing the post-war consumption regime included:

i) deterioration of price-levels of exports overseas and threat of UK entry to common market
ii) massive increase in domestic retail and wholesale trade
iii) increased maturity of our manufacturing sector ...  

Automation, a potential source of improved profit, increased the need for planning and new products were likely to face difficulties in capturing demand (one study noted that in the food industry 88 per cent of all new products were failures). Another influential development in the post-war economy was the rise of large retail outlets which was rapidly absorbing the small shopkeeper based retail industry. This change was a significant shift to both the structure of sales and also in the relationship producers had with consumers. Without the personalised relationship to the grocer, problematic as this may have been, the producer had no direct link to the consumer; there was no one directly mediating the relationship to products.

These changes contributed to and were reinforced by more intricate understandings and anxieties about consumer motivations and behavioural patterns. A wide range of intellectuals became increasingly concerned with the ‘milk bar economy’. The figure of the consumer, as the historian Nicholas Brown has demonstrated, evoked difficult questions for social analysts on the interaction of economic prosperity with ‘corrosive selfishness’, social consensus and governing subjectivities. The consumer appeared distant and less knowable.

Market research men claimed to know the consumer. For their legitimacy, they depended upon the claim of proximity to the act of purchase. The complex conditions of the economy and anxieties about the identity, place and potential of the consumer mitigated against this proximity. The basis for the profession’s intervention was shifting. An evolution in the framing of the problem and their

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36 E. Barr, op.cit., 16.
solutions was under way. The widespread adoption of ‘the marketing concept’ in the discursive practice of the post-war profession marks this evolution. In the following section of this chapter I explore the operation and meaning of the marketing concept in the discursive practice of market research men. I have given detailed attention to the operation of the marketing concept in the following section because it significantly reformulated the problem of proximity. The marketing concept rerouted the discursive practice of market research men toward investigating minute details and intricate satisfactions in the everyday life of predominantly female consumers. The concept utilised psychologically inflected knowledge to enter the domain of human relations and make intelligible (for producers) the operation of consumer choice. The marketing concept sought to link products with “the subjective meaning of consumption for the ordinary individual in their everyday life.”

4.4 The Marketing Concept: mobilising the post-war consumer

One of the most strikingly evident aspects of the marketing concept was the conceptual shift it represented from an emphasis on production and producers in the organisation of consumption to a focus on the consumer and the act of consumption. During a retrospective lecture in 1967 Roger Layton, Professor of Marketing at UNSW, commented on the implications of this shift:

In its early days [the marketing concept] was described largely in terms of its implications for the marketing people within a firm … The activities of the marketing group came to be recognised as affecting the well-being of the whole organisation … Concurrently with these internal changes the importance of consumer orientation came to be recognized.39

The marketing concept placed the market researcher at the centre of the future development of business. “The whole business,” said U.S. management guru Peter Drucker, “starts with marketing research and sales forecasting to provide a sound, factual, customer-orientated basis for planning …”40 The marketing

38 Miller & Rose, op.cit, 18; the marketing concept identified here was expressive of the “transformation” identified by Miller and Rose in post-war UK consumption.
concept also placed the consumer at the centre of its analysis of the market place. The consumer was the object to be watched and responded to: “To over-simplify the new marketing concept would be to say that everything starts and finishes with the consumer.”

A typical example of the operation of the marketing concept and the primacy of the consumer is evidenced in the marketing of the Berger Breeze line of paints. Berger, in the 1950s, wanted to make the right marketing decisions with their new product, plastic paints. The research department was called in. The market researcher involved argued, with a typical display of self-importance, that prior to his appointment “little had been done in any objective way to find out what people basically thought about paint and painting.” The researcher recounted an apocryphal story of a company who had not heeded the advice of the market researcher:

I recall an instance of being called in on another product launch where I am sure we could have helped. After a thorough briefing I was asked how long it would take to complete the research and, after allowing for heavy pressure and some overtime, estimated three to three and one half months. It was very involved research and a considerable amount of research was incurred. The person requesting the research then informed me if he couldn’t have it in two weeks it wouldn’t be of any use because by then he would be in production.

Incidentally on that occasion we did some desk research and advised him not to go into the market at all. He disregarded this, having misinterpreted some figures that were available. I say this without joy or any particular pride that the product failed. Production figures do not always reflect the real market. They just tell you how many articles are being produced.

The ‘real market’ was the consumer and their needs. Through their surveying and other methods Berger researchers discovered a variety of apparently useful facts about paint preferences, motivations for house painting, the competing motivations of women and men, product packaging, brand loyalties and the image of Berger and its slogan ‘keeps on keeping on’. The result was not only the introduction of handles for paint tins (the first time ever, it was claimed), but also

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43 Whitlam, op.cit., 51.
44 Whitlam, op.cit., 52.
the creation of a range of paints that, in their marketing and in their content, addressed what was perceived to be the needs of the consumer. This narrative was presented to a 1965 Market Research Society Forum in Sydney because it was seen as exemplary. The tone of the session was of knowing advice. The message that this market researcher was imparting to his colleagues was that commercial success for producers was the result of “careful, thorough, thoughtful analysis” which placed the consumer at the centre of marketing and of product development.\(^{45}\)

Over time, as greater research awareness was developed, market research adapted its location of the consumer and created ‘market segments’. Segmentation allowed particular consumers or consumer categories to occupy the centre stage. Market segments continued the pattern of placing the consumer at the centre of product development and marketing, even as the profession began to recognise the heterogeneous nature of its society.

Of greatest significance, however, was the marketing concept’s reorientation of the problem of proximity. Investigation now emphasised the subjective meaning of consumption and so also the placement of a product in an array of human desires and relationships. The discursive practices of market research men incorporated psychological methodologies into predictive equations. Market research men claimed as their area of knowledge the consumer’s decision-making process leading to purchase. Their expertise centred on the relationship that products, and the use of products, had with the needs, desires and identities of the consumer. Psychology had a long association with marketing (as evidenced by Mayo’s comments above), but the development and implementation of the marketing concept (particularly its use of ‘motivational research’) and the interior targeting of the consumer would become the orthodoxy in the post-war period of the profession.\(^{46}\) The Australian market research practitioner Robert Graves mapped the change in the profession in his training text, *Creating Customers*:

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\(^{45}\) Whitlam, op.cit., 61.

\(^{46}\) The historian Kevin Blackburn has identified the increased utilisation of what he calls ‘psychological manipulation’ in the post-war period. Blackburn identifies this shift as part of the emergence of a ‘consumers’ ethic’ in advertising that recognised the importance of educating the consumer. While Blackburn’s observation is broadly accurate, the framework he applies is substantially different to that offered in this chapter; see K. Blackburn, ‘The ‘Consumers’ Ethic’ of Australian Advertising Agencies 1950-1965’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 32, 1992, 60-74.
Mass production generates the need to move the products produced. This is selling because it satisfies the need of the producer.

Selling does not necessarily create customers because it is solely concerned with changing the products produced by the factory into cash. Selling is factory-oriented.

Marketing, on the other hand, is customer-oriented, and as such is concerned with satisfying the needs of the customer, not only by the product itself, but also through the service and availability of the product.47

The positioning of the consumer, particularly the introduction of notions of ‘satisfaction’, was strikingly evident in motivational research, a corollary development with the marketing concept. Frequently articulated as ‘a new way of understanding the consumer’, motivational research can be identified as an extension of traditional market research inquiries, with the important addition of methods of inquiry originally developed in behavioural psychology.48 Discussion and debate over the meaning and impact of motivational research was a common feature in the post-war discourse. Practitioners developed a comprehensive understanding. The impact and role of psychology was not uncontested within the profession, but the expertise psychology offered in the domain of human relations and as an adjunct to statistical research was compelling.49 What motivational research added to market research practice is illustrated in the juxtaposition between the quantitative mapping provided by the Australian Institute of Management’s 1953 survey *Grocery Buying Power in Australia*, which broke down the value of retail purchase and products by outlet and postcode area across metropolitan Australia, and the assertion by one market researcher that motivational research provided “a psycho-sociological map of the community in terms of its interest in the products being investigated.”50 Both maps proved to be complementary features in the discursive practice of post-war market research.

49 What passed as motivational or psychological research was also frequently quite straightforward research into why people buy, with far less psychological methodology than was often touted. On the perceived dangers of over theorising and moving away from statistical research see ‘Cupa - 6: Aptitudes and Attitudes’, Chief Copywriter’s Office, Lintas Ltd, Nov. 1958, 5, in Mitchell Library (hereafter MI), *Donald Horne Papers* (hereafter DHP), MSS 3525, MLK02153.
Market research and its motivational research inflection located the needs and the wants of the consumer as central to comprehending consumption. Furthermore choice of a product was linked to the subjective meaning of consumption for the ordinary consumer:

This new phase of Market Research is what is generally known as ‘Motivational Research’, although, as will be shown, Psychological Research would be a more accurate and honest name for it.

Motivational Research may be defined as that part of [the research methodology] that investigates consumer attitudes and behaviour, and particularly the reasons underlying a choice for a specific product and a specific brand. It seeks to uncover new dimensions of consumer behaviour, particularly memories of past experience that people attach to objects and also the personal ideals, based on social values and customs, that influence our actions.\(^{51}\)

Motivational research became the tool by which market research men would “map the terrain of satisfactions” and develop an understanding of the interaction between people and the products they consumed.\(^{52}\) It was this interaction that became the real focus of the profession and market researchers made explicit the aim of this new cartography:

Let me stress [said one researcher] that the car or washing machine, or even something as simple as a cake of soap, is not used or thought about by people simply in the way that a scientist in his laboratory might apprehend it. We associate a whole field of meaning around the object we use, which is sometimes far removed from the intrinsic characteristics of the products themselves. Consequently, to understand our market, we have to understand the meaning of our products to our consumers.

In short, we have to observe the relationship between the person and the object, and the psychological and sociological groups to which the person belongs, if we want to fully understand the buying situation.\(^{53}\)

The most familiar example to Australian market researchers that demonstrated the cartography of the marketing concept was an early post-war North American study of instant coffee by the Mason Haire Company. This example illustrates well the new practice of market research:

A conventional survey revealed that non-users of instant coffee gave as their most frequent reason [for not using it], ‘I do not like the flavour’. This is such an easy answer to a complex question that one may suspect it is a stereotype, which at once gives a sensible reason to the


\(^{52}\) Bottomley, ‘New Ways’, op.cit., 65.

\(^{53}\) Bottomley, ‘New Ways’, op.cit., 63.
investigator and conceals other motives. To test this, the investigator prepared two shopping lists which contained seven items each and were identical in all respects except that one included the item ‘Nescafe Instant Coffee’ and the other included ‘1lb. Maxwell House coffee (drip ground)’. The lists were given to alternative subjects. 50 women received the ‘Nescafe’ shopping list and 50 others received the ‘Maxwell House’ list. The instructions were: ‘Read the shopping list below. Try to project yourself into the situation as far as possible until you can more or less characterise the woman who bought the groceries. Then write a brief description of her personality and character’.

The woman who bought ‘Nescafe’ and the one who bought ‘Maxwell House’ were described quite differently by respondents. [The original researcher stated that] ‘In this experiment, as a penalty for using synthetics [the instant coffee] the woman who buys ‘Nescafe’ pays the price as being seen as lazy, spendthrift, a poor wife, and as failing to plan well for her family.’ The people who rejected instant coffee in the original questions blamed its flavour. We may well wonder if their dislike of instant coffee was not to a large extent caused by fear of being seen by one’s self and others in the role they projected onto the ‘Nescafe’ woman in the description.

Later studies comparing responses of instant coffee users and non-users strongly suggested that this latent feeling regarding laziness and shiftlessness partially determined coffee buying habits. The psychologist [the original researcher] was able to recommend that certain ‘excuses’ which respondents made for the ‘Nescafe’ user (e.g. she is economical, she is very busy) provided valuable clues for directing appeals toward reducing buyer resistances.54

Market researchers identified a ‘resistance’ to purchasing which lay not at the level of the product or what one might call product satisfaction: the flavour passed the taste tests. Consumers avoided instant coffee because of the product’s entanglement, in the consumer’s mind, with a set of values that contradicted other apparently deep-rooted needs. To sell, the product (the instant coffee) would need to be connected with the value of convenience without compromising the female consumer’s ‘need’ to be seen as a dedicated homemaker. The proximity of the market research man to the consumer was now a proximity to the consumer’s desires, needs and internal thought processes. Products existed in the internal domains of human relations. In this example, the market research man promoted a change in marketing (not in product) on the basis of his claim to know the relationship between a product and its consumer. The resulting marketing strategy emphasised the ‘naturalness’ of the product and the skill required to select and use it. Nescafe also iterated a message that while it was a ‘world favourite’,

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54 Mann & Brett, op.cit., 27; see also J.F Clarke, ‘The techniques of motivation research’, Advertising, June 1959, 24.
endorsed by millions of others, it was also a favourite in the home; an affirmation of the consumer’s choice and an affirmation of her role in keeping the home well-managed. The solutions proffered engaged with the perceived needs of the potential female consumer. What was being sold to the consumer had changed. The market research man was not … selling a product but … selling what the product will do for its users. [We were] basically engaged in trying to provide a set of satisfactions to our users; and our products are … merely the means of providing these satisfactions.

The instant coffee example also points to what Miller and Rose refer to as the pedagogical role that market research adopted. In the example above market research men recognised that the ‘instant’ in instant coffee originally implied lazy. The market research man had to sever this association and reconstruct the product image so that the consumer identified what she wanted (i.e. ‘convenience’) in ‘instant’ coffee. Market research men recognised the importance of educating the consumer to establish relationships between particular behaviour patterns and the products they were marketing. In a major campaign for Qantas, which was the carrier of international post from Australia, Donald Horne engaged in market research to understand the letter writing process, why people wrote and what they felt when they wrote. Horne found that

after answering a letter people are said to have a sense of relief or achievement. They are also said to believe that people do not write overseas as often as they should.

As a result of this research he constructed an advertising campaign for daytime radio that addressed the responses of consumers. Horne’s proposal reflects the pedagogical role market research men identified for their discursive practice. Here the product (in this instance the product was the stamped letter that would be carried by Qantas) would be integrated into the routine of consumers by playing on the sense of achievement or guilt in writing or not writing a letter. Writing a letter would provide satisfaction and, in response, marketing needed to address and shape the experiences of people using the product:

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55 For an example of the resulting strategies see The Australian Women’s Weekly, 29 June 1960, 27.
57 Miller & Rose, op.cit., 32.
58 I further discuss the implications of Donald Horne’s engagement in market research in section 4.5.
59 ‘Qantas Major Campaign Development’ in ML, DHP, MSS 3525, MLK 02154.
Our main aim [he said in a memo to executives] should be to increase the periodicity of letterwriting by housewives engaged in continuing correspondence with relatives or friends overseas.

We should do this on daytime radio, appealing to the motives of relief or achievement and guilt about being too lazy, not having time, not getting round to it. We should say to them that they can find time to write a letter today.

We want to say to housewives on daytime radio: There is an unanswered letter in your home from a relative or friend being overseas. Don’t be lazy. You should find time today to answer it.

Then they will experience a sense of relief or achievement. You’re just making an excuse if you say you haven’t got time …

Market research was engaged in a process of exploring the minute behaviours existing in everyday life and connecting these behaviours and habits to other habits, to other products and to the meanings presented to consumers.  

Market research led directly to changes in products, not just their marketing. The product could sometimes prove more malleable than the consumer. Market research, said one researcher,

embrace[d] the idea that production should take place to satisfy consumers wants; that before a factory is built, before the production line is planned, before the advertising is thought about, the marketing man should study the consumer and his wants.

Market research men (contracted by White Wings) discovered that consumers did not support a proposed new ‘instant cake mixture’. From the research of consumers it was discerned that taste was not the problem but that the mixture was too instant: it made making cakes too easy. According to the researchers, the

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60 ‘Qantas Major Campaign Development’ in ML, DHP, MSS 3525, MLK 02154.  
61 In another example from the Horne collection, Horne wrote: “There is an established attitude (anxiety about bad breath) to which we would try to link a new habit (buying LISTERINE),” Horne assessed the mouth odour situation in the following terms: “no one is likely to regard his own mouth odour as being anything except offensive: but normally people do not believe that they have mouth odours. Their attitudes and habits in this regard can best be altered by showing their present behaviour to be inadequate and by indicating the social consequences of this inadequacy.” In response, Horne posed and answered the question ‘Why the ‘low’ level of Listerine sales?’ and commented that: “… 5) A behaviour pattern can best be altered by showing it to be inadequate and by indicating the social consequences of this inadequacy  
6) A new habit can best be established by linking it to an existing favourably regarded habit…” For Horne to progress the cause of mouthwash (a 150 000 pound per annum market in 1965) research was conducted into oral hygiene and cleanliness generally. As a result it was recommended that the relationship between showering and oral cleanliness required greater prominence. Showering was a well-established behaviour that had clear meanings for consumers; a product attached to this behaviour could share in its meanings. The resulting television commercial included the rhyme: “You shower, towel, then brush. You’re almost clean. But when your toothbrush hits the rack Reach for Listerine!”

‘Listerine Discussion Report No 1’, 10 in ML, DHP, MSS 3525, MLK 02156.  
consumers interviewed wanted their skills to be better utilised and engaged with the product. In this instance the product needed to be redeveloped in a way that accounted for the meaning that consumer’s attached to the product and to the relationships mediated through this product. The result was the exclusion of one ingredient. The consumer would now have to add the ingredient, thereby apparently circumventing the perception of excessive convenience and skill redundancy.63

The market research man, to successfully mediate the relationship between producer and consumer, needed to know a marketplace that extended beyond the point of purchase and the directly discernible utility of a product. According to the marketing concept, knowing the consumer meant knowing consumer ‘satisfaction’. Satisfaction, and so also purchase, depended upon linking the meaning of a product in a physical, a social and a psychological sense with the needs or desires of the consumer. The post-war market research man had to position himself as knowing the consumer intimately: “the critical judgement [was] to accurately and astutely define the consumer need which the product or service could fulfil.”64 Placing the consumer as the authority in the market – as the figure to be responded to – created the impression of significant power and direction. According to the profession, it was the consumer who directed the market and it was the middlemen in market research who were buffeted by the consumers’ needs and desires. As one market researcher commented: “I have said that in the ultimate, markets are people ... Everything that is bought or sold has [as] its end point the satisfaction of the ultimate consumer.”65 Market research men in post-war Australia used the marketing concept to learn from and respond to the way that people consumed. Market researchers were evidently interested in understanding the connections people made in the purchase of a product and there was a subtle interplay of pedagogies. Market researchers sought to learn from

63 ‘White Wings Campaign Files (1965)’ in ML, DHP, MSS 3525, MLK 02156. The solution to the perception of convenience, through adding an ingredient, was also discussed in relation to Heinz canned soup in ML, DHP, MSS 3525, MLK 02156. In these instances there is no mention made of the impact on the taste of the final product.
64 ‘Suggested format for construction of advertising plans’[document marked confidential] in ML, DHP, MSS 3525, MLK 02153.
consumers and they also sought to direct and mobilise consumers. As Miller and Rose state:

> Making up the consumer entailed simultaneously making up the commodity and assembling the rituals of everyday life which would give that commodity meaning and value. This is not a brute attempt to impose desires upon a plastic and undifferentiated mass, but an unprecedented and meticulous cartography … of the everyday life of consumption and its little pleasures and anxieties.  

The post-war transformation in how market research understood and addressed proximity to the consumer expresses a movement toward governing subjects. The marketing concept was not an attempt to discipline the consumer to accept a pre-constituted product placed in their lives. Nor was it based in the imposition on product utility of marketing inducements. The marketing concept was an attempt to know and engage with the domain of human relations, to examine interior satisfactions and align them to products so that the individual consumer would freely choose a product and its meaning. The marketing concept was about mobilising the subject, their needs, satisfactions and habits. In this sense the marketing concept is a concrete expression of the technique of government. It attests to these men as operators, adapting their interventions to suit the changed circumstances of modernisation and fashioning new practices.

But, if one element to creating customers was creating an awareness of needs, another element was inducing the satisfaction of those needs through the purchase of particular products. The shadow of the marketing man, who strides across the opening of this chapter, casts itself over these comments, over the notion of the marketing concept and the analysis of the profession. The relationship between market research and the consumer remained results-dependent; results that centred on the capacity of market research to know the consumer and to mobilise that consumer to purchase. The end point was not satisfaction for the consumer. The end point of market research was satisfaction for the producer. Amid the declarations of support for consumer sovereignty, denunciations of charlatan advertising or the foibles of the past, the market researchers also paid homage to their paying clients, the consumers of their own services. As one of the core training texts for market research stated: “Most marketing research in Australia is directed to keeping the producer in touch with

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consumer wants and preferences and to gaining information for developing or extending his market.” Market research, another researcher commented, sought “to determine motives, on the theory that if you know what people want, then you are in a position to supply their wants better than a competitor…” Frequent reference was made to market research departments being ‘the central intelligence department’ of business, the implication being that market research was on a covert mission, engaged in a war between opposing forces.

Though never explicitly stated, there were also sound professional reasons for placing the consumer at the centre of relations of consumption. Convincing producers of the need to be responsive to the demands of consumers, as the ultimate arbiters, bolstered the role of the market researcher. A market researcher could comment that “consumer market surveys are the one independent direct link between top management and the customer or consumer”, fully aware that it was only the market researcher who could administer and interpret that survey. In the context of modernisation the market researcher offered the producer proximity to the consumer. The market researcher could sell himself as the conduit in a vital relationship between the producer and the consumer.

Market research remained purposeful. Its techniques, its teachings, the entire discourse can not be disengaged from its purposes and the interests of its agents. This observation does not dislodge the placement of the consumer at the centre of the discourse. Instead the intersection of consumer wants or satisfactions, producer requirements for purchase and the interests of the men in market research coexist and are a fertile point of tension. While Miller and Rose take their analysis to the point of this tension they “abstain” from considering it. In the remainder of this chapter I suggest that this tension can function productively in analysis. Government must be analysed as an interested process. The operation of government is peopled by those who have particular interests in its strategy and outcomes. The productive role of market research men and their interests can be effectively engaged. The productive role of others (in this

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71 Miller & Rose, op.cit., 3. This abstention is, of course, consistent with the ethos of governmentality discussed in Chapters Two of this thesis.

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instance the female consumer) is not disavowed. But, analysing the operation of
government does encourage reconsideration of the dialectic of empowerment and
disempowerment: goods can be both empowering and enslaving, free choice and
false needs can co-exist. De Grazia has posed a critical question in relation to
consumption, she asks how a regime of consumption connects with the political
system and interests in that system. In the remaining sections of this chapter I
explore this connection by engaging with the interested practices of men as they
operated this regime.

4.5 Cigarettes and Subliminal Advertising: selling liberal
democracy

On January 12th 1958, viewers enjoying their weekly episode of Leave it to
Beaver on HSV-7 in Melbourne were flashed a message at a speed so fast it was
supposedly imperceptible to the conscious mind. Two days later a similar event
occurred. Twelve minutes after this second occurrence Mr F.J Howson of 2 Baird
St, East Brighton rang HSV-7. The message he had seen was ‘Buy Pelaco Shirts’.
His reward for notifying Seven of the evidently perceptible advertisement they
had just screened was six free Pelaco shirts. Subliminal advertising appears, on
first viewing, to offer an immaculate
form of persuasion. If it could be made to work, subliminal advertising would
surely increase consumption levels and render buyer resistance futile. It was the
marketing concept taken to a logical extreme: consumers wanting to buy exactly
what producers wanted to sell. It was the logical high point of the rationale
expressed in the opening illustration of this chapter, in the will to know, plan and
control consumption. There were, it would seem, significant incentives to
utilising subliminal advertising. In fact, subliminal advertising had previously
received some coverage in Newspaper News and Radio and Television News, the
two main internal publications of the Australian media industry. U.S. experiments

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73 Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Australian Clothing Consumption Survey: General Report, Commonwealth of
Australia, Canberra, 1954, 6-7.
and the British designed ‘strobonic Psycho-injection’ method had led to small, though generally negative, reports in this press.\(^{74}\)

The Market Research Society, through its chairman David Bottomley, responded to the news of HSV-7’s experiments with portentous alarm. Subliminal advertising, *Radio and Television News* reported him as saying, was “a hit below the belt”\(^{75}\). According to Chairman Bottomley, opposition centred on two core issues. In his terminology these were whether subliminal advertising was “ethical” and whether it was “effective”. One Melbourne advertising and research firm, United Services Pty. Ltd., was so moved by the infringement it advised its clients and made public its opposition proclaiming “subliminal advertising to be objectionable on democratic grounds, impolitic for public relations reasons, and unproved as an advertising means.”\(^{76}\)

The episode of subliminal advertising and the grounds for its repudiation, while not a recognised turning point in the history of the profession, is a crucial moment expressive of tensions in the discursive practices of the profession. It seems highly unlikely that subliminal advertising, at least to the extent of brainwashing people into purchasing otherwise unwanted products, was ever a realistic proposition. However, the market research profession publicly attacked subliminal advertising and distanced itself from it as though subliminal advertising was a very real option. The hostility the profession publicly expressed towards subliminal advertising was, I argue, directly related to the uneasy contiguity between the objectives of subliminal advertising and the interests of the profession during modernisation. Market research men were engaged in a process of creating consumers: locating or constructing a truth about the consumer, encouraging a particular relationship with products. The making-up of the consumer, the interweaving of products with satisfactions and lifestyles evidenced in the marketing concept did represent a process conducive to greater purchase and to expanding the profits of producers and their class. Subliminal advertising presented an unmistakable opportunity, in theory, to achieve this end. But the issue of subliminal advertising also draws to the surface important

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\(^{74}\) See for example *Newspaper News*, 24 January 1958, 1. It is not exactly clear what the ‘strobonic’ method was, although it appears to be something like quickly flashing messages of a product onto the screen.


connections between liberal notions of freedom and the techniques of government utilised by managerial and professional men.

Bottomley’s objection to the “unproved” effectiveness of subliminal advertising was not merely based upon whether the technique worked or not. Nor was the objection based simply on the fact that insufficient experiments using subliminal advertising had been conducted; subliminal techniques had been in trial since before the Second World War and the Air Force were at the time utilising pre-war experiments to increase reading speeds of trainees. The continuing basis for the profession’s existence was its success in asserting itself as a utility to management, as part of an empirically based and rationally oriented scientific discourse. Because subliminal advertising dealt primarily with the imperceptible, cause and effect would always remain tenuous. In Bottomley’s words:

> On the one hand we have laboratory results suggesting that it is possible to gain some kind of psychological reaction to stimuli which are not consciously perceived. On the other hand, it is being implied that a complex cycle of reactions involved in making a purchase will follow a stimulus applied only a few times to an audience which may not be attending closely to the screen.77

Market research would be unable to trace the complex cycle. The profession would be redundant, incapable of demonstrating its efficacy and unnecessary in a market where the subliminal advertisers could (hypothetically) project any message to a susceptible consumer. The rejection of subliminal advertising emphasised that effective advertising and market research, as defined by the profession, needed to operate within the parameters of scientific principles and this, in turn, required the existence of interpretive professionals: market research men.

Dallying with subliminal advertising also exposed the position of market researchers to ridicule by association. Bob Walker, a researcher from George Patterson’s Advertising and Research Agency, was quoted by Newspaper News remarking:

> But it seems to me … that if we are going to use advertising you can’t see, you’ve got to carry it a bit further and have products you can’t see and advertising men you can’t see. Somewhat indelicately, the thought

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77 Newspaper News, 29 November 1957, 6.
occurred to me that if we could come to some agreement on commissions with the proponents of artificial insemination we could plant the germ of our advertising ideas pre-natally and just sit back and let them flourish in the warmth of nature’s own way.78

The marketing concept and motivational research held a significant position in post-war market research, but the methods they borrowed from psychology were always tempered by a coupling with more traditional statistical research. Subliminal advertising presented the possibility of the burden of proof being dislodged from the profession’s scientific mantle; it was “extreme”, not quite the science these men wanted it to be.79

The ethical questions surrounding subliminal advertising posed by the Market Research Society Chairman directly referenced core criticisms levelled during the period at market research men, the marketing concept and consumerism more generally: excessive manipulation of essentially passive consumers and deviation from consumers purchasing according to real needs to consumers blindly purchasing according to false or imposed needs. Coincidentally, the subliminal advertising episode occurred just two months after Newspaper News carried an unfavourable review of Vance Packard’s publication The Hidden Persuaders. Dismissing the book’s underlying thesis, the Newspaper News review concluded with the following barbed comment:

Advertising men claim that Mr Packard’s objectivity is soured by his unfortunate magazine experiences. [His publications were closed] not because of lack of circulation, but advertiser interest. One researcher suggested that, if Mr Packard had consulted MR people, this might never have happened.80

The Hidden Persuaders was the most widely recognised critique of market research in the post-war period. Packard’s book was released in Australia in the second half of 1957 and it attracted considerable attention. It is a populist account of advertising and market research techniques collected from interviews and based on Packard’s own experience of the publishing industry in North America. Packard’s book successfully captures through a diverse series of case studies the market researchers’ role in organising consumption plus also their related

78 Newspaper News, 7 February 1958, 2.
80 Newspaper News, 29 November 1957, 6.
fascination with the minute details of everyday life. The consumer, according to Packard, is passive and the industry is guilty of creating ‘false’ or, at the very least, superfluous needs that preclude genuine choice. Aware of its own Cold War context, Packard’s critique, far from being radical, affirms a politically and economically liberal theory of free choice, alluding to the totalitarian implications of the manipulation of that choice. Free choice in the market place and the capacity of an economy to meet the needs of consumers held significant political resonances in the Cold War context. Free choice, particularly in the market place, was crucial to distinctions drawn between the liberal ‘free world’ and the communist bloc. The existence of choice was the guarantee against totalitarianism:

It is this competition, this freedom to choose [said one market researcher] which distinguishes the democratic from the social security state in which you take a chance on what is available and have little or no freedom to pick and choose. Without this competition progress would be slow and many of the products which we today take for granted would probably not exist.

The meaning of consumption and the operations of market research men in post-war Australia was infused with this political context.

The Packard critique and the emphasis on manipulation of choice has been deployed consistently over time in the critique of market research and advertising. The unifying features of this and other similar critiques is the denial of a rational or self-aware consuming subject, the separation of the act of purchase from genuine choice and real need or real desire. The captured housewife of liberal feminist analysis and the duped subject in liberation feminism or orthodox Marxist accounts rely on an analysis of market researchers as actors working to prohibit, prevent and proscribe. In more recent times, cultural analysts have maintained the framework of this critique, with theoretical skirmishes around the question of whether women have been empowered by access to consumerism and what impact this has had on citizenship and subjectivity. While attractive and internally coherent portraits, these understandings neglect the actual practice of market research and the operations that market research men were engaged in. They neglect the interested

82 Jackson, op.cit., 5.
investments managerial and professional men were making with the methodologies they deployed; that the affirmation of rational choice and freedom could co-exist, in liberalism, with the imperatives of increased purchase and profit.

The denunciation of subliminal advertising, as an example of excessive manipulation, “objectionable on democratic grounds” and “unethical”, provided an opportunity to affirm the methodology of the marketing concept central to the profession’s operations. Subliminal advertising was rejected on the grounds that it contravened fundamental principles that were at the root of the transformed understanding of the consumer in the post-war regime of consumption. The market research ethos was one premised on positioning the consumer at the centre of its discourse, capable of making choices. The consumer was open to being influenced but, as the market researchers presented it, the consumer remained as a freely choosing subject. Assertions of the rationality of the consumer were commonplace. In a text targeted to both students and executives, Weinstein expressed the profession’s position:

> Does the consumer enter the market place as a rational decision-maker or is he the slave of irrational impulses and drives? There is almost no evidence to support a hypothesis of irrational consumer behaviour. Rather, there is a large body of theory and experimental data that shows that the consumer enters the market as a rational decision-maker.⁸³

Market research practice overwhelmingly supports the proposition that market researchers perceived the object of their inquiry, the consumer, and the predominantly female consumer, to be a rational actor. Psychological theories of need and speculative assessments of the relationship to products were exhaustively researched in the field. The evident premise of these research practices was that behaviours could be mapped and explained and so, therefore, product relationships could be developed. The implication was of a rational object of inquiry. Subliminal advertising implied an abandonment of the engagement with rational consumers. It was viewed as ‘unethical’ because it disrupted the premise of rationality upon which consumption was seen to be based.

Concomitant to the capacity for the consumer to be rational was the use of that rationality in making free choices in the market place. Just as the liberal notion of citizenship was premised on the existence of a rational subjectivity, so also the consumer, as a citizen in the marketplace was, in both the theory and also generally in market research practice, considered rational. It was rational choice that lay at the nexus between producers and consumers; the test of the exercise of that choice was whether consumers were freely purchasing according to their real needs or whether they were being manipulated into purchasing ‘false needs’. Subliminal advertising evidently implied that real needs would be eschewed, people would purchase superfluous products and that the consumer would not have a role in affirming the identified need or desire for a particular product. By way of example market researchers quoted an unverified, probably hoax, U.S. experiment where subliminal advertising apparently made movie-goers purchase 18.1% more Coca-Cola and 57.7% more popcorn.\textsuperscript{84} Little could be more damning. That subliminal advertising could imply the uncontrollable imposition of unnecessary products into consumers’ shopping lists made it objectionable according to the methodology of the profession and the logic of liberal choice.

As a moment in the history of the profession, the episode of subliminal advertising appears unique and unusual. However, the response by market researchers draws attention to the alignments and interests expressed in the ordinary practice of the profession. The rejection of subliminal advertising was instinctive, an expression of a liberal common sense. Subliminal advertising is repudiated because as a process it offends the liberal logics of choice. It is this logic that operates through the practices of market research men to successfully mobilise the consumer, bringing the consumer into a relationship with products such that the expression of self and satisfaction are tied to the material acts of purchase. The repudiation of subliminal advertising highlights the centrality of choice and freedom in the marketing concept and the techniques of government; market research men, through their practices, were operating a liberal social vision that advanced their interests.

\textsuperscript{84} Bottomley, ‘Aspects of Motivational Research’, op.cit., 15.

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The symmetry between the marketing concept and liberalism, the interests and the practices of market research men is evident also in the bundle of satisfactions and lifestyles that these men sought to link to commodities. The content of market research advice to advertisers, the suggestions about meanings that could be attached to products, offered opportunities to articulate a social vision. Although the detail of advice is varied there exists at a general level a consistent affirmation of social values that reflect the ideals of the post-war liberal political system. There were at least three general elements in the content of market research and the practice of the marketing concept that expressed this connection. Firstly, the content of market research indicated that identity could be secured through alignment with lifestyles, not social relations; that the world was patterned by personal attitudes, not social relations, and thirdly; that an individual, separate from any social conditions, could freely choose an array of destinies for their life by selecting from a range of products. An explicit illustration of the connection between market research practice and liberalism can be found in the market research practice of prominent liberal social critic and one-time market researcher Donald Horne. Horne’s practice appears typical of the profession in every way. The material he wrote and the sources he relied upon are consistent with other remaining records of post-war practice. His processes also confirm the analysis of the profession presented previously in this chapter. But Horne was not a typical market research man and his participation in public debate as a liberal intellectual offers a unique opportunity to compare the content of market research with the content of liberal social analysis.

An example that captures the intersection with liberal social analysis is a Rothmans cigarette campaign Horne developed in the mid-1960s. The market

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85 Donald Horne worked at the mid-sized advertising agency Jackson Wain and Co as a ‘creative director’ in the early-1960s. Previously Horne had founded and edited The Observer from 1958 to 1961 (after which it merged with The Bulletin). The Observer targeted a readership of middle-class professionals and projected an aggressive liberal voice. After The Observer folded Horne moved on to edit The Bulletin and then, after his short post at Jackson, Wain & Co., moved into academia and today remains a prominent public commentator. Between 1964 and 1998 Horne published 24 books and countless articles in journals and newspapers. Horne’s most recognised work is his first book The Lucky Country which was published in 1964. For a general reading of Horne’s liberalism see T. Rowse, Liberalism and National Character, Kibble Books, Melbourne, 1978, particularly chapter five. The Donald Horne Papers at the Mitchell Library, Sydney contain records of Horne’s market research and advertising work at Jackson, Wain and Co. Jackson, Wain and Co. had a diverse range of retail and non-retail clients and the Horne archive reflects the diverse client profile of the company.

86 ML, DHP, MSS 3525, ADD-ON 02238 (1964-1966). Intriguingly all of Horne’s Jackson, Wain and Co. material on cigarette advertising (but only cigarette related material) had been separated from the Donald Horne Papers, catalogued as a separate collection (originally located at ML, MSS.
research on cigarettes acknowledged the many reasons why people smoked and why it was attractive to young consumers. At the centre of the research strategy was the familiar aspiration from market research men for consumers to: “see [the consumer’s] personality in the cigarettes [they] choose. They become part of us.” The campaign to encourage smoking of Rothmans needed to stress the “rewards” from smoking and the connections to particular identities enabled by smoking. The context of public concern and private research about the negative health impacts to people from smoking was also acknowledged as part of the environment that gave smoking its meaning. Cigarettes, the research asserted, must be given “meanings that outweigh – or even make use of – the evils of smoking them.” The emphasis on searching for an appropriate set of satisfactions and meanings to link to the product was, quite evidently, an application of the marketing concept.

Horne recommended the product be advertised and promoted so as to provide “an intensely emotional identification with contemporary Australia – its haunting physical presence, and its new spirit.” He suggested this new spirit that the cigarettes would be associated with was the spirit of an “active Australia”, not in a competitive sense but one that conveyed “here they already have it made”. These general recommendations were then honed down to become the basis of specific advertising campaign copy.

Horne’s market research recommendations parallel the content of his popular social analysis in *The Lucky Country*, published in 1964 (the same time as the Rothmans campaign). His recommendations and *The Lucky Country* both reflect and affirm a liberal analysis and liberal political values. *The Lucky Country* dwelt extensively on the meaning of this ‘new spirit’ of Australia to which he also refers in the Rothmans campaign material. In *The Lucky Country* Horne explained this shift as accompanying a generational change among “the people”. For Horne a new generation (his own) was on the verge of grasping control of Australian culture, politics and industry, though this new generation

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6253) and the record of authorship and donation removed. Mitchell Library librarians reunited the material after my research revealed the connection.

87 ‘Rothmans King Size Filter Creative Proposals’ in ML, *DHP*, MSS 3525, ADD-ON 02238, 1(1).
88 This included acknowledgement that the nicotine in smoking was, in fact, addictive.
89 ‘Rothmans King Size Filter Creative Proposals’ in ML, *DHP*, MSS 3525, ADD-ON 02238 (1), 41.
90 ‘Rothmans King Size Filter Creative Proposals’ in ML, *DHP*, MSS 3525, ADD-ON 02238 (1), 47.
was being held down by a backward-looking, unpatriotic and unconfident leadership caught in the politics of left or right. In *The Lucky Country* Horne (as liberal social analyst), mythologised the liberal ‘middle ground’, giving it a generational veneer. He reduced to ‘spirit’ the liberal politics contesting post-war modernity. As market research man, Horne sought to make the act of smoking another expression of that spirit.

In *The Lucky Country* Horne also dwelt, as the title implies, on the fortune of the nation. He argued that prosperity, not control, had been handed to the new generation. The future fortune of ‘the lucky country’ as a successful liberal democracy depended, he argued, on a more resolute and capable leadership. Luck, he asserted, may have ensured aggregate wealth and social cohesion in the past, but the future required intervention and leadership. His diagnosis (as social analyst) ignored social structures and relations and asserted the redemptive quality of the classless middle class. His prescription, and the message of *The Lucky Country*, was to embolden leadership. Tim Rowse’s critical analysis of Horne’s work identifies that Horne viewed ‘the people’ as having “ascended to a state of innocence content with their lot.”

There was no working class, simply the people in need of leadership. The future of prosperity was out of the hands of the contented but directionless people. The future was not something won by political demand, but granted by luck or by leadership. Again the content of Horne’s market research recommendations closely paralleled his liberal analysis. In the mode of market research man Horne was less concerned with the issue of leadership and the question of futures. He was selling his product to the mass market, a demographic that corresponded with his contented, leaderless group ‘the people’. Thus Horne recommends to Rothmans that their advertisements connect with the sense of an active Australia where people think “here they already have made it”. While the social analyst searched for leadership, the people could count their good luck and have a smoko.

Horne’s work provides a direct illustration of the connection that lies between the content of market research recommendations and the values of the liberal political system that market research men subscribed to. The content of

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market research provided opportunities for market research men to articulate a social vision. The marketing concept, in aligning products with people, enabled market research men to align that social vision with purchase. In the process of market research (illustrated in the episode of subliminal advertising) and in the content of market research (illustrated above) market research men were selling products and they were selling politics. Built into their discursive practices and the techniques utilised were the politics of liberalism in which their interests lay.

4.6 The Female Consumer and the Market Research Man: gender and government

Feminist historian Gail Reekie, in reading the market research profession as expressive of tensions between men and women, has successfully teased out some of the elisions in what she identifies as the profession’s ‘instrumentally defined’, genderless category of consumer. In her critique of the embedded masculinist politics of the profession, Reekie points conclusively to an embodied object of knowledge and a gendered discourse where “the housewife constitutes the main scientific object of market research.” Reekie’s account calls attention to slippages in the discursive practices of market research men, from a claimed objectivity to a distinctly gendered language, methodology and politics. Feminist historians and cultural analysts have insisted on the gendered specificity of the consumer to explain why consumption was neglected by traditional historians, to reveal the economic and social contribution of women’s domestic labour and to illuminate the lived experience of women. In this section I add a different layer to the analysis of consumption. I argue that market research men structured the regime of consumption around a consumer they identified as female; that the gendered specificity of the consumer was an explicit element of market research practice. From this recognition I then trace the connections between the regime of

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93 Reekie’s argument and research closely parallels early feminist analysis of market research by Rosemary Scott. Scott’s The Female Consumer was published in the UK in 1976. It presents an argument asserting the significance of women to consumption and to the market research profession. Like Reekie, Scott also identifies an ambivalence in the attitudes of market researchers to their subjects. Scott, however, based her arguments on her own participation in the profession and her desire to reform consumption rather than gender relations. R. Scott, The Female Consumer, Associated Business Programmes, London, 1976. G. Reekie, ‘Market Research and the Post-War Housewife’, Australian Feminist Studies, no. 14, Spring 1991, 15-28; Reekie has also positioned market research in the context of retailing history, examining the sexualisation of selling, the managing of women’s desires and efficiency in the techniques of mass marketing, see Reekie, ‘Temptations’, op.cit.

consumption and the gender interests of these men and advance two propositions. Firstly, I elaborate on the action of these market research men as agents producing the social relation of gender. Targeting the female consumer naturalised the division of labour and entrenched the entailments to these men in the post-war regime of consumption. Secondly, I demonstrate that gender was pivotal to creating the capacity for these men to intervene, that the marketing concept, this technique of government, relied initially upon a gendered subject.

Far from being content with commonplace perceptions that the consumer was female, on a number of occasions and for the benefit of either particular clients or for a more general readership, market research men sought to statistically prove the gender of their principal object of inquiry. In seeking, for example, to attract business interest in developing the Fremantle area of Perth, the Fremantle Council contracted market researchers to develop a profile of the average Fremantle consumer and their preferred shopping habits. One matter of fact aspect included in the report was the statement that “in their routine spending, housewives are responsible for at least 40% of Fremantle’s entire value of sales.” The Fremantle housewife’s routine and non-routine spending added up to a dominant proportion of what this survey claimed was total potential consumption in the area. If Fremantle was to redevelop its shopping precinct it would need to do so according to the demands of its consumers: women.

Statistical proof of the female consumer’s omnipresence was enhanced by the introduction, in the 1950s, of the concept of ‘influence’. The Fremantle survey worked with this concept to underpin the necessity of responding to the female consumer:

The housewife’s influence on purchases of household appliances, furniture and other non-routine spending means that she is the main source of revenue for the retail trade, and the consumer whom it should satisfy most as to standards, etc.

Eager as always to demonstrate the most efficient way in which a client company’s advertising pound could be spent, market researchers began

95 In this respect my analysis suggests that Reekie has underplayed awareness within the profession that the object of inquiry was in fact a woman.
97 Western Public Relations, op.cit.
investigating the extent to which a particular member of a household influenced purchase. The *Readers Digest Survey*, first conducted in Australia in 1961, is perhaps the best known of these studies.98 This survey found that women did influence or purchase a wide range of products thought to be, at least by the authors, definitively male-only. The science of survey research and the measurement of influence alerted retailers to the presence of women as consumers.

Little ‘scientific’ encouragement was really required for retailers. Retailing had an established history and tradition of considering women as the appropriate consumer. Retailers were both significant direct clients of market research companies and also sellers of the products that market research men investigated. Retailers were also frequent participants in Market Research Society functions and core members of the Society. The following comment from the Director and General Secretary of the newly formed Retail Trader Association of Victoria is indicative of the viewpoint market researchers were keen to prove ‘scientifically’ and to encourage generally:

> The obvious place to conduct surveys of consumption is in the home. The housewife exerts a predominant influence in deciding on the purchase of consumer goods … In short, sales appeal should usually be directed at women. Similarly, if you want to find out the reasons why product ‘A’ will get preference over product ‘B’ you will usually get the answer from the womenfolk. They are born shoppers, without self-consciousness, and never afraid to state their opinions candidly. Like all generalisations it can be proved wrong in particular cases, but because of the tremendous part played by women in the pattern of consumption, they are the obvious mark for many forms of motivation research.99

The statistical ‘proving’ of the consumer being female was expressive of a conceptual process that enabled market researchers to find focus in their discursive practice on women. Market research men frequently conflated individual consumption with household consumption. This marriage was one that structured the profession’s sense of who consumed and why. An individual purchased in the context of a domestic existence. The home functioned to frame consumption and consumer items, the home was the place of consumption. Domesticity was the nexus between purchase and use. It provided an important

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reference for ‘permissive’ consumerism, hitherto considered as morally suspect.¹⁰⁰ The framing of consumption around the home was common to most understandings of consumption in post-war Australia and the discursive practices of market research contributed to this framing.

Market research tended also to limit its definition of consumption. The subtleties of pre-purchase decision making and post-purchase product use (encompassed in a more complete definition of ‘consumption’) generally fell outside the considerations of market research men. In attempting to address the question of purchase the market research men did sometimes explore issues beyond purchase; the influence studies are an indicator of this. But market research was commercial, usually funded by companies seeking to improve sales, so emphasis fell on purchase. Domestic purchase was also primarily retail. The market research category of individual or household consumption considered, almost exclusively, the consumption of retail goods. Largely absent from market research investigations were investigations into patterns of consumption around sport, entertainment, religious, educational or social activities. Such consumer services attracted limited attention. Though clearly not the exclusive province of men, such activities and the consumption associated with them were located outside the home and were frequently shared in a homosocial environment. Men’s leisure activities were frequently based around consumption, though it might not have been recognised as such. The Rotarians, for example, whom I explore in Chapter Six of this thesis, did purchase and consume goods as part of their service activities, their meetings, and to create their distinct identity (ties, badges, stationery, conferences and etc). Men appear to have been an important consuming constituency, but the market research profession did not consider them to be significant objects of inquiry. Men’s magazines were not significant sponsors of market research, certainly not to the extent of the women’s magazines, and there were only limited attempts to push men into the spotlight as

¹⁰⁰ On thrift Whitwell remarks: “Thrift and abstinence were viewed increasingly as old-fashioned and unnecessarily restrictive codes of personal conduct.” G. Whitwell, Making the Market, McPhee Gribble Publishers, Melbourne, 1989, 5; see also Brown, ‘Governing Prosperity’, op.cit.
consumers.\textsuperscript{101} The Readers Digest Survey, for example, cautioned market researchers, arguing that

\begin{quote}
men play a more important role to-day in the purchasing of many products than has generally been realized when purchasing and brand decisions are being made and the actual buying takes place.\textsuperscript{102}
\end{quote}

From an economic perspective consumer services were a less profitable source for market research. Consumer services were dominated by one of the following: small producers/providers, with a very limited capacity to engage market researchers, compared to the large retail organisations that frequently sponsored market research; by producers not directly motivated by profit, such as religious orders or service organisations; or, by those seeking to avoid public scrutiny, such as gambling, drinking or sex industries. These economic factors had a distinctly gendered outcome: men were less likely objects for inquiry.\textsuperscript{103}

The allure of science compelled the market researchers to claim a genderless object and so a masculine pronoun but the reality of the profession’s work, as they saw it, encouraged a female specificity. The constrained definitions of consumption have important consequences. An existing division of labour that emphasises the role of women as purchasers of household commodities implies that women should be prominent in the discursive practice of market research. But market research men were not merely responding to a social structure, they were active constituents in renegotiating that structure. The obscuring of men’s consumption and the affirmation of the link between domesticity, women and consumption point to a profession active in asserting what it considered to be an

\textsuperscript{101} Market researchers infrequently addressed the ‘problem’ of the male consumer, though scrutiny was from time to time threatened. At the start of the 1960s market researchers examining fashion pointed to several strategies undertaken to boost sales: “The clothing and footwear markets over the past few years have been characterised by endeavours to promote sales by new fabrics, frequent fashion changes, special promotions ... and endeavours to extent fashion consciousness first to men, and then to teenagers of both sexes.” (‘Current Status of Consumer Markets and their Marketing Trends’, JMRSA, vol. 4, 1959, 3-20, 10.) At the end of the 1960s market researchers could point to successes in developing consumer consciousness amongst teenagers, but they could not make such claims for men. Historian Karen Hutchings looks at attempts to encourage men to be fashion conscious and to purchase more. Her examples are, however, the exceptions that do indicate a more general contrary pattern; see K. Hutchings, ‘The Mum with the Washday Smile’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sydney, 1997.

\textsuperscript{102} Australian Sales and Research Bureau, op.cit., 2.

\textsuperscript{103} By emphasising purchase, the market research discourse constructed a picture of consumption and the consumer which, inevitably, targetted women. This also has consequences for historians of consumption, as Mark Swiencicki has identified. A tendency to blur definitions of consumption, to superimpose purchase over consumption, would provide us with only a partial picture of the organisation and experience of consumption. A complete picture of post-war consumption needs to consider product use, decision making structures and a wide range of factors that is not covered in the moment of purchase: Australian histories of consumption have yet to develop this awareness; see Mark Swiencicki, op.cit.
appropriate object of study. In their discursive practice, market research men construct a knowledge base, methodology and industry around the assumption that women are the purchasers and that men are irrelevant as objects of study. The process of proving women to be the natural consumer, the ‘born shopper’, consuming in the context of domestic labour is self-perpetuating; adding to its inevitability.

The examples of market research practice outlined in the previous chapter sections also demonstrate that aligning products to an attractive ‘set of satisfactions’ depended upon mobilising gendered understandings of what were appropriate satisfactions: the efficient housewife, the diligent correspondent, the skilled cook. What was appropriate as an object of study and what was an appropriate reading of satisfaction were unambiguous statements of what was natural as a division of labour. Making up the subject of consumption was, therefore, a gendered process; it relied on and was a resource for the social relation of gender. The pedagogies that feature in the marketing concept were incubating not simply a relationship between people and products but a relationship between people and a social structure. The discursive practices of market research men guaranteed that the patriarchal division of labour informed and was reflected in the regime of consumption during post-war modernisation. This connection iterates the conclusion that these men worked, with techniques of government, to articulate and establish their perceived interests in the social relation of gender.

The assertion of the gender of the consumer was also a strategic move that affirmed the capacity of the market research profession to intervene in the terrain of the market. This observation is similar to that explored in the terrain of work and the centrality of gender to the deployment of the ‘positive approach’ in personnel management. Positioning the consumer as female enabled market research to exploit convergences of familiar and gendered subject-object languages in examining and talking about women. The intimacy that the marketing concept implied fitted neatly to what was seen as appropriate and possible in the investigative process. Gender facilitated the proximity that market research men needed to claim with their subject. The marketing man could peer
over the consumer’s shoulder or see through her eyes, as he does in the images that open this chapter. The gender of the consumer was fundamental to the authority and comfort of the market researcher.

The importance of gender to domestic consumption is evident in the different methodologies deployed in industrial consumption. Industrial market research was concerned with identifying and analysing the needs of businesses as they purchased goods and services from other businesses for the purpose of product generation.\textsuperscript{104} The practice of industrial market research tended to emphasise revealing potential purchasers primarily through the analysis of production statistics. Marketing to industrial consumers was identified as a process of explanation and clear presentation of facts. The methodology in industrial market research avoided psychological methods and prioritised the role of statistics and statistical analysis. In the discursive practice of market research industrial consumption was familiar and uncomplicated, the common themes were the application of ever more rational methods and the application of even more logical statistical theories. The industrial consumer was not to be hurried, he would come to his own decision and he needed little persuasion. Market research techniques remained instrumental and the industrial consumer was not ‘mobilised’. His consumption was framed in the same context of professional expertise and detachment that characterised the self-perceptions of market researchers. The expertise of the market research man in knowing and mobilising the intimate desires and needs of the consumer was not yet to be deployed between men.\textsuperscript{105}

The importance of gender and the unease in approaching men as subjects is further evident in the absence of these men identifying their own acts of consumption. There is, in the documents researched for this chapter, not one instance of a market research man sharing his own experience as a consumer.

\textsuperscript{104} There were a significant number of industrial market researchers active in the formation of the Market Research Society (Victoria); the early issues of the Society journal frequently included either specific articles for or by industrial market researchers or generic articles that would recognise industrial consumption. Forums aimed at educating market researchers would generally always include speakers on industrial market research. Education courses looked specifically at aspects of industrial market research.

\textsuperscript{105} It is useful to connect this process to a broader shift in consumption practices that has now, in fact, come to encompass men. Gender was crucial to the initial interweaving of personal desires, psychologies and subjectivities with commodities and commodity relations. Through the bodies of women, initially, new spaces, internal spaces, ‘identity spaces’, were appropriated and the consumer economy had a more perpetual market that, later, would transgress and transform gender.
During the more informal seminar and conference sessions where there is frequently a free play of jokes and anecdotes about sport or everyday life there was no reference by these men to themselves as consumers. Even at opulent conferences that appear to be structured as much around consumption (primarily leisure activities, such as golf, involving consumption) as they are around ‘business’, market researchers removed their own personal experiences from discussion. The absence of personal reflections or recognition of themselves as consumers could be explained as a rigorous adherence to the scientific principle of objectivity. However, market researchers were very quick to also identify a need to show empathy and sincerity in their approach to ‘the consumer’. In not sharing their own experiences of consumption market researchers were attempting to draw more boldly the subject-object distinction, encouraging a distancing and also indicating a desire for their own types of consumption not to be considered as consumption.

The marketing concept sought to reveal needs and desires, the formation of behaviours and the interrelationship of products and people. The process was both intimate and minute in its focus. The work was informed by psychological investigations and it proclaimed a capacity to move beyond speculation and penetrate the inner-most thoughts of its object of enquiry. This was, then, a distinct moment when the changes wrought by modernisation compelled the emergence of techniques of government. Miller and Rose take their analysis of market research to a similar point, but their emphasis remains on the productive operations of power, on the ‘how’ of power. In distinction, my framework asserts that the consumer acted and was mobilised in social relations; relations with interests and effects. Broadening the analysis to consider the interests of the men operating in the regime of consumption points to how the interventions of market research men invested in their own gender interests; most evidently in naturalising a division of labour through consumption. But the analysis also demonstrates that the interventions and the techniques depended on those social

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106 This absence is made more prominent by the directives of the ‘Operational Chart for Consumer Research’ of 1956, which, at step 6, suggests: “Researcher's own observations of his own behaviour, motives, attitudes and learning processes cover why the researcher himself likes or dislikes the client's product, why he came to use it if he did so, and the like.” (see “Operational Chart for Consumer Research”, in R. Morgan, ‘Notes on an operational chart for consumer behaviour’, JMRSA, vol. 2, pt. 1, 1957, 32-39, 34). Step 6 was followed, in step 7, by the call for ‘formal investigations’ into others and from there until Step 23 no reference is made of using these personal observations. Step 6 appears to have been the one step ignored by the market researchers.
relations to find expression. The emergence of government in how power operated depended upon recognising and maintaining the consumer as an embodied subject, a gendered subject. The new relationship to products and to consumption was not just a reflection of gender interests, it was a process constructed through those interests. Gender underpinned the authority these men could express in their interventions and these interventions also invested in the gender interests of market research men.

4.7 Conclusion
To read the research material produced by market research men is to enter the realm of daily life and the minute practices of people in post-war Australia. The meticulous observations and recordings of everyday life are staggering in detail and scope. These men were steeped in the quotidian, observing and recording the habits, satisfactions and desires expressed through the everyday life of the consumer in post-war modernisation. Market research men, in seeking to mediate the relationship between the producer and the consumer, found a proximity to the consumer and began to understand her relationship to products and consumption in new ways. Rather than identifying the discursive practices of market research men as prohibitive, I have argued that the new understanding of the consumer sought to align her needs and desires with products. In mobilising the consumer, market research men were engaging a technique of government, a process productive to both new meanings in purchase and older certainties in profit.

In the political logic of liberal democracy the market stands as the paradigmatic site of freedom, one of liberalism’s greatest achievements and a frequent rejoinder to the critique of domination. The operation of choice in consumption is represented as expressing the individual subject’s relationship to the social system; the opportunity, equality and freedom of democracy. Interventions into the market and the organising of consumption are, as a result, particularly revealing because they engage with this relationship between self and social system. By exploring the discursive practices of post-war market research this chapter has affirmed the centrality of freedom and individual satisfaction in understandings of the relationship between self and society in post-war Australia.
More importantly, the chapter illustrates that market research men, while endorsing freedom and mobilising satisfactions nevertheless invested their own interests into the organisation of consumption. The chapter demonstrates that the operation of government by market research men depended on the leverage of these interests while also delivering returns on those investments. Finally, government is shown braiding the consumer’s relationship to themselves and the consumer’s relationship to the social system with the interests of managerial and professional men; thus government secures the comfort of these men in the regeneration of hegemony. In the following chapter I move from this focus on the consumer’s relationship with the social system, to considering the intimate relations that connect people with each other.
Managing Tender Ties:
The Natural and Democratic Families and Fathers
of Parenting and Marriage Guidance

5.1 Introduction
Fred Schonell’s presidential address to the tenth annual congress of the Australian Branch of the British Psychological Society held in 1954 focused on the topic of ‘Child Psychology in a Changing World’. The address considered the troubling circumstances of the contemporary world and expounded some of the emerging methodologies in child psychology. Schonell identified security as one of the key “socio-psychological needs” for child development. Insecurity, he acknowledged, operated at psychological level within the child but its origins were to be found around the child. Schonell’s address captured the prevailing sense of potential danger that lurked in the environment surrounding the child. He noted that:

All the evidence shows that when children are deprived of a feeling that all is well, that they are loved, that they will be protected in their attempts to stretch out, they tend to withdraw … and hence are held up in both intellectual and social development.

The deleterious implications of a changing world and its insecure contexts pervaded the literature produced by the guidance experts of marriage and of parenting. In the discursive practices of these experts the family was not an isolated haven or quarantined private realm. The family, Australian anthropologist Adolphus Elkin remarked in 1957,

is not merely a unit in the social structure. It is a functioning member in a complex of interrelated groups. Indeed, the family is a function of society. It expresses and reflects the pattern and condition of the latter.

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1 Fred Schonell was Professor of Psychology at the University of Queensland.
The family was a problematic space, open to and influenced by the conditions of post-war modernisation. The new environment of insecurity challenged the capabilities of relationships in new ways. Like other social settings, the family was a terrain that required careful management and the intervention of experts to guide relationships in the family through the changed conditions of post-war modernisation.

This chapter examines the managerial and professional men who identified a professional role for themselves in providing ‘guidance’ for parenting and marriage: the managers of the family.\(^4\) I specifically target two sets of inter-related discursive practices, those advocating marriage guidance and those participating in early-childhood parenting advice (with an emphasis on paediatrics and child psychology).\(^5\) I address these men as they positioned themselves to manage and mediate familial relationships and adjust familial practices. My argument explores two emerging patterns in the imagined relationships advocated in post-war guidance practice. Exposition of both patterns, summarised as the natural family and the democratic family, demonstrate each to represent techniques of government. In the final sections of this chapter the concerns of marriage guidance and parenting advice are brought together to consider how husbands and fathers were addressed in the natural and democratic family. The presence of husbands and fathers provides an insightful gauge for the interests infused in the management of the tender ties of family relationships.

\(^4\) In both fields professional women played a significant role, authoring texts, agitating for change and contributing to the overall discourse. I have not here drawn out the particular meanings of women’s participation in these professions, instead focusing on the unities in the discourse and the shared placements of the gender and class interests of managerial and professional men.

\(^5\) As a result the sources I selected were, for parenting advice, articles in the Medico Journal of Australia and books recommended in the Medical Journal of Australia, I also use recommended readings, books and pamphlets stocked (at the time) in the library of the Father Son Welfare Movement (subsequently Family Life Movement and now Interact). For marriage guidance I use archival material from the NSW Marriage Guidance Council (now Relationships Australia), including recommended readings, pamphlets and books stocked in the Marriage Guidance Council’s library at the time. Case notes from marriage guidance are unavailable in NSW, although case note summaries are often contained in publications (limited direct notes are available for Western Australia; see B. McDonald, Women as Wives in Western Australia in the 1950s: A Study of Divorce and Marriage Guidance Council Evidence, B.A. Hons thesis, Murdoch University, 1987). I am grateful to the librarians at the Sydney Branch of Relationships Australia for continuing efforts to trace case material from the post-war decades.

Advice and engagement with ‘family management’ was extensive in popular culture, where historians have tended to focus their research. The experts that I examine directly participated in providing material for this advice (and also recommended that parents read popular magazines and listen to radio stories where their advice was given). But, I have constructed my analysis in both these fields primarily from the discussions and debates that occurred within the professions as distinct from the actual expressions of advice to parents or couples in either a clinical or popular culture setting.
To consider parenting and marriage guidance I have drawn from William Graebner’s analysis of Benjamin Spock’s parenting advice.\(^6\) According to Graebner, Spock perceived intervention into the child-rearing process through parenting advice as providing an opportunity to influence the way society managed the insecure environment of post-war modernisation. I have also drawn from Kerreen Reiger’s analysis of the rise of the “therapeutic” in Australian marriage guidance during the post-war decades.\(^7\) Reiger’s work suggests that interventions into family relationships sought to develop new understandings of the human subject and the place of that subject in liberal democracy. Her analysis also introduces the particular class and gender interests attached to these new understandings. Finally, though much more generally, in examining the family and fatherhood my analysis has built upon Mary Ryan’s insights on the evolving consequences of familial practices on the shape and the interests of hegemony.\(^8\)

### 5.2 ‘An Environment Bristling with Possibilities of a Harmful Nature’

Early childhood psychologists and advocates for paediatrics commonly argued that successful parenting in post-war Australia depended on recognition and management of the environment and its capacity to compromise the security needed for parenting a child. The “main plank” to understanding and assisting the child, one theorist writing in the *Medical Journal of Australia* remarked, was to see

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the problems of the individual as those of being with mental and physical qualities constantly being adjusted to an environment bristling with possibilities of a harmful nature – nutritional, microbiotic, and emotional.⁹

Arrayed around the child were possibilities that, if not carefully adjusted, would inhibit development. Contributing to the hostile context of parenting in the post-war period was the inheritance of twentieth-century history. Scars from the past were present in the minds of the parent and part of the environment that the child would develop within. One review of child development theory noted that:

as [the mother] begins to soberly count up her blessings of parenthood, she realizes that her baby may be just cannon fodder for a new war or may be ‘on the dole’ in an industrial slump. If she decides to restrict her family, we cannot blame her …¹⁰

The most significant factor in the environment around the child that held potential to generate insecurity was the interactions a child had with adults. People made the environment hostile and harmful. Every relationship possessed a degree of threat:

faulty adjustment [said one theorist, is] due to faulty intellectual or emotional development resulting from difficulties in the social environment in the past or present, for example, a rejecting or over-anxious mother, a drunken father or a foolish aunt or teacher.¹¹

The mother-child relationship received the greatest scrutiny in the post-war period. In the discursive practices of parenting advice this was the relationship likely to threaten the child’s environment. The mother could be represented as a danger through both her absence or her presence. John Bowlby’s work with the World Health Organisation on ‘maternal deprivation’ was the most influential international text confirming the attention of practitioners on the mother-child relationship.¹² Bowlby’s viewpoint was one shared across a spectrum of theorists and his work, although later discredited, was favourably quoted throughout the

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⁹ J. Williams, ‘Child Psychology’, Medical Journal of Australia, May 21 1949, 678. Williams was the honorary psychologist to the Childrens’ Hospital, Melbourne.

¹⁰ J. Bostock, ‘The Doctor and the Pre-School Child’, Medical Journal of Australia, July 29, 1944, 161. Bostock was Research Professor of Medical Psychology at the University of Queensland and an influential figure in the pre-school child development research and public policy with numerous publications; see for example, J. Bostock & E. Hill, The Pre-School Child and Society: A Study of Australian Conditions and their Repercussions on National Welfare, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1946.


Nevertheless, scrutiny and discussion of the father-child relationship also emphasised the father’s general contribution to the environment of the family. Despite some important differences in the representations of mother and father-child relationships, which I address below, the representations share an emphasis on the potential for the environment to produce a psychologically insecure child:

A fundamental principle in child management is that the emotions of fear and anger should be aroused as little as possible, because of their effect upon the child’s character. If they are aroused by either mother or father, the sense of security that the child should have in his parents’ love is destroyed, and the stage is set for all kinds of future behaviour problems.\(^\text{14}\)

If people made the environment bristle with harmful possibilities then the target for intervention was clear. In a roundtable discussion on child health facilities and the ‘total needs of children’ held at the 1958 Australian Paediatric Association Annual Meeting, the link between the issue of security and mother-child and father-child relationships was well summarised:

It was now recognised that in childhood, a sense of security, imparting, as it did, the ability to effect adjustment to changing conditions, was dependent upon good mother-child relationships: these in turn required emotionally stable and secure parents who combined a natural love for their children with working knowledge of what was necessary for the development of mental, physical and social well-being.\(^\text{15}\)

Adjustment to the environment was a central capacity that good parenting needed to impart to the child. To achieve this capacity parents were advised to consider ‘the total child’.\(^\text{16}\) The concept of the total child gave expression to a holistic

\(^{13}\) Schonell remarks that the mother-child relationship was the “first basic principle in child psychology.” Like many of these theorists he also draws upon anthropological research to demonstrate the hostile modern context; see Schonell, op.cit. The hostile attacks on the parenting skills of mothers can be found in a number of significant international texts including E. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, W. Norton and Co., New York, 1950 (Erikson devised the concept of ‘momism’ to describe the ‘overprotective’ mother); D. Levy, *Maternal Overprotection*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1943 (Levy commented: “It is generally accepted that the most potent influence on all social behaviour is derived from the primary social experience with the mother. If a mother maintains toward the child a consistent attitude of, let us say, indifference and hostility, the assumption is made that the child’s personality is greatly affected thereby. His outlook toward life, his attitude toward people, his entire psychic wellbeing, and his destiny, are presumed to be altered by the maternal attitude.” Levy, op.cit., 3). Other notable texts include P. Wylie’s, *Generation of Vipers* and E. Strecker’s, *Their Mothers’ Sons*, both of which being fairly derivative of the perspectives found in Bowlby, Erikson et. al.


\(^{16}\) The effective functioning of family relationships was central to the concept of the total child. In his review of child psychology Schonell neatly surmised the main premise of the total child approach: “To sum up on the problem of methods, if we are to obtain full and reliable information in the field of child psychology about the intellectual, social and personality development of children, there is the need to make a genetic approach. We must study the child as a whole and analyse ‘the interplay of the various aspects of development within the developmental sequence.’ To neglect the social factor is likely to lead us into quite erroneous conclusions.” Schonell, op.cit., 148.
understanding of how the child was subject to influences in his or her environment. The concept also emphasised psychological ways of understanding the child and the relationships in the environment of the child. Early childhood was referred to as the ‘plastic years’, with “life patterns [seen] as a chain of cause and effect.”\textsuperscript{17} Asserted in this understanding was a perception that the child was an entirely malleable entity. “Diseases of the mind” were identified as “habit patterns of inefficiency, impressed by environment in the early years.”\textsuperscript{18} To prevent such diseases parents needed to act with careful deliberation and conduct parenting with a view of their child “as an individual with ideas and rights of his own, rather than as a mere food converter.”\textsuperscript{19} The child, it was recognised, existed in an environment construed by relationships with others and these were primary to the development of a well-adjusted personality. These relationships became the focus of child development theory and parenting advice.

The total child concept signalled a significant intellectual movement away from eugenic (both hereditary and environmental) understandings in child development theory. The shift from eugenic concerns broadened the target of intervention; class privilege and breeding were no guarantee against maladjustment: every child was an individual. “Biologically perfect parenthood,” one theorist warned, “does not also mean psychologically informed parenthood.”\textsuperscript{20} The relationships around the child created the possibilities for growth or regression. “A little psychological knowledge,” the British psychologist Agatha Bowley remarked in her popular and positively-reviewed guide, “will help [parents and teachers] to understand and deal with these difficulties [of the child] more wisely.”\textsuperscript{21} In child development theory and in parenting advice, parents were being called upon to participate in the careful

\textsuperscript{17} Bostock, op.cit.
\textsuperscript{18} Bostock, op.cit. To underscore this point, Bostock remarks that: “the fixations of early childhood are so strong that convulsion treatment cannot reverse them.”
\textsuperscript{19} Medical Journal of Australia, January 16, 1954, 121.
\textsuperscript{20} M. Heinig, ‘Child Development and Guidance’, Medical Journal of Australia, July 30, 1938, 161. Heinig’s article was a frequent source in post-war reviews of child development theory. Heinig had been Federal Officer at the Australian Association for Pre-School Child Development.
\textsuperscript{21} Bowley’s remark on parents holding ‘a little’ psychological knowledge was often repeated in the period and generally came in texts that articulated a considerable depth of psychological knowledge. Bowley, for example, goes on to discuss the theories of Gesell who was influential in developing psychological theories around phases of development (see A. Gesell, C. Amatruda, B. Castrner & H. Thompson, Biographies of Child Development, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1939). Suggestions such as Bowley’s position psychological knowledge as the central discipline for explaining the meaning of both parenting advice and also child development, A. Bowley, The Natural Development of the Child, E. Livingstone, Edinburgh, 1942, xii. On the importance of psychologically informed advice to Canadian parents see Gleason, ‘Disciplining’, op.cit.
adjustment of their plastic total child. But parents were also warned of the implications of failed adjustment. The problem of the insecure environment around the child required expert surveillance and expert assistance, family relationships required intervention and parents needed a new kind of advice.

The advocates of marriage guidance understood the environment of marriage in similar terms. The marriage boom of the post-war years was correctly identified as a fortuitous aberration masking longer term demographic and social changes. Perceptions of increased divorce or formal and informal separations, the reduction in the number of children per couple, the increased number and prominence of bachelors, and increased sexual activity outside of marriage were reference points that compromised the stability of marriage and the well-being of individuals within the family. The development of marriage guidance in Australia accelerated in the post-war context, however foundations are evident in the ‘family-life education’ and sexual hygiene movements during the inter-war decades. The formation of the NSW Marriage Guidance Council in 1947 by well-known Anglican clergyman William ‘Cog’ Coughlan marked a significant point in the formal organisation and practice of marriage guidance in Australia. The NSW Marriage Guidance Council in Sydney was not alone, Catholic marriage guidance was also developing in a similar fashion and the Australian developments were informed by both U.S. and British marriage guidance.

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23 The Father Son Welfare Movement had been conducting marriage guidance on a limited scale in the inter-war period, a point that is overlooked in the accounts of Reiger, Brown and Murphy who have all worked primarily with source material from the (Anglican-based) Marriage Guidance Councils. Comments on marriage guidance in the inter-war period are contained in a number of testimonies recorded in D. Fox & N. Miller (eds), *An Oral History of Marriage Counselling in Australia: From Meaning Well To Doing Well*, Les Harvey Foundation, Canberra, 2000. For some of the inter-war history of the Father Son Welfare Movement (an understudied but influential organisation) see G. Rodwell, ‘Professor Harvey Sutton: National Hygienist as Eugenicist and Educator’, *JRAHS*, vol. 84, pt. 2, 1998, 164-179.

24 Coughlan had been active in the early post-war years in his own liberal Anglican organisation the Christian Social Order Movement. Both Murphy and Reiger cite the formation of the Marriage Guidance Council as being in 1948, in fact the first establishment conference was held in 1946, meetings were held through 1947 and the organisation was officially inaugurated in 1948; see Murphy, ‘Imagining’, op.cit., 57 and Reiger, ‘The Coming’, op.cit., 378. On the formation see *Marriage Guidance Council, NSW, Annual Report*, 1951-1952, 3.

Although the religious context is important, the foundation of formal guidance organisations, even within religious contexts, and the organisation of distinct and formal guidance theories and practices reflect a significant shift away from the religious or pastoral model of advice.\(^{26}\) The formalisation of marriage guidance acknowledged that a new approach was required to address the family in the changing environment of modernisation. Bostock and Hill, commenting on the “marriage morass” and advocating a Family Consultation Bureau, delicately suggest the declining capacity of the clergy to provide guidance:

> On the whole, however, there is an almost complete absence of planned scientific effort to solve the problem of unhappy marriages … In the past the physician or clergyman was the family adviser. He knew intimately every member of the family and his opinion was sought in times of difficulties. The changing world has altered the status of both. They can no longer cope with the difficulties set by distance or urbanization which make so many inroads on time that family advice on an adequate scale is impossible.\(^{27}\)

The changing world required an intervention that the traditional clergy were ill-equipped to perform. A person with “special knowledge” and a “planned scientific effort” was required.

The composition of post-war marriage guidance and its particular expression of managerial and professional expertise is well represented in the 1957 collection of articles presented in *Marriage and the Family in Australia*. This collection was reputed to be the first sociological examination of the family in Australia and was edited by Elkin, who was also patron of the NSW Marriage

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\(^{26}\) Reiger’s presentation of the “coming of the counsellors” suggests several stages to marriage guidance in post-war Australia with the first being from the late forties to the mid-fifties. This first stage, she argues, was dominated by a pastoral model that was, in time, superseded by the therapeutic model I discuss below. I argue that the practice of specialised guidance from its inception and origins in the inter-war period reflected a decisive shift from the “overtly traditional stance [of]… individual moral responsibility for behaviour” towards a psychologically informed understanding of individual adjustment, as discussed below. Again, Reiger’s source material for this early period encourages the over-emphasis on the pastoral model. Coughlan, for example, was acknowledged within marriage guidance circles as being more traditional in his methods. On the pastoral period see Reiger, ‘The Coming’, op.cit., 377-382; Russell Roth (himself a former psychologist) provides a portrait of ‘Cog’ in Fox & Miller, op.cit., 37.

\(^{27}\) Bostock & Hill, op.cit., 27/8.
Guidance Council and active in the Council’s formation. The publication was originally intended as a fundraiser to coincide with the visit by the founder of the British Marriage Guidance Council, David Mace, in 1956. The contributors include demographers, psychologists, anthropologists, social work academics and clergy.

In Elkin’s collection the historical context of the changing role and position of the family in society across several centuries of European history was well documented, along with a recognition that an environment of insecurity was now challenging the functioning of marriage and the family. Statistical profiling (by William Borrie) and sociological analysis (Morven Brown) presented the perspective that the function of the family had shrunk. Following the sociological theories of Talcott Parsons (whom he quotes), Morven Brown (Director or Social Work at the University of Sydney) emphasised that the family had become more isolated as a unit from other social institutions, heightening dependency within the family and intensifying its core purpose.

In marriage guidance the family was conceptualised as a single unit that functioned to draw together individuals and combat the disintegration of the environment around the family. Marriage provided the context for the development of individuals as children and adults, and for their effective participation in society. But marriage was also now identified a dynamic entity, a set of changing relationships between individuals. Marriage guidance advice disassembled the home to view it as a functioning social unit based on a set of relations between individuals who each required satisfactions and adjustments. Marriages were no longer to be mistaken for immobile institutions.

In addition, the relationships of marriage could only be fully understood by utilising psychological frameworks that were able to address individuals as possessing particular, knowable personalities. It was with psychological

28 Nicholas Brown reads the Elkin collection in a similar light. In the context of examining concepts of self and society he has suggested two distinct levels to the understanding of the family portrayed by the collection: “First, there had been a transition from the ‘corporate’ conception of the family to one in which ‘the individual’s happiness and independence’ were paramount. It followed that older bonds and loyalties were giving way to ‘sexual attraction and the appreciation of companionship’ as sufficient ‘to ensure the continuance and cohesion of a family’. Second, despite the tendency of modern society to deprive the family of its traditional functions in the areas of education, production, recreation and religion, it seemed ever more crucial that the family serve as a point of unity among these fractured allegiances.” Brown, op.cit., 196.

29 Reiger remarks that: “Marriage was seen increasingly as a dynamic relationship rather than a formal, permanent social status.” Reiger, ‘The Coming’, op.cit., 381.
knowledge, Bostock and Hill continued, that “we will find a means of detecting and correcting social mal-adjustment. The scope is enormous.”

Although written as a “psychiatric study” and so more focused on psychiatry than most general texts, Ainslie Meares’ *Marriage and Personality* captured the general framework applied in marriage guidance. Meares’ study, which gained international acclaim and was based on his psychiatric practice in Melbourne, acknowledged that:

> In marriage there is a continual flux of reaction and counter-reaction between husband and wife. By this means the personality of the one interacts with the personality of the other. There comes about a modification of one personality by the other. In successful marriage, these reactions and counter-reactions bring about a maturation of the personality, so that the individual’s responses become more emotionally satisfying to himself and others, and at the same time more socially useful.

Guidance was aimed at modification, adjustment and maturity. The family may have been the essential atom of society, but atoms could now be split. Psychological knowledges enabled individuals to be understood at the deeper levels where marriage’s particular meanings resided.

The psychologically informed perspective, however, underscored the perception of insecurity in the environment of marriage. The relationship of marriage was a space where individuals could be created or threatened:

> marriage is the main testing ground of emotional stamina and adaptability of a personality. In marriage the emotionally adequate may mature still more; but the inadequacies of the vulnerable and immature will be starkly revealed by their inability to cope with a new relationship which demands attitudes and modes of behaviour for which they have been ill prepared in their childhood.

Marriage was understood as a test, dangerous in current circumstances:

> Our society [proclaimed the Marriage Guidance Council of NSW] and every institution and group within it are facing a stern challenge to reverse the policy of neglect which has allowed – or forced – so many of our citizens to reach years of maturity without becoming ‘mature’; and also to provide instrumentalities whereby the maximum resources residing in every personality may be released and focused on the cause

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30 Bostock & Hill, op.cit., 8.
of meeting more adequately the test of marriage in the situation of to-
day.\textsuperscript{33}

The test was being failed. Modern men and woman were ill-prepared and ill-
adjusted, lacking skills in human interaction that would assist in successfully
negotiating relationships in the difficult environment. The dysfunctional marriage
relationship was identified as one element in a cycle that produced
psychologically insecure or immature people which in turn further threatened the
security of others. Poor marriage situations were producing poorly adjusted
children who later could only find themselves in marriages of “irresponsible
mating.”\textsuperscript{34} For the ill-prepared, intervention became necessary. The situation
necessitated greater vigilance, new approaches and the construction of a different
kind of interaction between people:

Everyone to-day blames the bad home for delinquency, irresponsibility
and human failure. A good home is the greatest blessing on earth. The
home is the key to our human problems. In helping to build and rebuild
happy homes, yielding the love and security that should be every
child’s birthright, we believe that we have one of the greatest tasks.\textsuperscript{35}

Formal marriage guidance positioned itself as possessing the capacity to adjust
the attitudes and modes of behaviours of individuals and so deliver the requisite
conditions for satisfying marriages in these changed conditions.

In the context of the central problem of insecurity both parenting and marriage
guidance advice also made the expert a target of scrutiny and approbation. Ill-
informed experts, particularly those represented by an unspecified past or figures
foreign to the current disciplines, such as baby health nurses, would confuse the
parent and hinder the creation of a secure environment. In marriage guidance the
move from pastoral moralism was identified as an advance from the unscientific
and the ineffectual. Distancing from past expertise served to illuminate changed
circumstances of the post-war period. An intricate array of factors could influence
the total child or marriage, those responsible for the management of the child or
marriage would thus need to call upon contemporary expertise. As I explore in
the section below, disavowal of previous expertise had important impacts on
those for whom the advice was intended. In addition, the prescriptions presented

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33} NSW Marriage Guidance Council, \textit{Annual Report}, 1954, 5.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Elkin, op.cit., 214.
\item \textsuperscript{35} NSW Marriage Guidance Council, \textit{Annual Report}, 1957, 5.
\end{itemize}
as unique to the post-war period in fact built upon foundations evident in inter-
war advice. Nevertheless for the parenting and marriage guidance experts 
recognition of previous error entrenched the perception of insecurity in family 
relationships and underscored their position. The perception of insecurity during a 
period when paediatrics was establishing its position within the medical 
profession and when counselling and psychology were entrenching their early 
gains from the inter-war years provided a powerful basis to assert professional utility.

Child development and marriage guidance experts expressed an overwhelming 
need for security in the context of fear of the past, fear for the future and fear for 
the misinformed actions of others. By identifying the problem of insecurity in the 
context of child development and marriage, the guidance experts were 
acknowledging the changed circumstances shaping the family in modernisation 
and the changed circumstances of their operations. Relations in the family were 
being made intelligible in new ways. In the following two sections I examine two 
dominant patterns that organise the advice developed and implemented by 
managerial and professional men. Both patterns further illuminate the framing of 
the problem perceived to exist in the relationships of the family. Each also opens 
pathways to explore the interested operation of government in the terrain of the 
family during post-war modernisation.

5.3 The Natural Family

To usher the child through the dangerous period of early development many 
experts advocated what appeared to be an anti-modern strategy. Experts 
countered the post-war context by insisting on the natural progressions of child 
development and a permissive parenting environment. Parenting, it was 
counseled, needed to be approached with a particular spirit. Parents needed to

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36 On the inter-war foundations of psy-inflected parenting advice the most comprehensive account is provided by 

37 I use the term permissive here to specifically denote the strategies deployed in guidance. During the 1960s the term 
‘permissive’ was sometimes used to represent excessive freedom in parenting and family relations; see discussion 
below on authoritative and authoritarian families (section 5.4).
create “that harmonious contented mood in the aura of which the infant thrives.”

Rigid adherence to normal development was reinvented in ways that marked a considerable shift from the inter-war presentation of scientific parenting. A more flexible approach called for recognition that “[t]he important thing is the general atmosphere - not isolated incidents.”

Natural parenting made child development intelligible in terms of individual freedom. Similarly Graebner argues that Spock sought to return to child rearing and child development some feeling for these processes as natural, historical, and inherently meaningful.

‘Each child as he develops,’ writes Spock in Baby and Child Care, ‘is retracing the whole past history of mankind, physically and spiritually, step by step.’

The president of the Australian Association of Psychiatrists, D. Arnott, commented on this emerging technique in his annual address reprinted in the Medical Journal of Australia:

> We should let the child fall naturally into the social grooves of his age group, dress him like his fellows, do nothing which will make him stand out … Good parents, cease worrying about the bringing up of your children or how they will turn out … live more fully yourself and perhaps your example will be followed by your child … Have faith in the goodness of our own society and let your child float calmly on its tide; he will be carried along eventually to a safe and secure haven.

Emphasis in advice on a natural approach did not mark the rejection of a normative framework. The ‘tide’ of child development established a set of sequences or phases. The normal child developed through phases and could exhibit a wide range of behaviours within each phase. Continuity of development and freedom to travel through each phase was the key to securing the environment of the child.

Children, Schonell remarked,

> all follow in a general way the characteristic pattern of growth of a given function, but within this general pattern there are wide differences in relative growth and training.

The parent was asked to have confidence in and understanding of the child’s development through phases. Parenting theorists asserted that the ‘wise’ parent

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40 W. Cory, ‘Factors in Childhood Affecting Mental Health’, Medical Journal of Australia, January 7, 1956, 11. This was a major piece in the Journal and had originally been presented as a paper to the NSW Branch of the BMA in 1955.
41 Graebner, op.cit., 616. The quote from Spock is at Spock, op.cit., 145.
43 Benjamin, op.cit., 12.
44 Schonell, op.cit., 151.
should “reserve interference for major matters and leave the child to rely on himself in coping with minor problems.”45 Piaget’s theories on the phases of child development were highly influential in the guidance texts.46 Piaget’s work emphasised that learning was a natural process over which the parent held only limited influence. Theories on the phases of child development were influential because, according to Graebner, they reflected “a conception of learning that was timeless in an era of rapid change, stable in a period of cultural disintegration.”47

Affirmations of the importance of naturalism to child rearing were often presented in the context of critiques of previous child development theories and the prior interventions of experts. Once again the managerial and professional men were engaged in the modernist practice of promoting their own position by directing attention to the overzealous errors of previous experts. “The early days of infant welfare”, it was asserted, “had an ‘inflexible rigidity’.”48 The Medical Journal of Australia, an enthusiastic supporter of paediatrics across the period, saw the concept of the total child and the understanding of natural parenting as an opportunity to break from the past and also break from non-medical authorities:

> Let us hope that we are entering an era of better understanding of the whole child in his environment, his genetic constitution, the culture in which he lives, and psychological and physical development patterns. Let us hope that never again will the feeding experts dominate mothercraft, obsessed with food and forgetting the feeder and the fed, or paediatricians be so involved in illness that they fail to learn normal development. Let us welcome the new paediatrics and the new psychology and encourage the schools of child health in their efforts to increase their influence in the medical course.49

Since the (unspecified) past, understandings of child development had witnessed a “movement … towards more freedom and less regimentation.”50 Interference in the natural development of the child posed greater risk than selectively applied freedom. As one doctor remarked, “I am quite sure by now that it is better for parents to be relaxed, spontaneous and wrong than anxious, calculated and correct.”51

46 On Piaget see for example Sanson et. al., op.cit., 39.
47 Graebner, op.cit., 618.
51 Cory, op.cit., 11. This critique was central to Spock’s parenting advice: “Doctors who used to conscientiously warn young parents against spoiling are now encouraging them to meet their babies’ needs, not only for food but also for
Simultaneously, and essential to the articulation of naturalism, was the contradictory affirmation of the primacy of expert knowledge and intervention. The parent needed to acquire an awareness of psychologically informed parenthood because, although it needed to be natural, parenting and psychologically informed parenting was not instinctive. Poor awareness of the natural development of the child posed the greatest danger to the security of the child. In this way the experts reminded parents that they existed now in an environment ‘bristling with hostility’ where the misguided interventions of the parent could be extremely damaging. Danger to the child lay in phases being disrupted by the social environment and poor parenting (again marking a considerable shift from eugenic theories). Benjamin remarked:

A very common source of trouble with children is that the adult has little or no idea of what the child really needs at each stage of his development … it is not generally recognised that he has certain mental and emotional needs which should be satisfied as fully as his physical needs, if he is to be mentally and emotionally as well as physically healthy … Children of all ages have certain definite needs that must be met, otherwise they will try to satisfy them in ways that are often undesirable, and lead to behaviour problems. Some lead to neurosis, to many kinds of nervous troubles, others to misbehaviour and actual delinquency.

Parenting therefore required an ambiguous mix of attention to shifts in appropriate behaviour across phases and an open spirit that disregarded isolated incidents and emphasised a general mood. The outcome of these apparently contradictory assertions was to enhance the position of the experts. There may not have been one clear mechanical way to raise a child but a parent still needed to know this and certainly they needed to know how not to raise the child. Training to be natural, to possess the requisite degree of psychological insight, remained vital. The expert was the only person capable of presenting this advice to the parent who “may require [this] advice at any stage.”

comforting and loving.” Spock, op.cit., 47. Gleason also quotes the renowned Canadian child psychologist W. Blatz (whose texts were well-read in Australia) commenting: “Consistency has been somewhat overrated; and so we have well-meaning but rigid parents who are afraid to change the rule because it might be ‘inconsistent’… you are more of a automaton than a parent if you are consistent all the time.” Gleason, 'Disciplining', op.cit., 196.

52 On instinctive parenting Benjamin remarks that: “there is something wrong with the belief in the infallibility of instinctive parentcraft, and instinctive mothercraft in particular.” See Benjamin, op.cit., 1.

53 Benjamin, op.cit., 7/8. The issues that reflected the adult having ‘no idea’ of a child's needs included the correct toys used at the correct phase and the correct friends for the correct phase.

54 Springthorpe, op.cit., 691.
Perhaps the most illustrative example of this application of naturalism can be found in the changed understanding of baby feeding schedules. Feeding of the infant has had a complex relationship to child development and parenting knowledge. During the post-war period, the efficacy of ‘demand’ breast feeding was commonly advocated in Australian medical literature. Spock was another well-known advocate for demand feeding. The dominance of demand feeding represented a significant shift from the inter-war advocacy of rigid schedule feeding. An editorial of the *Medical Journal of Australia* in 1964 remarked:

> It is sobering to realize that in 50 years we went the full cycle in infant feeding, from Arthur Mill’s teaching that ‘babies were invented before clocks’ through the rigid feeding schedules of Truby King to ‘demand feeding’ and have started again on the return track.\(^{55}\)

Demand feeding was presented as reflecting a natural process in which the demands of the child could be met without the imposition of overly technical and mechanical approaches. This representation of demand feeding identified the past as being overly interventionist and the current position as being ‘natural’. Identifying the changes between the 1929 and 1950 editions of Scantlebury-Brown’s classic infant welfare text, a review in the *Medical Journal of Australia* noted:

> The trend in infant feeding … is towards more elasticity and less pseudo-science, and it is encouraging to find the rather formidable mathematics of the subject relegated in this edition to an appendix …

In reference to a new section in the edition on child behaviour, the reviewer hoped that:

> It should encourage some infant welfare workers to regard the young child as an individual with ideas and rights of his own, rather than a food converter.\(^{56}\)

The key issue, therefore, in the shift towards demand feeding, was the position of the child in the process. Demand feeding produced a “confident, unneurotic personality”.\(^{57}\) The application of ‘unnatural’ schedules in a child’s feeding patterns created an insecure context that threatened the development of the child: “The psychological advantages of proper feeding are a natural attitude to food

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\(^{56}\) In that period the title had shifted from *A Guide to Infant Feeding* to *A Guide to Care of the Young Child*. The *Medical Journal of Australia* regarded the text as “an authoritative statement on infant welfare teaching.” The review is located at [Book Review], *Medical Journal of Australia*, January 16, 1954, 121.

\(^{57}\) Cory, op.cit., 6.
and eating, a feeling of well-being following appetite satisfaction … and an absence of anxiety reactions.” Changes in the approach to feeding by parenting experts reflected the new approach to the problem confronting child development. The solutions directed towards parents were constructed by affirming what was considered as a natural approach, unencumbered by science and yet informed by the science of psychologically informed parenthood. The methodologies and strategies proposed and implemented by the marriage guidance movement also expressed, in part, a similar pattern of naturalism that I identify in parenting advice. For husbands and wives, the clinical work of guidance promoted the restoration of an equilibrium in relationships. People who sought assistance from the marriage guidance counsellors were counselled to develop the capacity to recognise and alter their own behaviour, to ‘mature’ into the situation of marriage in the contemporary world. Historian Elaine Martin has demonstrated that the Marriage Guidance Councils were active participants in the development of non-directive counselling techniques, being particularly influenced by psy-theorist Carl Rogers. Individuals could be adjusted, their behaviour modified through self-identification of problems and incompatibilities. The aim of the guidance counsellor was to help people “to see more clearly and to act more maturely.”

Behavioural insight and accompanying adjustment driven by non-directive counselling was essential to enact individual change. Human interaction was assessed on a continuum between the well balanced and those out of balance:

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58 Springthorpe, op.cit., 691.
59 The issue of demand feeding was presented differently from the question of breast or bottle feeding. In the sources I analysed there is a considerable stated ambivalence about the question of breast or bottle feeding. Breast feeding, beyond a short initial period after birth, appeared to be in decline as a practice, despite the advantages that were presented in the Medical Journal of Australia. The reasons behind this decline are complex; a point recognised at the time. Reiger’s recent work on ‘natural childbirth’, Our Bodies, Our Babies, provides an excellent counter-point showing the multiple interests and competing forces and directions in which medical professions were moving. Though regimentation was frowned upon by the child psychologists and paediatricians, those closely associated with early-infant welfare including midwives, obstetricians and post-natal paediatricians were more inclined to favour regimentation and the benefits of technological intrusion. The presentation of demand feeding often ignored this context. Nevertheless, while Reiger points to contrary practices, I submit that these were often enacted in a context that interpreted them through the model of psychologically informed parenting, their meaning emphasising the natural and permissive themes suggested in my analysis. K. Reiger, Our Bodies, Our Babies: The Forgotten Women’s Movement, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2001.
There is no doubt that many of the parents, able to care for their children satisfactorily when their own emotional equilibrium is preserved, can be helped through social work and psychological services in periods when their equilibrium is disturbed. This can be restored, and their functioning in relation to their children improved.  

The emphasis on Rogerian humanist psychology also implies that in the practice of counselling (as distinct from what was written in the media or in advice manuals) was even further attuned to behavioural theories and early cognitive approaches. Through its clinical application, marriage guidance suggested that the role of counselling was to restore a natural equilibrium to relationships between husbands and wives. The concepts of maturity and equilibrium evidently assumed the capacity for individuals to come to an agreement on particular roles within marriage. These outcomes were negotiated with an assumption of appropriate and natural roles, the context and meaning of which I discuss in section 5.5.

Marriage and personality adjustment was represented as a process of constant engagement, negotiation and development. Personal interaction became a process. At the conclusion to his collection of essays Elkin remarked that “The whole matter may be summed up in a phrase, ‘The Family – a Vocation’.”

Elkin posited that, in order to combat the multiple problems facing society, those who marry must be prepared for the state of life they enter at marriage and for the role they will henceforth have to play … [As] children grow up, the goal of marriage and the family should be held before them in word, and as far as possible in practice, as the fundamental social vocation which none will refuse to undertake except in special circumstances … [and] no vocation can be entered upon without special training.

Marriage guidance built its legitimacy on the analysis that through active and assisted adjustments of married partners the problems created in the social context and their implications for the marriage relationship would be remedied:

It became abundantly clear [said one Marriage Guidance Council Report] to those who gave serious thought to this problem before and during World War II, that it was idle to expect men and women who entered upon marriage with no real understanding or preparedness to

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63 This distinction is supported by Martin, op.cit., 42.
64 Elkin, op.cit., 214.
65 Elkin, op.cit., 215.
Life was about constant education and work for improvement. The importance of “marriage skills” in the modern world encouraged a reliance on expertise; married life needed continual advice and training from experts. The expertise of those involved in guidance could be mobilised to address the problems and draw out the natural adjustments of personalities. Education was also preventative, strengthening the capacity of individuals and families to cope with the problems constructed by the modern social environment:

Mental Health is to be achieved by education, and here marriage guidance organisations have important roles in educating the community concerning the emotional aspects of marriage and parenthood.

Education and training by experts was identified as a powerful counter to the social environment of insecurity. Training was established for ‘pre-marital groups’ aged 16-25 and was immensely popular. Much of the training was focused, as both Murphy and Brown have observed, on attempting to contain sexual desire within marriage. Sexual desire was, however, one part of a broader message that focused on the importance of adjustment, maturity and development. The Councils saw their training as having an “important role in educating the community concerning the emotional aspects of marriage and parenthood.” The second type of training offered was through the counselling process and other public education activities. In this work the target was those already married and those married with children. Prevention of breakdown was identified as the most important intervention that the experts could make. Marriage Guidance Council reports frequently lamented that funding was directed more towards treatment, intervening to prevent divorce in those already married,

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67 Coughlan captured one implication of this reference to marriage-as-vocation: “It would seem that if a family and its individual members are to cope at all well with the innumerable and interrelated demands of contemporary living… mother and father are going to be hard at it for most of the twenty-four hours of every day, including the week-end. This means an enormous and unremitting toll on physical powers and nervous stability, and it requires a high degree of technical skill and spiritual collaboration in planning and carrying out the thousand and one activities. It is evident that very many Australian families lack the resources for this exacting set of tasks, and that the growing sense of frustration, and of the partner’s inability or unwillingness to pull his (her) weight, is an almost inevitable ingredient in every serious marital upset.” W. Coughlan, ‘Marriage Breakdown’, in Elkin, op.cit., 115-164, 119.
than to funding programs of prevention.\textsuperscript{70} Once again education and skill development in family relationships was structured around an affirmation of the perceived natural roles of husbands and wives.

Naturalism, or the ideal of the natural family, reflected a new way in which the managerial and professional men in parenting and marriage guidance made familial relations intelligible. The natural family advocated by managerial and professional men can be read as a technique of government, the transformation in advice expressed a movement toward governing subjects. Advice in this pattern did not attempt to discipline family subjects nor threaten sanctions. Instead, as Nikolas Rose has suggested in a review of shifts in familial practices, “[h]usbands and wives, mothers and fathers themselves [were called upon to] regulate their feelings, desires, wishes and emotions and think themselves through the potent images of parenthood, sexual pleasure and quality of life.”\textsuperscript{71} Naturalism insisted that the insecure environment of the family could be alleviated by affirming natural processes or equilibrium in familial relations. But in advocating the natural family, managerial and professional men were also simultaneously positioning themselves as central to familial relations. Natural norms needed to be learned, education and training had to strip away the apparently immature or the unnatural habits in relationships. Those potent images of family relationships offered only a puzzling pedagogy and, as Rose again suggests: “In the necessary gap between expectation and realisation, between desires and satisfaction, anxiety and disappointment fuel the search for expert assistance.”\textsuperscript{72} The tensions inherent to guidance experts advocating a learned naturalism in fact propelled people to seek out expertise and depend in new ways upon the knowledge of managerial and professional men in their most intimate relationships.

\textsuperscript{70} This was particularly the case after reforms to divorce law and the structure of Federal funding to marriage guidance organisations. For discussion of these issues see Fox & Miller, op.cit., and Murphy, ‘Imagining’, op.cit., 210-216.


\textsuperscript{72} Rose, op.cit., 73.
5.4 The Democratic Family

The second theme evident in responses to the perception of an insecure social world threatening the family centred on the appropriate application of ‘democracy’ within the family. Discussions of the democratic family emphasised the authority, discipline and the active roles of parents and married partners in building relationships and personalities that were self-adjusting and self-disciplined. Although primarily concerned with expressions of authority, democracy in the family was consistent with naturalism due to the emphasis given to self-discipline and the role of appropriate authority in generating mature personalities. These mediations on authority directly engaged the social context of liberal democracy and the operation of power in post-war modernisation. Like the natural family, the democratic family advocated by managerial and professional men can be read as a technique of government.

To secure the context of the child it was argued by child development theorists that parental authority needed to be exercised in a deliberate and sophisticated manner. Child discipline became an area for advice. Schonell reflected on the concerns of his colleagues, commenting that:

Studies in child psychology have been unanimous in showing that children need a settled framework of control involving order and routine and a certain consistency of adult responses … the growth of a child’s will power and his emotional stability are dependent on being brought up in an environment in which he knows where he stands, so to speak.73

Concern over parental authority has an extensive history in child development knowledge, but the “settled framework of control” that Schonell refers to reflected new understandings that matched the need for security with psychological understandings of the child and appropriate personality development. Authority made a positive impression on the development of a child, but it needed to be exercised carefully and consistently. Most importantly, authority needed to be exercised with the end goal of a self-disciplined child in mind. The discussions of child discipline were explicit in referencing the perceived relationship between democratic parenting and liberal democracy. The approach of parents and their adherence to a democratic or constructive model of

73 Schonell, op.cit., 153.
discipline appeared as all that stood between future citizens choosing freedom or totalitarianism:

If we aim primarily at making an obedient child, it implies that we believe submission to the will of others is the greatest virtue – in other words, we believe in developing the characteristics of a slave. Obedience which is used by authority as an end in itself can lead to the most hideous brutalities which are perpetrated without revolt, because the people who carry them out have been taught not to think for themselves but simply to obey. Do we want this kind of obedience? Surely not. The only obedience that has real value is that which is given because the individual realises that it is a reasonable demand, and because in doing so he obeys the dictates of his own conscience. 74

A panel discussion on parental authority at a World Health Organisation and Australian government sponsored symposium on the total child held in 1953 at the University of Sydney drew a distinction, popular at the time, between authoritarian and authoritative parenting:

Authoritarian was the coercive power exercised by the dominant person primarily for his own rather than the subordinate’s immediate gain; authoritative was when authority was derived from superior competence and skill, the purpose being to promote and foster the acquisition by the subordinate of the competence and skill of the authority …

A child needed the concept and presence of authority. He was not able to carry the responsibility for his actions alone, but needed support and guidance, and only through the presence of authority was he able to develop guiding ideals. 75

The importance of the child acquiring skills and developing their own sense of authority was the key. Authority was to be made a positive process that drew the engagement of the child and where the parent was positioned as a facilitator of self-control. Schonell gave insight into the context of this approach:

Linked [to the settled framework of authority] is another important finding in child psychology, namely that the young child is capable of reasoning from a very early age. This has had a bearing on methods of child upbringing … The young child is capable of understanding rational explanations provided they are based on a framework of his own experience … His character development is retarded if he is treated as a baby and hoodwinked or bluffed. 76

The framework of authority assumed the important function of encouraging within the child’s psychology a sense of reason and, with it, a self-identified

74 Benjamin, op.cit., 132.
76 Schonell, op.cit., 153.
discipline. Parents were crucial to this process and needed to recognise the psychological context of their disciplining:

> It is only by allowing the parents, and particularly the mother, to reason with her child as much as she is able, that the psychological upset can be minimised.\textsuperscript{77}

And the parent needed to be mindful of their own example and their own participation in the family:

> Discipline is admirable, but punishment is only a small part of it. By far the greater part is to be a worthy example to one’s children, so that they can make satisfactory identification through love and respect and not fear … the child who needs more punishment needs more love.\textsuperscript{78}

“Authoritative” parenting, to use the terminology presented in the 1953 conference, was dependent upon positive parent intervention, not abstention. Lack of supervision was not the method, it was the goal only realised when the child had internalised the supervision, when the child had become self-resourced. As one expert commented in relation to the vexatious issue of pocket money: “The child is punished most effectively when he punishes himself.”\textsuperscript{79} It was only through “constructive discipline”, through the studied intervention of parents that the child would be “set on the right path to self-government, and obedience takes its rightful place in the whole scheme of constructive discipline.”\textsuperscript{80}

Discussing and advocating the democratic model of parenting directly raised the tensions evident in the application of government (tensions that I also have discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis and that are evident across the terrains examined in this thesis). Parents were interested in obedience as it was functional to their parenting. But obedience generated through the negative application of power was perceived to have profoundly negative social consequences (on a continuum between docile acquiescence and active resistance). This was the tension discussed in parenting and also the tension in the application of government more generally. As Benjamin remarks:

\textsuperscript{77} J. Rundle-Scott, ‘Child Care; Past, Present and Future’, \textit{Medical Journal of Australia}, August 1, 1954, 169.
\textsuperscript{78} Cory, op.cit., 10. The child also required an effective role-model: “It is only as adults learn to govern themselves and to act consistently, that they can give any moral standard to children and can expect them to be even-tempered, happy and good.” Benjamin, op.cit., 9.
\textsuperscript{79} North, op.cit., 613.
\textsuperscript{80} Benjamin, op.cit., 152.
It is easy to tell the children what they should do, but how do we develop in them the desire to do it? In this lies much of the difficulty of child-management.81

The strength of advocacy for marriage guidance belied an imprecision over the form of the ideal marriage that guidance was purportedly leading couples toward. On marriage, Elkin remarked:

it is rather a matter of attitude, and of recognizing a certain system of values inherent in those roles [of husband and wife] and in their mutuality … [T]his partnership, [is] an aspect of the newer age of democracy and equality … 82

As Elkin suggests, it was the approach and the attitude that marriage guidance was developing, rather than a particular form, that was the key to its meaning in society. Advocates argued that marriage, as society continued to modernise, was adopting new ways of relating that encouraged self-fulfilment and, in this context, the equal contribution of two personalities to a partnership. This understanding of marriage as partnership became known as ‘democratic’ or ‘syncratic’ marriage. The acceptance of the democratic model was consistent with a view of individual personality development where appropriate interaction with others was essential for an understanding of the self and the position of the self in society. A maladjusted individual was one who was not able to express who they were. A secure marriage relied upon the self-authority and self-discipline of married partners. Individuals needed to be adjusted within themselves and in control of themselves for the marriage partnership to function in the modern world. For marriage guidance advocates, democratic marriage addressed the insecure context of marriage relationships in a manner consistent with psychological and sociological knowledges surrounding the function of marriage. The ideal marriage consisted of two well-adjusted individuals, mature in reasoning and aware in relation to their own behaviour:

Ideally [said one account] a harmonious marriage may be looked upon as one involving partners who have resolved the personal conflict of their earlier lives and are therefore able to produce an integrated blend of love and passion, fortifying the interpersonal relationship which develops.83

81 Benjamin, op.cit., 133.
82 Elkin, op.cit., 205.
In the ideal marriage “personalities … should be given the opportunity to develop along the lines of their own potentialities and through self-determination.”

Rather than representing a clear model of equality in relationships, the democratic marriage in fact represented a technique aimed at the “efficient management of … marriages” Guidance towards democratic marriage provided a mechanism through which marriage experts could encourage appropriate models of authority within marriage relationships and the family. The democratic model of authority in marriage advocated, in the first instance, self-authority. But it also presented a mechanism whereby conflict would be resolved through reference to the appropriate roles of married partners. The capacity to negotiate and adjust was based on an assessment that the husband and the wife had particular roles to which personalities should mature into. It was the responsibility of the individual to adjust themselves to these roles and to work with the authority of those roles. In the following section I consider the interests operating in this assertion of roles.

The analogies with citizenship in the pattern of strategies I have termed the democratic family were deliberate and meaningful, giving the advice a currency immediately understandable. The logic of liberal democracy linked individual freedom to individual responsibility; finding freedom and unveiling the potential within oneself meant securing alignments and adjustments to the satisfactions and expectations surrounding the individual and so also the family: the self-policing family was always adjusting, always in therapy. As with the natural family, advocating the democratic family was also, simultaneously, a call to the expert. Practices to secure and confirm adjustment needed to be learned, the knowledge to calibrate democracy was specialised. In advocating the democratic family the managerial and professional men of parenting and marriage guidance articulated a technique of government and, in so doing, they placed themselves within these intimate relationships as operators.

The family, historian Nicholas Brown comments, “was not so much a natural or ‘given’ theme of the 1950s, the inevitable accompaniment to suburbia,

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84 Elkin, op.cit., 206.
but itself a vulnerable site of intervention and self-government.”86 Through the articulations of their problem and, most pertinently, through their development of solutions parenting and marriage guidance advice aspired for an ideal family form and an ideal interaction between the individual, the family and society. The patterns present in parenting and marriage advice, the social philosophy and the methodologies that directed these practices reflect an understanding of the social context and also express a very particular social vision. I argue that these interventions by managerial and professional men marked a participation in the regeneration of hegemony, a point demonstrated by exploring the interests embedded into the ideal of the natural and democratic family.

5.5 Beyond Breadwinning and Control: the intimate interests of natural and democratic fatherhood

The problems and solutions imagined by these technicians of the family made limited explicit reference to either husbands or fathers.87 Certainly the individual experiences of these writers as husbands, fathers, sons and lovers were absent from their writings on the family and their deliberations around concepts used to manage the family. But while the mention of men was sparse, the presence of men is palpable. The concepts central to parenting and marriage carry a particular presence of men that was material to the conduct of parenting and marriage. Through their conjecture on the ideal marriage and appropriate parenting, managerial and professional men managing the family were engaging in a process of making fathers and remaking the family in particular ways.88 The intimate acts and attitudes of fatherhood in the natural and democratic family imagined by managerial and professional men were interested acts. Tracing the presence of

86 Brown, op.cit., 198.
87 I have used the word father in this section to also denote the husbands in marriage guidance advice. Marriage guidance tended to refer to men as fathers at least as often as they referred to them as husbands.
88 In addition, the argument I have developed in this chapter section is not suggesting that the presence/absence of fatherhood in the guidance texts was a phenomena exclusive to the post-war period (though the meanings and form were particular to the conditions of modernisation). Different understandings around the intimate relations of fatherhood are present across history in discussions about family. It does however appear that, at least in the twentieth century, assertions of ‘new fatherhood’ and a ‘new focus’ on fathers reappear across a number of periods with distinct political effect. For a discussion of ‘new fatherhood’ overtime in the United States see R. LaRossa, The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997. Also, contemporary ideas of fatherhood always interact with past and present understandings. On this interaction see for example, N. Rosh White, ‘About Fathers: Masculinity and the Social Construction of Fatherhood’, Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, vol. 30, no. 2, 1994, 119-131.
fathers in the interventions provides a valuable gauge for the interests pursued by managerial and professional men in their marriage and parenting advice. The following analysis is not centred on the experience of fatherhood and comparison to competing representations of masculinity, although such an analysis in the Australian context would be valuable. Rather, I use fatherhood to demonstrate that the intimate relations of the family were integral to hegemony, that parenting and marriage guidance, deploying techniques of government, positioned men in this regeneration of hegemony. The model of fatherhood advocated through the emphasis on natural and democratic family relationships also enhanced the interests of men outside the family, enriching their authority and affirming their capacity to intervene and to manage.

The relationships between father and family imagined through the interventions of the guidance experts captured a set of expectations and practices that were predominantly accessible only to managerial and professional men and their families. Parenting and marriage advice and the emphasis on the natural and democratic family were presented as universal, available to all families and all men willing to address the insecure context of parenting and marriage during modernisation. In fact, the model relationship of father to family imagined suggests a specific application that distinguished men of different classes. By drawing these demarcations the interventions of the guidance experts expressed and enhanced the class interests of managerial and professional men.

The aspiration of men to be breadwinners has been recognised in some recent histories as one of the defining features of male identity in the post-war period. Some historical accounts of fatherhood have tended to use breadwinning as coterminous with masculinity, seeing both as having a shared meaning for all men. In his introduction Griswold remarks: “Breadwinning gave shape to what they had in common, class and ethnicity to what pulled them apart...[Breadwinning's] obligations bind men across the boundaries of color and class, and shape their sense of self, manhood, and gender. Supported by law, affirmed by history, sanctioned by every element in society, male breadwinning has been synonymous with maturity, respectability, and masculinity.” (R. Griswold, *Fatherhood in America: A History*, BasicBooks, New York, 1993, 2.)

Dummitt has correctly assessed limitations in the analysis of ‘breadwinning’ as a meta-narrative for fatherhood, identifying that if historians flatten definitions of fatherhood “we obscure the way fathers have been both public and...
recent studies have warned against assumptions of uniformity in either the shape or meanings men and women gave the breadwinner model in particular periods. In Two features of the post-war period, the economic boom and the marriage boom, combined to make employment and family formation growth areas during post-war modernisation. More men were employed and more men were married than at any other point in Australian history. The post-war period was unique, according to John Murphy, because “the identification of masculinity with providing for a family was not only considered desirable, but was feasible.” In practice, being a breadwinner was a near universal condition for men of the relevant age groups. As a now attainable aspiration, the breadwinner model held a particular prominence and power for working-class families. Mark Peel’s focused studies of working-class life in the period have captured the sense of completeness and accomplishment that circulated with the attainment of the breadwinner model. Working-class men, he has argued, sensed they could provide for their families in ways that, they believed, previous generations had not been able to.


92 Murphy, ‘Imagining’, op.cit., 36.

93 Game and Pringle have discussed the creation of a ‘new working-class family form’ in the post-war period. Their perspective is similar in one sense to the argument I make below about the model of fatherhood proffered by parenting and marriage guidance and its class implications. Game and Pringle however focus on the implications for working-class families, as with my entire thesis, I have focused on the interests of managerial and professional men. The remark that the new form “was not imposed from above, like the welfare state it was a product of a class struggle and has the dual aspects of both integrating the working class further into the system and providing them with real gains. It was achieved, not by any capitalist conspiracy but by spontaneous adjustment to the new phase of industrial capitalism.” See A. Game & R. Pringle, ‘The Making of the Australian Family’, in A. Burns, G. Bottomley & P. Jools (eds), *The Family in the Modern World: Australian Perspectives*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1983, 80-102, 82.

There is no question that the model of fatherhood imagined through the interventions of guidance experts positioned men as breadwinners and attached profound significance to that role. Men were expected to be providers. John Bowlby, in explaining the absence of men from his study of maternal deprivation, recognised that fathers “provide for their wives to enable them to devote themselves unrestrictedly to the care of the infant…” But in the democratic and natural family of advice literature which addressed the environment of insecurity, guidance experts articulated an understanding of fatherhood that extended beyond the provision of economic sustenance and breadwinning. Emphasis on the environment of the child and the environment of marriage implied that even with economic stability the relationships in a family could nevertheless be insecure or at fault. Bowlby’s brief remarks on fathers, often quoted in the literature of guidance experts, placed the economic role of fathers in a much wider context:

as the illegitimate child knows, fathers have their uses even in infancy. Not only do they provide for their wives … but, by providing love and companionship, they support her emotionally and help her maintain that harmonious contented mood in the aura of which the infant thrives.  

Breadwinning, the positioning of the man as the economic provider, may well have been the foundation to fatherhood. Breadwinning was not, however, sufficient to address the changed circumstances of the family during post-war modernisation. A marriage counselling case study, quoted in Elkin’s collection on the family, indicated the great danger that befell those men who focused only upon providing material support and devoted their life to work. While the business man in this example may have been providing for his family, his total focus on work came at the cost of participating in appropriate family relationships. The result, in this case study, was that the man’s daughters becoming “promiscuous” and the family ruined. The goal posts appeared to be shifting. At the point in history when working-class men were able to provide an economic foundation to support their families, guidance experts were defining fatherhood in different terms.

97 In this case study the father left “virtually no time for his family” and the “care and guidance of both girls was left entirely to the mother.” See Clements and Parker, op.cit., 187.
The shift was marked by concepts and assumptions that implied the ideal father was the managerial and professional man. The techniques integral to naturalism and democracy in the family demanded, for example, a more psychologically-aware fatherhood. Familiarity with the psychological approach to human behaviour and to the management of behaviour was an evident advantage and was often counter-posed to an over-emphasis on the merely material. One of the few lengthy texts available in Australia that was explicitly about fathers was the U.S. publication *Fathers are Parents, Too*. Introducing the publication, Reverend Leslie Tizard remarked:

fathers might almost be forgiven for supposing that their children needed from them nothing but material things. The authors of this book show conclusively that fathers can make an indispensable contribution to the psychological and spiritual development of their children – daughters as well as sons.\(^{98}\)

The content of advice in *Fathers are Parents, Too* emphasised the dangers for “successful fatherhood” of over-emphasis on the material and ignorance of the psychological. In the examples given of fathers’ ‘business life’ and in the analogies to work made throughout the text, *Fathers are Parents, Too* made assumptions about the class position of the reader and so also of the targets for psychologically-informed fatherhood. These fathers were in offices, their business life was based around managing resources, especially other people. Psychologically informed parenthood was simply the case of the father “apply[ing] many of the concepts he uses in his business life to the child’s development.”\(^{99}\) Fatherhood was another opportunity to replicate managerial skills in return for success within the family and authority within and beyond the family as a successful father. The psychologically aware father would address the insecurity of the child with the same expertise that enabled him to manage the workplace, the market and the community. In this sense the fatherhood modelled in the natural and democratic families of parenting and marriage advice was a ‘professional’ fatherhood. In the post-war Canadian context, Gleason has identified in advice literature to parents an “ability to reinterpret the good parent

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\(^{99}\) English & Foster, op.cit., 54.
as the professional parent – one who studied the psychology of children in order to ‘handle them wisely’.”

Marriage guidance experts recognised that the democratic marriage was “much more demanding than the former authoritarian form, particularly with regard to emotional maturity, responsibility, and adaptability.” They assumed that it was the middle-class family that was more adept at meeting the demands posed by the natural and democratic strategies they advocated. This was confirmed in the limited social studies conducted, a conclusion greatly assisted by the intangible qualities attached to the ideal. In Elkin’s collection an article by the economist Harold Fallding, for example, attempts to show “that while experiment with partnership between father and mother in family direction and control is made in the artisan group, there is a much greater degree of this in the professional group.” In short, the democratic family was best moulded to a middle-class attitude.

The distinction was compounded by the connections between consumption and fatherhood. The working-class father evidently had less access to the consumer goods connected in advertising discourse to the modern father or family. This popular culture element to fatherhood and its interests has been explored by Chris Dummitt, who has examined leisure and consumption in post-war Canada through representations of the “male barbeque chef”. If making a good father included being able to provide for particular types of leisure activities based around consumption, then the middle-class father was at a distinct advantage.

100 Gleason, ‘Psychology’, op.cit., 476.
103 Reiger comments: “Indeed, the movement’s ideal marriage, that of mature, well-integrated personalities, able to communicate effectively, was thought to be more easily attained by ‘middle-class’ couples because of their perceived ability to be increasingly open about personal needs and problems in relationships.” Reiger, ‘The Coming’, op.cit., 384.
Guidance experts also explicitly acknowledged their class differentiation. In an article advocating breastfeeding in the Medical Journal of Australia, one paediatrician noted the shared understanding more likely to exist between the father and mother of “better social circumstance”:

The reason for relative success in [breast] feeding by mothers in better social circumstances may lie in their ability to obtain domestic help from husbands and relatives, and the family’s shared ideas on the importance of the baby’s experiences in the first few months. [In poorer families by contrast] there is a cultural attitude that looks for immediately practical solutions to economic stress, jealous siblings or dissatisfied husbands.105

In discussing child discipline another doctor joked:

there is a great difference in the reaction of parents discovering their three to five year old involved in sex play. In [working-class] Hurstville they get a thrashing, on the [middle-class] North Shore line they call in the doctor, at [ruling-class] Vaucluse they boast about it at the golf club.106

The class differentiation is also evident in the way men reflect now on their experience of fatherhood in the post-war period. John Murphy has used oral history to examine accounts of work and family life in the 1950s. Murphy identifies that middle-class and working-class men recounted different understandings of the breadwinner model and attached different significance to it. Murphy notes:

The most marked of these differences [in the meaning given to breadwinning] were associated with variations by class, in which middle-class men were more likely to speak of breadwinning as taken for granted and natural, as part of a natural ‘order of things’ (which I will call ‘de facto breadwinning’), while working-class men more often articulated a normative commitment to the identity of the breadwinner, with a more insistent claim that they should be the family provider (‘normative breadwinning’).107

Murphy’s middle-class respondents recognised that secure and well-remunerated employment was a taken for granted consequence of their class position. Hence, for middle-class men breadwinning was not a point of significance; for these men the mark of distinction in fatherhood lay beyond breadwinning.108
The interventions of parenting and marriage guidance, though very rarely sketching the figure of the father, shaped a distinct model of fatherhood. Advice advocating the natural and democratic family was profoundly engaged in questions about the position and meaning of men in family relationships. Breadwinning was identified as an unremarkable, though ever-present, base from which the father should enact the skills and knowledges that contributed to making the family environment secure. Providing economic sustenance for their families, an achievement that had previously eluded working-class men but was now attainable, was no longer sufficient to generate the secure family environment advocated by guidance experts. The additional skills and knowledges identified as necessary for enacting the natural and democratic family were ingrained with assumptions of class characteristics. These skills and characteristics were directly available to managerial and professional men in their work. The imagined father was a managerial and professional man. Without using the language of class, the middle-class father – the father imagined by the guidance experts – was able to distinguish himself from the working-class breadwinner; definitions of fatherhood acted to “wedge class distinction”.¹⁰⁹ Thus, managerial and professional men gave a class meaning and impact to the tender ties of fatherhood, their interventions replicated and recirculated their skills and so also their authority.

Lynne Segal has observed that the “absence of any expectations of fathers in literature of the fifties is not hard to explain – it is about policing women.”¹¹⁰ In the following analysis I suggest that the presence of fathers in the literature also expressed and entrenched the gender interests of the managerial and professional men shaping the discursive practices of guidance. The argument does not contradict Segal’s so much as contribute to a re-worked understanding of how ‘policing’ is operated, opening investigation further in order to consider intersections of the intimate interests of men with the natural and democratic families and fathers imagined in the discursive practices of guidance. In tracing

these connections I also outline the affirmation of men’s authority that this model of family relationships established within and beyond the terrain of the family.

The interventions of guidance experts emphasised the importance of parents being informed and, on the basis of adequate information, making the correct and natural decisions regarding marriage and parenting. There was, as discussed above, a considerable outpouring of advice from the guidance experts. Men and women were addressed in different ways in this advice. Not only was the father less frequently addressed, the advice to the father and training on the appropriate actions of the father tended to emphasise the attitude with which a matter was approached. Suggestions for particular actions were far less forthcoming and far more ambiguous than those which applied to women. In the natural and democratic family, for example, the father’s commitment to positive parenting could be demonstrated by his own selection of tasks and the most minimal allocation of time:

What can you do for your baby? First of all, we can say that you should do only those things which you feel are manly. If you feel that helping with the baby is sissy or henpecked, do not do it … If at all possible, try to spend ten or fifteen minutes a day with your baby. The baby will soon look forward to that as one of the high spots of his day.111

It is the question redirected to the father, “what can you do?” that is significant here.112 Perhaps more remarkable was the relative absence in marriage guidance of specific strategies that fathers should employ to contribute to creating a democratic marriage. Guidance experts represented the democratic marriage as a significant shift in how men and women interacted in marriage and how individual satisfaction could be obtained. The democratic marriage was represented as a major change in men’s position, however the advice to fathers once again emphasised attitude and appeared to resist tying men to specific practices. McNamara and Newcombe’s Common Sense About Marriage, for example, provided great detail about the role of women in “oil[ing] the wheels” of the family.113 But their advice for the husband focused more meekly on the

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111 Emphasis added; W. Genne, Husbands and Pregnancy: The Handbook for Expectant Fathers, Association Press, New York, 1956, 109. This text, prepared for the YMCA, was highly recommended and a popular source of advice material. It was promoted as a ‘man-to-man look at what to expect, what to do, what not to do, what to understand’.
112 I return to the question of time and actual practice further below; ten to fifteen minutes was generally the time figure quoted in sources in the period.
113 C. McNamara & J. Newcomb, Common Sense About Marriage: A Practical Guide for Young People Intending to get Married and Those Already Married, Macmillan, London, 1961, 29. The authors were both tutors at the Department of Tutorial Classes (i.e. continuing education), University of Sydney.
husband coming to acknowledge that the attitude of being democratic and adaptable made his marriage better. Discretion on implementation was left to him.\textsuperscript{114}

Women were addressed by experts with quite a different tone. While advocating the model of natural parenting, guidance for women nevertheless specified a greater array of demands. Gleason’s analysis of Canadian parenting advice confirms this difference, suggesting also that the contradictory advice of experts tended to destabilise the mother:

In a difficult double-bind, Canadian mothers were told on one hand to depend on the experts, and on the other to exercise their skills independently … whether doing too much or too little, postwar mothers were often the scapegoats for negative effects on their children.\textsuperscript{115}

By their unwillingness to identify specific practices that would represent or enact change the guidance experts in fact affirmed the authority of the father. Where women were counselled, advised and informed of numerous minute attitudes, actions and practices, thereby increasing their reliance on expertise, fathers were encouraged to adopt and interpret an approach that suited them. The only significant criteria that men were asked to judge themselves against was a vague conception of the paternal past. Occasional laments on the insufficiency of research on fathers appeared to do nothing to alter the output of research or shift the emphasis on fathers determining their own practice in accordance with their attitude.\textsuperscript{116}

There is little question that the permissive and democratic family did encourage changes in men’s practices. But the manner in which men were addressed by guidance experts ensured that changes in practices due to this model occurred in ways that did not challenge the overall authority of the father within or outside the family.

Parenting advice to fathers emphasised satisfaction through assistance beyond breadwinning. The role of the father was perhaps most succinctly

\textsuperscript{114} McNamara & Newcomb, op.cit., 33-4.

\textsuperscript{115} Gleason, ‘Disciplining’, op.cit., 200/1. Gleason provides a wonderful quote from a Canadian paediatrician to demonstrate the competing demands placed on women by the parenting advisers: “A Canadian paediatrician commented in 1959: ‘Mother guidance has lost its vogue in this era of industrialization and the social liberation of women from the thraldom of the home…This is why the paediatrician is plagued by the incessant telephone calls over trivalities, why every article of clothing, every procedure, every choice that is of no consequence or importance, becomes a subject of decision for the overworked paediatrician.” Original source A. Goldbloom, \emph{Small Patients: The Autobiography of a Children’s Doctor}, Longmans, Toronto, 1959, 307.

\textsuperscript{116} An example of this lament on lack of research is in ‘Report on Australian Medical Congress’ in \emph{Medical Journal of Australia}, October 15, 1955, 612. Here Dr Arnott “called attention to the neglect of work on the possible influence of the father on children.”
expressed in the frequent reference to fathers ‘hovering in the background’ of the mother’s work:

In the early months the mother’s love, influence and physical contact are vital. A warm and intimate bond develops between mother and child, and father is a complementary figure, hovering in the background.

His influence becomes stronger as the child becomes older, and his love and attention are important in helping the child develop from the early stage of complete dependence upon the mother.\footnote{NSW Marriage Guidance Council, \textit{Annual Report}, 1963, 19.}

The hovering of men accurately captured a sense of presence and absence, the capacity to assist but to not be directly involved. Fathers were encouraged to consider that their role in the early stages of development was limited. Their contributions in the labour of child development were highly valued but they were understood as bit-contributions to the responsibilities of the mother. William Genne noted the “feeling of teamwork and partnership” that would develop in a mother if the father made contributions (the considerable contribution suggested here being the father giving the baby a bath every Sunday).\footnote{Genne, op.cit., 111.} In terms of actual practice it appears that fifteen minutes per day from the father was judged a commitment to psychologically aware, natural and democratic family relationships.\footnote{The most radical suggestion, from Benjamin, suggested that as the child grows older, from the time he can walk “the father becomes of steadily increasing significance. Yet even before this stage, many modern fathers are beginning to take their proper place, by sharing with the mother, when possible, the physical care of the child in the earliest months. In some homes a very happy arrangement exists whereby the father takes over almost the full care of baby during the week-end, thus not only giving the mother a much-needed rest, but establishing a valuable close relationship with the child.” Benjamin, op.cit., 9.}

Spock also abided by this standard definition of the father’s endurance, emphasising again the father’s capacity to choose his contributions:

Boys and girls need chances to be around their father, to be enjoyed by him, and if possible, to do things with him. Unfortunately, the father is apt to come home wanting most of all to slump down and read the paper. If he understands how valuable his companionship is, he will feel more like making a reasonable effort. I say ‘reasonable’ because I don’t think the conscientious father (or mother, either) should force himself beyond his endurance. Better to play for fifteen minutes enjoyably and then say ‘Now I’m going to read my paper’ than to spend all day at the zoo, crossly.\footnote{Spock, op.cit., 314. Not wanting, perhaps, to alarm his readers Spock was also quick to reiterate the freedom that lay in men’s practices: “Some fathers have been brought up to think that the care of babies and children is the mother’s job entirely. But a man can be a warm father and a real man at the same time … Of course, I don’t mean that the father has to give as many bottles or change as many diapers as the mother. But it is fine for him to do these things occasionally.” Spock, op.cit., 17-18}
Fathers were also assured that in their participation in the democratic and natural family they possessed a level of expertise in all areas of parenting. Genne, in recommending the participation of fathers in particular parenting acts, emphasised the expertise men could bring to the common tasks of parenting:

Watch your wife bathe the baby a couple of times, then try your hand at it. You will probably think of some ‘man style’ simplifications and short cuts. Maybe you will be able to teach your wife a few tricks on how to go about it.¹²¹

The expectation of greater participation from fathers as the child progressed through their stages of development was also often expressed but again rarely specified. Advice literature about adolescence positioned fathers as they had been positioned in early-childhood texts. The actual practices of fathers were optional contributions and some research pointed to a declining level of influence of the father.¹²²

Representations of the father in the guidance texts and the approach to men through the techniques of the natural and democratic family envisioned the father as a hovering contributor. His particular presence in advice literature provided a clear pathway for fathers, especially managerial and professional fathers, in post-war modernisation to match their practice with satisfaction. Transformations in advice provided a limited enhancement of the father’s function in the family, the ideal and appropriate fatherhood appeared to be dependent on the self-identification of minimal contributions. But by making men present in this way and by marking more sharply distinctions between men and women, parenting and marriage guidance fortified men’s gender interests.

The natural and democratic family in parenting and marriage guidance, far from being a model of emancipation, was premised on the interconnection of roles within the family that advanced the gender interests of men. The importance of role identification was bluntly advocated in post-war guidance. Gender roles matched the apparently natural competencies of men and women. The attainment of satisfaction depended upon the performance of these natural roles by both

¹²¹ Genne, op.cit., 110.
husband and wife and the absence of satisfaction was an indication not of the ‘unnaturalness’ of these competencies but of an individual failure to understand or enact them.

Guidance texts gave women the responsibility of managing the emotional climate in the family and the woman was expected to calibrate and adjust ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ influences to ensure appropriate balance and gender-role identification. Men’s participation in marriage and parenting was vital but the strength and power of the undefined aura of masculinity that, according to the guidance material, appeared to follow in men’s wake was such that anything but the fleeting presence of men would be too powerful. Spock called on men to consider the importance of ‘masculine’ role models:

A boy doesn’t grow spiritually to be a man just because he’s born with a male body. The thing that makes him feel and act like a man is being able to copy, to pattern himself after men and older boys whom he feels friendly.123

But Spock also reiterated the importance of that contribution being a time-limited one. Where women were advised on the innumerable appropriate ways to address children so that respect and love would develop, fathers were told that if they held their child and talked to him or her the child would be naturally “attracted by [the father’s] masculine strength and voice”.124

Breakdowns in marriage or the existence of dissatisfaction were commonly identified as being symptomatic of the failure to fulfil appropriate and gender-specific roles. According to the counsellors, it was changes in how femininity or masculinity was being expressed that explained dissatisfaction. Marriage guidance worked with the married partners in order to find satisfactions or assist the couple in adjusting personalities. Fathers were addressed in direct ways in marriage guidance. Psychological explanations of family roles emphasised the importance to the accomplishment of masculinity of breadwinning and the added value of contributing to parenting. Women were expected to adjust themselves to this reality. Men, it was argued, were “instrumental” whereas women were

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123 Spock, op.cit., 254/55.
124 Genne, op.cit., 109. On the relative force and impact of men’s as opposed to women’s contributions “this tendency to construct a hierarchy of parenting functions within psychological discourse worked to reproduce traditional attitudes towards gender and legitimised the belief that, although prone to ‘overparenting,’ women were best suited to look after very young children. Furthermore, it reinforced the idea that while a mother’s attention was useful, it was a father’s crowning guidance that made the real difference in a child’s normal development.” Gleason, ‘Psychology’, op.cit., 473.
“expressive”. The “expressive” qualities of women confirmed their “nature [as] being much more expert at managing human relationships than a husband.”

Though the patterns of guidance in post-war Australia often contained terms like ‘modern’, ‘changed’ and ‘new’ to describe roles advocated, the competencies attributed to men and women and the roles allocated reflected a division of labour that enhanced men’s gender interests. The language of satisfaction and self-fulfilment that characterised the discursive practices of parenting and marriage guidance were conservative. Evident in these techniques is the voiding of demands for an alternative division of labour. Where sociological explanations may have pointed to the interests of men in this division of labour, emphasis in guidance on men and women performing natural roles indicated that only psychological explanations could provide the key to understanding the family. In the democratic family the division of labour is redundant, men and women were enacting their mature personalities.

Much of the guidance literature made reference to the significance of marriage and parenting as a partnership between men and women. The democratic marriage was identified as a modern adaptation of the natural competencies of the mother and father and a shift in roles to meet the insecure context of modernisation. The emphasis on partnership encouraged a perception of the ideal marriage as a scenario where mothers and fathers recognised the separate but equally vital contributions each partner made. The guidance experts rejected notions of equality in power by refusing to recognise the power attached to a division of labour that they identified as being premised on natural competencies and roles. Mace commented:

> The quest for equality, in fact, is a false quest. It applies mechanical concepts to human relationships, which is always bad in practice… If having a boss in marriage is undesirable, having two rival bosses is even less desirable. This is not really what the modern wife wants, even if she thinks it is what she wants. The really exciting possibility in marriage to-day is it needn’t have a boss at all. It can be a flexible relationship in which all decisions are arrived at by mutual discussion and agreement… [The democratic marriage depends on the] willingness to delegate

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125 McNamara & Newcomb, op.cit., 20. Talcot Parsons was responsible for developing the notions of expressive and instrumental gender attributes.
authority to each other according to which one is really the more competent in the area in question.¹²⁶

The democratic marriage was based not on the abrogation of the father’s power or authority but on its more judicious application. The impact of this appeal to the application of democracy included the continued assumption of men’s natural authority and power over women. The ‘final word’ remained with father.

Mary Ryan’s chronicle of the formation of the middle class in nineteenth-century North American offered the apt analogy that the family was the cradle of the middle class.¹²⁷ The skills and practices of the middle-class family enabled the emerging middle class to secure its own foothold, separating and defining classes and nurturing a distinct culture that would find expression across social settings. My examination of the relationships imagined between father and family in parenting and marriage guidance has worked with this recognition that evolving familial practices are crucial frontiers in the narratives of historical change. During post-war modernisation intimate acts and tender ties were invested, through the techniques of government, with the interests of managerial and professional men. Advice on fatherhood worked with the class and gender interests of managerial and professional men, shaping advocacy for the natural and democratic family and building familial practices that made men and their interests present in important ways. But Ryan’s work and her image also connects with another important implication of my examination of parenting and marriage guidance. Advice on fatherhood in addressing the class and gender interests of managerial and professional men also nurtured the authority of managerial and professional men and their capacity to act both within and beyond the family. It is with this understanding that I adapt Ryan’s analogy to conclude that the family was a cradle for post-war hegemony.

¹²⁶ Mace, op.cit., 31.
¹²⁷ Ryan, op.cit.
5.6 Conclusion

My portrait in this chapter identifies managerial and professional men deeply engaged with the expressions of intimacy: counselling and advising on parenting and marriage, imagining relationships between family subjects. The perception of an insecure environment and the ameliorating advice that advocated the natural and democratic family indicate the operation of techniques of government by managerial and professional men. Though less prominent in advice literature compared to the mother, I have considered the positioning of the father in order to draw attention to the investments managerial and professional men were making through their interventions. My analysis in this chapter of the participation of managerial and professional men in evolving familial practices demonstrates the significance these men attached to the tender ties of family and fatherhood, marriage and parenting in the regeneration of hegemony.

Advice on fatherhood and the advocated ideal of the natural and democratic family claimed to establish new practices and standards applicable to all men and based on a shared common sense. But the manager-father advocated in advice instead provided managerial and professional men with an effective point of distinction from working-class men, enhancing their authority and marking out class boundaries without relying on an explicit language of class. My analysis of advice on family and fatherhood has demonstrated some of the gender consequences of the evolving familial practices. The advice operated to naturalise the division of labour between men and women, enhancing men’s interests. In addition, advice on fatherhood strengthened the authority of managerial and professional men as fathers within the family and also beyond the family as operators capable of intervening and acting across different terrains. In the following chapter I continue this investigation of men’s authority and the capacity they built to participate in hegemony by exploring the meaning of men’s participation in the popular service organisation Rotary.
‘He Profits Most Who Serves Best’:

The Civic Manager of Post-War Rotary

6.1 Introduction

Like so many of the allegories and small humours within Rotary, the motto ‘He Profits Most Who Serves Best’ first found expression in an exhortatory after-dinner speech among members.\(^1\) To the managerial and professional men in Rotary this motto was a calling.\(^2\) It asked them to stand aside from single-minded, rugged competitiveness, to take up the virtues of service to others, to act and aspire ‘above self’ in fellowship with other men. The motto captured the drive and motivation in the service organisation: men serving others and seeking higher purpose.\(^3\) Its recitation also aligned members to each other and to the virtuous and visionary leaders of the past.\(^4\) In the view of critics, however, the motto lent itself to ridicule and critical interpretation. It succinctly captured the shallow purpose of Rotary’s networking of managerial and professional men, blatantly affirming the vacuous manipulation of service in the search for financial

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\(^1\) One version of this story of origins is found in Jeffrey Charles’ history of U.S. Rotary. Charles quotes the speech by Chicago Rotarian Sheldon (one of the key early figures in U.S. Rotary) at the first international convention dinner: “the distinguishing mark of the commercialism of the twentieth century is to be cooperation … man comes to see that the science of business is the science of human service. He comes to see that he profits most who serves his fellows best.” See J. Charles, \textit{Service Clubs in American Society}, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1993, 40.

\(^2\) It was also a calling that, at least in Australia, found literal expression. The motto was turned into a song and sung to the tune of ‘Glory Glory’, with lyrics such as: “Let service be our watch word and our motto be the test/ He profits most of all who serves his fellow man best.” Rotary Club of Sydney, \textit{Rotary Song Book}, nd [1950s], 19.

\(^3\) Other service clubs had similar mottos that appealed to similar sentiments. The Lions, for example, proclaimed “No Progress Without Service”.

\(^4\) In Australia the honour line stretched past Rotary’s formation to include Captain Cook who, it was said, was “the first in a long line of stalwarts” to have expressed in Australia the unformed motto in his deeds; \textit{Rotary Down Under}, April, 1966, 9.
profit and individual gain.\(^5\) Rotarians tended to dismiss these criticisms as missing their point. The profit they were referring to was a sense of worth, a value from the responsibilities of service to the civic community, a comfort through connection with others. This was the logic that structured the discursive practices of managerial and professional men and their participation in Rotary as it expanded in post-war Australia.

There is also, in the Rotary motto, a clear subject who is challenged and activated. Through their own membership and by organising the activities and meanings of that membership Rotary members identified themselves as the targets for intervention. In the discursive practices of Rotary, managerial and professional men were the focal subjects. With this terrain my thesis captures these men as reflexive operators. Central to the popularity of Rotary in this period was the offer in Rotary of an effective way for the managerial and professional man as citizen to address his own relationship to the community during modernisation. As a result, the service organisation offers a privileged terrain in which to explore managerial and professional men acting upon themselves, engaged in the government of self and positioning themselves to participate in the regeneration of hegemony.\(^6\)

After sketching an outline of the service club and its growth in modernisation the chapter explores two features prominent in the discursive practices of Rotary men: it interrogates how Rotary members gave meaning to service and it unpacks their emphasis on (male-only) fellowship. The prominence and meaning of service in Rotary provides an opportunity to further explore the attention to service and interested notions of ‘the common good’ evident in the interventions of managerial and professional men across terrains previously

\(^5\) The most famous critiques of Rotary were penned by Sinclair Lewis, who created the figure of Babbit in 1922 as part of his attack on the ‘new businessman’ of U.S. modernisation. Charles provides a full discussion of the critics in the U.S. context; Charles, op.cit., Chapter Four.

\(^6\) My choice of sources in this chapter reflects the focus I give to the concepts and ideals Rotarians deployed in their discursive practice rather than the implementation and experience of this ideal by the managerial and professional men in Rotary. I have relied extensively on material available in the library and archive of the Rotary Club of Sydney. Most of this material takes the form of reports of conferences, regular meeting notes, speakers notes and agendas. Rotarians were also eager self-publishing amateur historians, producing a vast array of club histories at a local, district, national and international level. I have quoted from these histories extensively because they provide an excellent synthesis of the unpublished material. Most of these histories are available at the Mitchell Library in Sydney and many other public libraries. Most clubs produced, at different times, newsletters of varying content and size (most often they were one or two pages attached to the weekly meeting agenda with jokes, birthdays and trade advertisements). The two broader periodicals I have referenced in this chapter are *The Pinion* (from the inter-war decades) and *Rotary Down Under* (established in the mid-1960s). Rotarians also received copies of the international publication *The Rotarian*, published at the Chicago head office. Articles from *The Rotarian* were occasionally discussed in Rotary Clubs meetings.
studied in this thesis. Understandings of service, I also argue, connect these men with an authority to intervene; mediating relationships and governing others generated a sense of legitimacy and place in modernisation. The emphasis given in Rotary to constructing fellowship also opens an opportunity to examine how these men sustained their sense of self and their authority to act in response to post-war modernisation.

Service organisations have received only limited scholarly attention within the discipline of history. My reading of Australian Rotary has been developed in reference to the analysis of nineteenth-century fraternalism, secret and mutual aid societies by North American scholars Mary Ann Clawson and Mark Carnes. In different ways both point to the social context of rituals between men and both identify the investments of gender and class made through these rituals. While service clubs operated under vastly different circumstances to these secret societies, understanding the social context of ritual in Rotary is vital for connecting the analysis of Rotary to understandings of government in post-war modernisation. Judith Brett’s examination of the partisan meanings of citizenship among the non-labour, middle class has also informed the analysis I develop of service in Rotary. Brett identifies the centrality of service to citizenship and she interrogates the suppression of interest within the operation of service and citizenship. Finally, I have also drawn from Jeffrey Charles’ history of U.S. service organisations, one of the few existing sources of critical historical

7 Antonio Gramsci was an early advocate of understanding the connection between Rotary membership and twentieth-century modernisation. With Free Masonry, Gramsci listed Rotary as one of eight most important and interesting problems of ‘Americanism and Fordism’. He also identified the international component of Rotary as crucial to enhancing (or ‘socialising’) the spread of Fordism (with modernisation), and he saw Rotary as archetypal of cultural life that encouraged the new ‘bureaucrat’ (the managerial and professional man). Gramsci’s considerations of Rotary are six brief sentences. Nevertheless given the analytic framework I have adopted throughout this critical history, Gramsci’s comments have provided a useful spur for investigation; see A. Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks*, Q. Hoare & G. Novell-Smith (eds & trans), Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971, 182, 187, 280, 286, 318, 373. Given their profound popularity and given the meanings that I explore in this chapter, future accounts of the experiences of managerial and professional men during post-war modernisation should include accounts of the service club movement.


scholarship. Charles usefully emphasises the context of modernisation in inter-war America, positioning Rotary as a “transitional organisation” that provided men with resources that simultaneously meliorated and entrenched modernisation.  

6.2 Rotary During Modernisation: membership and operation in post-war Australia

Many of the men in Australian Rotary appeared to enjoy their own self-assessment as captivating, if quirky, storytellers. Rotarians were particularly fond of the didactic. They drew gravity and idiosyncratic humour from allegory. A favourite and well traversed source was history, particularly the history of their own organisation. Paul Harris, the formation of Rotary in Chicago in 1905 and the subsequent spectacular growth of Rotary International made regular appearances in the publications of Australian clubs, the exhortations to members and the banter of men at meetings. The story behind Rotary’s formation in Australia in 1921 was far less prominent and attracted little awe or allegory. Though less inspiring for members, the founding story provides an illuminating introduction to the inter-war context of Rotary’s rapid post-war growth in Australia and the shifting characteristics of Rotary’s membership.

For the express purpose of seeking international expansion after a pause in growth created by war, in February 1921 the Chicago based International Association of Rotary Clubs (later Rotary International) appointed two Canadian commissioners to visit Australia and New Zealand. J. Davidson of Calgary and J. Ralston of Nova Scotia travelled to Australia and New Zealand and quickly called together meetings that oversaw the formation of Rotary clubs in Melbourne, Sydney and Auckland. By 1921, Rotary International had developed substantial bases across the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. The Australian expansion fitted a pattern of Rotary clubs emerging across the globe accompanying North American and British business interests. Davidson’s

10 Charles, op.cit., 6, 7, 162. Clawson also centres her analysis of fraternalism on an understanding of the Masons as a ‘social resource’ which functions in a similar way to that suggested by Charles and the concept of transitional organisation; see discussion below.

11 The precise details of Rotary’s formation was also open to correction and counter, reducing its didactic value; see Mitchell Library (ML), Rotary in Australia Papers, MSS Ar 83.
account of his mission to Australia is infused with the booster-style adventurism that characterised the North American Rotary approach: “‘Dead or Alive’ would be our motto … I had the whole campaign planned.” In fact, the experience appears to have been far less adventurous or well-planned than the frontier drama Davidson presented. The Canadian Rotarians arrived in Sydney during the Easter holiday period and found that potential enthusiasm was consumed by the Easter horse racing carnival. The pair redirected their efforts to Melbourne, where they visited the individual offices of a selection of wealthy men short-listed, prior to voyage, in Chicago. This group finally came together, were briefly instructed in the nature and methods of Rotary and formally constituted themselves a chartered club. Davidson and Ralston returned to Sydney, also successfully establishing a Sydney Club, before continued on their journey with similar successes in their remaining ports.

The original members of Rotary in the inter-war period were, with limited exceptions, managing directors of key companies, high profile academics or leading professionals. Among the founding members of the Rotary Club of Sydney (or ‘Charter members’ as they were known in Rotary) were Sir Henry Braddon, the organisation’s first President, Sir Edgworth David and Claude Reading. Henry Braddon was the managing director of Dalgety & Co, one of the country’s largest trading companies, Edgworth David was the Geology Professor at the University of Sydney and Claude Reading was then Director of the British American Tobacco Company. Rotary’s membership may have been more open than the A-list membership of clubs such as the Australian Club, but the men of Rotary were conspicuous identities and evidently powerful.

The elite character of the inter-war membership is illustrated by the impact of the 1930s Depression on membership. Where the Depression severely disrupted membership of the more broadly-based U.S. clubs, the Australian Rotary membership did not significantly dip, experiencing only minor turnover. In this early period, the Rotary clubs operated effective gatekeeping mechanisms. Limited classifications (discussed below) and a general concern for ‘the standard’ of members enabled a contemporary and retrospective recognition that “in the early years of Rotary in Australia … the privilege of Rotary membership was

12 The Rotarian, November, 1921, 264.
accorded to only a few but very fine men …”\(^{13}\) For the remainder of the inter-war period Rotary’s membership indicated an elite club predominantly constituted by the upper echelons of the ruling bloc in major cities and larger regional centres.

Expansion after the Second World War was comparatively dramatic. The Rotary Club of Sydney started with a membership of 33 in 1921; this grew to 119 members in 1923, but the club could only claim 200 members in 1940.\(^{14}\) Rotary’s most significant period of numerical growth occurred in the decades following the Second World War, particularly 1947 to 1962. From 1962 to the 1970s growth continued, though at a less accelerated rate. Across Australia in 1971 there were five times as many clubs and six times as many members as there had been in 1946.\(^{15}\) Where NSW was represented by only a handful of clubs in 1940, there were 51 clubs within the state a decade later. Over half of these clubs were metropolitan and the majority claimed an active membership of between 30 and 40 men.\(^{16}\) Harold Hunt’s 1971 jubilee history of Rotary concluded with the boast that:

> whereas Australia’s population has increased, the proportion of Rotarians has grown in relation to it. In 1921 the proportion was about one to 70,000 of the total population; at our halfway mark in 1946 it was about one to 1500; at present it is about one to 460.\(^{17}\)

During the same period the three other major men’s service clubs, Apex, Legacy and the Lions, also attracted significant numbers of managerial and professional men into their membership.

Hints of the post-war expansion and shift in membership were evident in the story of Rotary’s formation. Interest in Rotary had preceded the arrival of the two Canadians by some years. A volume of correspondence between Chicago and Australia had never quite galvanized into club formation, although this interaction assisted the fledgling clubs after the visit of the Canadians. A young architect from Melbourne, Walter Drummond, had visited Paul Harris on a business trip to the United States in 1913.\(^{18}\) Drummond’s interest in Rotary was sustained and he

\(^{13}\) *Rotary Down Under*, February 1966, 4.

\(^{14}\) *Rotary Club of Sydney, A History*, 1941, 3, 12.


\(^{16}\) Reports of Proceedings of District Conferences and Assemblies, 29th District Annual Conference, 1950 [Reports of Proceedings of District Conferences and Assemblies (encompassing Districts 65, 76, 29 & 275 ie. all Sydney Districts), 1928-1972].

\(^{17}\) Hunt, op.cit., 192. It is unstated if this is in proportion to the male population or to the total Australian population.

\(^{18}\) *Rotary Club of Sydney, A History*, 1941.
wrote on numerous occasions to Harris. Davidson and Ralston, upon their arrival in Melbourne, were approached by Drummond who was eager to assist in establishing Rotary. According to Davidson, however, Drummond did not fit the elite membership criteria. Drummond was described as a ‘young enthusiast’ and, most significantly, “[w]e found, however, that the firm of architects with which Mr Drummond was associated was not one of the old established firms in Melbourne and had therefore not been placed on our local list.” Drummond was excluded from membership, although he was allowed to participate in the meeting as an observer. After the Canadians left Australia, however, Drummond was quickly welcomed into the club as a full member and he remained active in Rotary for several decades thereafter.

Rotary’s foundation, the membership in those initial years and the exclusion of Drummond is, in the first instance, indicative of Rotary’s elitism and emphasis on particular networks of influence. But Drummond’s reinstatement also figures as a precursor to the significant post-war shift in membership. It was the ‘enthusiasts’ such as Drummond who would come to comprise the core membership of post-war Rotary. Rotary continued to attract a number of highly influential and wealthy business leaders, but it mainly attracted and admitted those whose power was limited to a municipal level, to the middle management within a large multinational company, or a small business operator whose company fuelled the local economy but who was ultimately subject to an

20 The formation of Rotary in Australia also holds an element of imperial quest within it. U.S. businessmen were coming to Australia to establish a beachhead that coincided with the massive expansion of U.S. business interests in the region. Such a perspective would be entirely accurate and may be a productive angle for analysis of the service club movement. It is not an analysis that I develop here. Rotary’s existence as an U.S. inspired international movement is significant. Clubs picked up issues as the appeared in *The Rotarian*, club charters were issued from Chicago, the constitutions of the clubs and Districts were determined in Chicago and the annual international convention set policy and priorities that were adhered to, at least in part, in Australia. In balance, though, Australian dependence on the U.S. model should not be overstated. As the early history of the British clubs have demonstrated, directives from Chicago could be ignored, accommodated or opposed depending on the importance of the issue. Australian clubs seemed generally ambivalent, although business men certainly enjoyed and benefited from the connection to the United States. The Australian Rotary song book (Rotary Club of Sydney, *Rotary Song Book*, op.cit.) used in the early post-war period contains a diverse mix of anthems from England, the United States and Australia, it contains Waltzing Matilda, Minstrel tunes and English folk classics. Also, in 1924 members considered aligning themselves with the Rotary International Association of Great Britain and Ireland and so enabling this body to become the association for the British Empire. The convention concluded that, as Canada was already aligned to the US, the whole process would be too cumbersome. The matter was dropped never, as far as it can be determined, to be raised again (First Australasian Rotary Conference, *Report of Proceedings*, 1924, 82).

The internationalism of Rotary and its North American inflection is significant to the extent that economic and social conditions within the Australian experience of modernisation reflected and also reshaped parallel processes in the United States and elsewhere. The limited analysis of Rotary in the United States demonstrates both similarities and differences in aspects of the service club movement explored in this chapter. In addressing the questions posed by my thesis, experience in the United States and the role of Rotary International in shaping Australian Rotary is a background layer providing space for the conceptual development of an Australian historiography.
economy whose control was beyond his reach. Rotarians were, by and large, Men who, though relatively wealthy and powerful, were not so prominently positioned in society. Men who were not necessarily at the top, but who were in the ruling bloc nevertheless. Men who were market researchers, personnel managers, social analysts, professionals, middle-managers and successful small business operators. These men were responsible for the growth of Rotary.

Membership of Rotary in the inter-war and post-war periods was officially based on a loose system of vocational classifications. Membership in each club was limited to one representative from each such classification. The origins of the classification system lay in Rotary’s foundation. In Rotary’s very early days in North America it was reasoned that limiting membership to one man from each profession would avoid unseemly competition and disputes within clubs. When the profit motive was dropped from the listed objectives of Rotary, the classification system remained. Membership in the inter-war period rested on inviting and screening the best or most reputable representative from each profession. A review of classifications conducted by the Rotary Club of Sydney in 1922 noted that “Rotary calls for the man who, while being a progressive master of his work - though not necessarily the most successful - is receptive, broadminded and unselfish.” The classification system was operated to restrict membership in the pre-war era. After the war, the growing list of classifications and their lenient application in clubs at a local level, plus the expansion in the number of local clubs, reduced the limiting effect of the classification system.

The gate-keeping function of the classification system did continue to serve a broader purpose. Membership remained limited to those jobs deemed to be ‘useful’ or ‘worthy’ and to the subjective assessment of a man’s position within their business or profession. In this respect classification enabled the direct exclusion of those not in management and/or senior positions with apparent job

21 The Lions membership system was roughly similar, though allowing for 2 members from each classification. Apex membership was targeted at young men (18-35 originally) who were of ‘good character’, ‘good business reputation’ and of a ‘worthy, recognised profession or business’; see. R. Love & V. Branson, Apex The First Twenty-Five Years, Rigby, Adelaide, 1956, 8.

22 The explicit objective of seeking to improve the trade interests of members was not in place when Rotary was being established in Australia.


24 For example, throughout the post-war period the Rotary Club of Sydney was able to claim a membership several hundred, all within the classification system. Facilitating the lenient interpretation of classifications also was the creation of categories such as ‘Past Senior Active’, where members of long standing were eased out of holding a job classification, thereby opening opportunities for new members (this dates to 1930).
control. The Rotarian saw himself as a ‘master of his work’. Although Rotarians interacted as masters, a point I return to later in this chapter, the reality of a growing membership indicates that this mastery was not a selective concept. Mastery, I contend, referred more to an attitude about work and community rather than a reflection of actual control in production. The classification process also ensured that members tended to be over the age of forty during the post-war period, particularly in the larger clubs. The ‘influence’ deemed necessary could only be available, in this period, to older men. Limited exception to this could be found in the smaller suburban clubs and among the small business classifications that featured more prominently in these clubs. The residential rule mandated that members should work within the boundaries of the club that they were members of, rather than simply being residents of that area. The classification rule and the residential rule combined to predispose Rotary membership to being small business, middle-management and professionals, especially in the small outer-suburban clubs that characterised the post-war growth.

The growth in membership demonstrates that what Rotary had to offer, its stated purpose, philosophy and practice around the tenets of service and fellowship, held attractive meanings for middle-class men during post-war modernisation. Charles’ study of U.S. Rotary is focused upon the question of how Rotary worked with the identities and experiences of men in modernisation. The emphasis in Charles’ work is on directly linking club growth to the capacity of clubs to act as transitional organisations. Charles argues that:

> the history of the development of the clubs documents how the old middle class became integrated with the new … In the process, they created a sociable organization that successfully combined fellowship, self-interest, concern for local community, and a broader awareness of class standing and worldwide social development.

In the Australian context the numerical expansion of Rotary in the post-war period was driven by the emergence in Australia of a new membership base similar to that of inter-war, middletown United States. There was also a convergence conveyed in Rotary’s membership. An older, more established elite

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27 Clifford Putney has also assessed this link in the US context; see C. Putney, “Service Over Secrecy: How Lodge-Style Fraternalism Yielded Popularity to Men’s Service Clubs,” *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 27, summer, 1993, 179-186.
(the inter-war membership in Australia) and a broader based, management-oriented middle class came together at a time when the economic changes induced by modernisation were in their greatest flux. The members of Rotary were the articulate managerial and professional men who rode the crest of post-war prosperity but were not its masters. The growth and transformation in membership accentuates a central premise in this chapter: that Rotary developed as a social resource for these men as they adapted to post-war modernisation. Rotary grew and changed to be relevant within the transitions of modernisation. The meanings Rotary membership generated for managerial and professional men were both reflective and responsive of these transitions, assisting men to meliorate and also influence these transitions. Service and fellowship, the two dominant themes in the discursive practices of Rotary, addressed the context of change and positioned members within that context. Increased membership is testament to the salience of service and fellowship in providing solutions in the context of change. In the remainder of this chapter I explore these themes and examine their meanings. Before providing a full account of these themes and to redress the lack of prior scholarship on Rotary, I will first provide a brief account of how the organisation operated and what men in Rotary did.

Amid the remarkable numerical (and geographic) expansion of Rotary in the post-war period, the structure and operation at a local level remained fairly constant. Although different themes emerged, took hold and dissipated throughout this period, emphasis in fulfilling the obligations of membership remained focused on the interpretations of service and fellowship. Disputes (generally over technicalities), where they occurred, were at a level consistent with an articulate membership that took matters of procedure seriously. Various minor issues played around the edges of meetings and District Conferences until they either ran out of steam or were addressed in the manner requested. Club participation was ostensibly structured around the four stated objectives of Rotary. In his 1950 study of Rotary in the UK, C. Hewit provided a succinct summary of these objectives:

1. The development of acquaintance as an opportunity for service.
2. High ethical standards in business and professions; the recognition of the worthiness of all useful occupations; and the dignifying by each Rotarian of his occupation as an opportunity to serve society.

3. The application of the ideal of service by every Rotarian to his personal, business and community life.

4. The advancement of international understanding, good will and peace through world fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of service.28

The main club meeting was held on a weekly or fortnightly basis, with a presentation or talk of some kind being its centrepiece. These meetings tended to be held at lunch-time, although increasing numbers of clubs (particularly the suburban-based clubs) could only obtain sufficient attendance levels in the early evening.29 The topics selected and speakers invited reflected the interests of members, with a program committee often assisting in the preparation of the club schedule. Outside or around this main meeting, clubs allocated to committees the work of achieving the objectives of Rotary; club service, vocational service, community service and international service were represented by one (or more) committees. How active each committee was tended to vary from club to club and how distinct each committee was from another also varied (a new club, for example, may have rolled all the committees into one meeting). Some of the larger clubs, such as the Rotary Club of Sydney, had a multiplicity of committees and sub-committees and by 1950/51 were employing executive support staff to assist in managing the club. In the smaller clubs, active members were prominent on a number of committees and the distinctions between each committee existed more in reports than in the scheduling of meetings and the participation of members. Because it was a federation, an individual in Rotary could also give service by being an office-bearer or delegate at a club, district, or international level.

Local community service attracted a great deal of attention in Rotary activity.30 Generally, community service in Australia took a piecemeal approach.

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28 Hewit, op.cit., 5.
29 The larger clubs, such as the Rotary Club of Sydney, also divided its membership into teams (of 15 or so members), each with a team captain. Teams would meet once per month at the home of a member. Here members would have ‘informal fireside chats’. Hunt, op.cit., 92.
30 A distinction in the service activities of Rotary between the pre and post-war period was the embracing of international service into its sphere of operations. Although international service was a part of pre-war Rotary objectives (adopted in 1921 to facilitate international expansion), action had been absent or ambivalent. In the post-war period Rotary approached international service with vigour. Rotary Australia’s international service tended to take three forms, direct provision of charity (wells for India, books for Rangoon, medicine for New Guinea), exchange of
and adopted a common methodology, such as needs assessment or survey, catalyst activity and then discharge to a professional organisation or state agency. Citizenship remained the key organising concept and after the war the principal target group shifted from boys to young people generally and, over the period, the age of this youth target increased. In the broadest terms, the new issues covered by Rotary after the war were essentially variations on a common thread; for example, migrant assimilation emerged,\(^{31}\) as did road safety\(^{32}\) and assisting Australian soldiers injured in the Vietnam war.\(^{33}\) In all these activities, Rotarians made use of their social position to advance their interests in these causes.

Rotary’s ‘vocational service’ committees were surprisingly quiet for a club structured around professions. As early as 1927 each club in Australia had a ‘business methods committee’, focusing on ethics and the value of business to society.\(^{34}\) In the post-war Rotary there is far less intensity in this area of service. Rotarians were more likely to be active in their respective professional associations (an activism Rotary encouraged), or they sought to link vocational and community service via activities such as vocational advice to young people or employment support for the disabled.\(^{35}\) The clubs based in rural and regional areas continued the U.S. tradition of ‘boosterism’; many Rotary clubs organised local economic development initiatives or initiated chamber of commerce type activities. By and large, however, vocational service was more usually expressed in the unrecorded member ‘job talks’ (where members recounted issues and experiences in their employment) and the informal networking and capacity building that accompanied such a mix of business-oriented individuals.

There can be little question, however, that it was to the realm of fellowship that Rotary clubs dedicated most of their energy. Fellowship, it was recognised,

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\(^{34}\) Second Official Australian Rotary Conference, 1927, 19.

\(^{35}\) The members of Rotary tended to be active participants in other civic or vocational organisations. Rotary's approach to community service often involved establishing networks or associations to address a particular perceived community disadvantage. Members frequently remained on the governing bodies of these charities. In the workplace, Rotary members were also active, filling the ranks of professional associations. A survey in 1971 found that “97.5% of South Sydney members either represent their firms or are individual members of the appropriate trade or professional association.” [Further that 21% of members were then currently active in assisting with the development of standards in their industry (Rotary Club of South Sydney, *Years of Challenge, A History of the Rotary Club of South Sydney, 1946-1971*, 1971, 39).]
required hard work. The relationship between fellowship and other forms of service was intricate, and in the activities and utterances of the clubs it is not always clear which was driving which. As one member commented in 1941:

   It was early decided that the best way for members to get to know each other was to work together on some Service to the community - some project that would give them the feeling of brotherliness in a good cause.\textsuperscript{36}

The club service committee was, without question, the most active committee in the club. This committee, at least in the larger clubs, generally operated with a number of sub-committees that were all charged with unique aspects of ‘club service’. An element of this work was bureaucratic; such as the debating of classifications or the registration of new members. But for this group of managerial and professional men the boundaries between the bureaucratic and the ardent expression of fellowship blurred. Clubs took great pride in the formulation of a regular lunch-time or early evening program where topical issues could be discussed but which might also allow members to indulge in the reverie of their favourite hobby. Birthdays were celebrated together, deaths were noted and mourned sincerely. In the large clubs, ‘identification days’ were held where name badges were replaced by numbers and members had to correctly identify their fellow members.\textsuperscript{37} Weekends were spent together either in club service or in less official club social activities and sporting activities, such as bowls, yachting and the like. Club members sang together, shared their interest in the United Nations or scotch whisky, very occasionally played practical jokes on each other, went on outings, played sport and took holidays. Among all this sharing and discovering the ‘boy in the man’, the Rotary members could appeal to a quest for a higher form of ‘service’ in fellowship.

   Taken together the overall purpose and operation of Rotary, in the eyes of Australian Rotarians, remained centred on:

   the development of close relations between men of a variety of occupations who will inspire each other with the ideal of high standards of conduct and service in personal, business and professional life so that they will serve their own communities and also the cause of

\textsuperscript{36} Rotary Club of Sydney, \textit{A History}, 1941, 4.
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{The Pinion}, 1924, 8.
international understanding. It all aims at a fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of service.\textsuperscript{38}

It is to these two dominant features of Rotary in post-war Australia, service and fellowship, that the remainder of the chapter will turn.

6.3 ‘Service Above Self’: the meaning of service to citizenship

The members of Rotary saw themselves as a force for good in the lives of individuals in their communities. They saw Rotary as a force for good in their own lives as business men and as family men. They identified the value of Rotary to the entire social body. In the view of Rotarians, the direct benefits and broader virtues of Rotary membership centred upon the pervasive principle of service. The compulsion towards service was evident in both the rhetoric and actions of Rotary members. Familiar signs of this compulsion, such as the plaques in countless parks and on community centre walls, are recordings the significance of service. But tangible meanings of service were also carried within men.

The powerful resonances that service in Rotary evoked among managerial and professional men were generated by a connection to understandings of citizenship and interpretation of the individual’s relationship to the community. Acts of service in Rotary were recognised as an expression of civic virtue and civic responsibility. Service through Rotary enabled men to intervene into their own relationship as citizens in their community. Acts of service conferred on the Rotarian status as a citizen, foregrounding their civic virtue and, as it shall be explored, their authority. The nexus established between service and citizenship was, in my view, a prominent factor in the phenomenal popularity of the service club movement among managerial and professional men and its centrality to the lives of thousands of these Australian men.

Emphasis in the connection between service and citizenship was not only upon what one did in service, but on the attitude one applied to service. In Rotary, the engagement of members in service carried an enthusiastic recognition of

\textsuperscript{38} Hunt, op.cit., 27, 28.
contribution to the community. Recitations of the ‘good’ done through service highlighted the particular spirit of personal engagement and enlightenment, of the Rotarian learning about himself and his own civic virtue. The following quotation expresses this point by counter-posing service to benevolence:

> It was not merely subscribing money to a cause that was said to be deserving. It was going to personal pains in the house to house visits, the often difficult interviews, the tabulation of facts, coming face to face with a human problem in its ordinary human settings and manifestation. Help that requires no personal effort may be benevolence. It is not service in the Rotary sense.

Civic engagement expressed in the deeds of service was, to the Rotarians, a crucial measure of social development and advancement. Each club judged its own success by the level of service achieved and their own civic engagement was also applied as a positive model for the rest of the community to aspire to. Disengagement was a powerful symptom of social distress and poverty. The importance to Rotarians of civic engagement and the active relationship a citizen cultivated with the community is well represented by the following example that highlights the consequences of its absence. At the commencement of the post-war period the Rotary Club of Sydney outlined a vision to establish twelve new clubs with new members. The first club to be established was the Rotary Club of South Sydney. The first task the club faced, after recruiting its members and engaging their fellowship, was to determine how it could implement its community service obligations. The new club commissioned the Board of Social Studies at the University of Sydney in 1946 to complete a survey, the purpose of which was to: “discover the general living and working conditions throughout the area, the existing facilities and amenities servicing the need of people residing within the area, and other such information as may enable the Community Service Section of the Rotary club to carry out its aims and objectives.”

The resulting report provides an informative picture of everyday life in South Sydney suburbs in the early post-war years. The report documents the post-war crises in accommodation, the absence of sufficient medical services and tension between

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39 The approach to service as a direct engagement was something shared across the service organisations in the period. For example see M. Lyons, *Legacy The First Fifty Years*, Legacy Co-ordinating Council in conjunction with Lothian Publishing Company, Melbourne, 1978.


41 Board of Social Studies, University of Sydney, *Survey of South Sydney*, conducted on behalf of the Rotary Club of South Sydney, 1947, 1.
ethnic groups. It includes brief but informative descriptions of poverty and limited amenities, with notes on sexual activity between adolescents and cryptic allusions to sexual abuse within families. “The prevailing condition”, the report stated, “is not so much one of criminality as one of sordidness and retardation of moral and social development …” The crux of the report for Rotary and its particular concerns was that “[i]nterest in civil affairs is very limited”. Lack of engagement was producing a “dead-end” area where the “absence of ambition, which might also be called squalid conservatism, renders the task of social advancement particularly difficult.”

The report demonstrates a perceived interconnection, in the view of Rotary, between civic disengagement and deprivation. Civic engagement among willing subjects with appropriate moral and social development would alleviate poverty and assist in building an affluent and conflict-free social body. In the analysis of social needs that informed Rotary service, levels of civic engagement were an indicator of social and moral development. Service, in response, sought re-engagement according to a prescriptive model of citizenship. With engagement as citizens comes social advancement, the greater the engagement the more advanced a citizen was.

Though not primarily concerned with the post-war period, Judith Brett has recognised the significance of associational participation in reiterating citizenship’s core values to the “nonlabour middle class”. Brett’s analysis reflects the understanding of citizenship as a responsibility that required engagement by subjects and provided subtle pedagogies for the self. Comprehending citizenship as responsibility compelled individuals into action and encouraged reflection. The individual’s maintenance of citizenship implied an organised commitment to social action and service. The record of service by post-war Rotarians attests to Brett’s analysis of the centrality of service to the middle class. The record of service also confirms her interpretation of service as civic responsibility demonstrating a personal sense of civic virtue and citizenry. Participation in Rotary provided managerial and professional men with an opportunity to enact their responsibilities, to contribute to their own relationship

42 Board of Social Studies, University of Sydney, op.cit., 43-50.
43 Brett, op.cit., 423.
as citizens in a community. The significance of service in Rotary also suggests the continued centrality of this meaning of citizenship to the middle class in the post-war period. Affluence did not diminish the pull of citizenship and service, as it has been suggested by some historians. In fact, the growth of Rotary points to a heightened significance and capacity to hold meaning for these men. The popularity of Rotary’s service ethic suggests that managerial and professional men perceived an enhanced need during post-war modernisation to demonstrate their citizenship or to adjust the citizenship of others; post-war modernisation generated conditions which encouraged the response (or solution) of service.

Judith Brett’s analysis of citizenship, service and the middle class usefully foregrounds the “partisan” elements of this deployment of citizenship by the middle class. Brett suggests that underpinning the meaning of service to the middle class was a successful shift in emphasis from the benefits of citizenship for an individual to responsibilities reflecting a benefit and relationship to the entire community. Brett identifies that:

> The middle class’s concept of citizenship was integrally connected with the concept of service … What ‘service’ primarily meant was putting the interests of the common good before those of the self … [Service’s] core meaning was the subordination of self-interest to the common good.

According to Brett, the middle class relied upon this articulation of common good to reroute their own interests in defining citizenship as a series of responsibilities. What was defined as the common good, the product of understanding and the sacrifice of self, was partisan; reflecting, in particular for Brett, the class interests of its middle class advocates. The interpretation of citizenship as a series of responsibilities met by service was a direct assault on labour’s understanding of citizenship as being conferred on subjects, engaged in a relation of rights with the state. Brett examines this process through the disciplines of meeting procedures

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44 My argument about the continued relevance of citizenship and service is contrary to that presented by Brett, who argues a decline in the post-war period. Brett, op.cit., 434. It is also contrary to a number of other studies that have briefly touched on the associational context of post-war Australia, for example J. Murphy, ‘Shaping the Cold War Family: Politics, Domesticity and Policy Interventions in the 1950s’, *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 26, no. 105, 1995, 544-567. The most misleading interpretation of decline is contained in Keen's brief history. The accuracy of Keen's history is significantly compromised by attention to an argument (most notably put forward by Robert Putnam) of declining social capital across the entire post-war period. While aspects of this argument (particularly in the current circumstances of neo-liberalism) may be applicable, the evidence in post-war Australia does not support the conclusions of decline among middle-class groups; see S. Keen, ‘Associations in Australian History: Their Contribution to Social Capital’, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 29, no. 4, 639-650. On Putnam’s argument see G. Gamm and R. Putnam, ‘The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840-1949’, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 29, no. 4, 1999, 511-531.

45 J. Brett, op.cit., 431.
prevalent in civic organisations. In her analysis, meeting procedures were a mode of rhetoric and a way of thinking that schooled individuals to engage with the responsibilities of citizenship in particular ways. Through meeting procedure self interest was subsumed by the requirements for effective group functioning. In addition, Brett’s work points to a “line of implication between government of self and government of community and nation”. Enacting the responsibilities of citizenship through service to the common good expressed a claim to both virtue and also to authority and social power. In the chapter sections that follow I further examine the operation of service in Rotary, identifying the intricate ways in which the meanings of service expressed these partisan meanings of citizenship. The particular class and gender interests of Rotary’s male managerial and professional membership were lodged in their ideal of the common good of service. While the emphasis here is on civic service and the activities of Rotarians my argument informs the reading of service presented in the other chapters of this thesis. The interventions of managerial and professional men were frequently framed in the same language of service with a similar appeal to a common good.

6.4 The Interested Practice of Service

Rotarians approached their service engagements as management tasks and they understood the meaning of service and its connection to the responsibilities of citizenship through a language of management. Though service was understood in relation to citizenship and civic participation, the methods of service reflected the methods managerial and professional men practised in their vocations. Rotarians, for example, were active proponents of social surveying and research. In the pre-war period this was a novel approach reflecting early social science methods and was developed in tandem with market research techniques. The ‘golden rule’ for Community Service was to:

i) Find the need.
ii) Form a plan to satisfy that need.
iii) Hand over the operation to an efficient committee to continue.46

46 Hunt, op.cit., 33.
The methodology was premised on knowledge of social surveying. In their service activities Rotarians were practising and strengthening the service-based organisational skills that characterised their own role in economic modernisation. Committees of men with specialist knowledge were writing reports, preparing submissions, assessing different positions, projecting recommendations and debating strategies. The layers of committees within each club neatly reflected the bureaucratic model of business organisations. The methodology of service was inimicable to the methodology applied by managerial men in their vocations.

For Rotarians the boundaries between what constituted good citizenship and good business were indistinct. Service activity often took the form of traditional economic development (or booster) activities. This was particularly evident in the smaller clubs in regional areas of the country or metropolitan suburbs where other associations had less profile. The orientation of service focused often on improving the economic prospects of the town generally or of local businesses specifically. Rotary clubs could become champions of projects that combined some elements of economic development, tourism or municipal activism. For example, small business in Frankston on Melbourne’s fringe came together to protect their interests against the development of a nearby mall. The small shop owners recognised the potential of the mall to absorb all of their customer base. In response, Rotarians lobbied to ensure the main street received adequate municipal services and a more modern identity. Service also encompassed improving business methods outside the small business context. In 1963, for example, the Rotary Club of Sydney assisted in the establishment of the Australian Administration College. The express purpose and benefit of Rotary’s support for the College was to train people who better understood business methods. Overall, the ethic of service and the relationship established between business interests and citizenship enabled Rotarians to select service activities that enhanced their own local or broader business interests.

The contiguity of managerial and civic service was not simply a coincidental match. Managerial and professional men had an interest in aligning a partisan or class specific view of the economy with the common good of the civic sphere. It was a reaffirming process, one that enhanced the authority of men in both the economic and civic sphere. Good business men made good citizens.
What was good for business was also good for the community and for citizenship. Motivation for Rotary’s engagement with service was often cited as originating from the Rotarian’s sense of responsibility as a business man. Rotary’s successful publication *The Guide Posts for Small Business* stated:

> Australia needs people with the initiative and drive to reach out for themselves. We wish you well in your quest for business success and hope that you will make a good contribution in your business to the welfare of our country.  

The explicit link between service and business was a powerful interweaving that naturalised (or made common sense) a class bound view of the relationship between people and society. In both arenas these managerial and professional men positioned themselves as serving a greater good, beyond their own self-interests.

The Rotarians’ conception of service and social good was based around an understanding of citizenship and civic virtue that agitated to preserve social order. Rotary service articulated a vision of society in terms of consensus and unity. Rotarians did not believe the social body was harmonious; indeed conflict seemed ubiquitous. The service work of Rotarians consciously targeted this perceived conflict. Service searched for a harmonious society based on understanding. Sectional interest and ideology were, once again, counterpoised by experts engaging a common good. The managerial and professional men of Rotary articulated in their discursive practices a disembodied, universal service that occluded their interests in the particular conflicts they represented. Expressions of this conservative impulse in Rotary’s concept of common good are evident in representations of the employers relationship to employees and in international relations.

The relationship between employers and employees had been a significant issue for Rotarians in the pre-war period. The source of discontent between employees and employers lay, in their view, with sectional interests. The concept of class was an anathema to citizenship where an individual held a relationship to...
the state based less on the rights of particular groups and more on the responsibilities and virtues of individuals. The Prime Minister, Stanley Bruce, addressed a 1920s Rotary Conference and identified the Rotary position:

Where the citizens think first of the interests of themselves, or their sectors, and last of their citizenship, there you have the seeds of chaos …

The Rotary movement, if I understand it aright, not only stands for the ideal of unity and co-operation, but exists mainly or solely to carry that ideal into effect. 49

Sectional interest masked the true relationship individuals could have with each other in and beyond the workplace. During a mid-Depression discussion of wage levels and long-term solutions to unemployment, one Rotarian succinctly articulated the general perspective within the membership of Rotary:

The Australian community must become a balanced community if it is to prosper. For some years it has been getting sadly out of balance, and no real measure of relief from its unemployment problem can be found until correct balance has been reestablished. 50

Working-class sectional interest tipped the balance away from responsible employers and away from the common interests of citizens. Social problems could only be addressed when the balance was restored. In promoting this analysis, Rotarians were eager to distinguish their enlightened views on equilibrium from those of a previous management approach. The Rotarians purported to occupy a middle ground:

One of the world’s problems today is the question of the relations existing between Capital and Labour. I do not think anyone will disagree with me when I say that the happiness and progress of many, if not all, the nations of the world is at present seriously hampered by a class warfare between so-called capital and so-called labour … May I say that this feeling class hatred and bitterness, which blinds both parties to the needs and interests of the State and civilisation, commenced in the days of our recent ancestors, before unionism forced some recognition of the manual labourer as an individual deserving of consideration, and was able to grow to its present alarming proportions because of a total disregard of the golden rule and the ethics contained in Rotary’s code… 51

In the pre-war period Rotary clubs invested a large amount of their service energy into understanding and influencing debates on personnel management. The

50 Rotary Club of Sydney, Survey of Boy Employment, report of special evening meeting, 1933, 10.
Rotary Club of Sydney held numerous forums and the Vocational Committee set upon numerous surveys and expeditions. The Club did, at one very large public meeting in 1931, resolve to create a new organisation dedicated to advancing the interests of personnel management, but this organisation was abandoned before it could begin.

After the war, interest in the issue remained evident but not in the form of large and public campaigns. The entrenched position remained that management should encourage at all times effective “approachability” with all business employees, that it should encourage “progressive education and training of all employees at all times, and to maintain high morale …”

Speakers continued to address clubs, articles in the Rotarian still gave the issue prominence, but Rotary in Australia developed a new perspective on ‘vocational service’. This perspective is perhaps best illustrated in a piece that appeared in *Rotary Down Under* entitled ‘Fighting the cult of the mediocre’. With success and affluence in society came the threat of complacency and the ‘cult of the mediocre’. The mediocre were those who underachieved, those who sought collective solutions to social problems and those who did not share a liberal world view. Rotary, in contrast, had the capacity to inspire men to civil action. The mediocre would be cast aside. Prosperity and the leading role of business men in the community carried burdens of responsibility. The businessmen of Rotary pursued their service because it reflected their sense of responsibility as both business men and as citizens. Service was the antithesis of the mediocre and service, it was suggested, was not bound by sectional interests. According to the *Rotary Down Under* article, Rotarians felt responsibility because, amid prosperity, they saw danger:

we are now living in an age of confusion and distrust. We are living in a world of conflicting ideologies and beliefs. [The solution was not to] relegate our authority to Government, nor even to International bodies alone. It has to be the work of each and every individual.

The relationship between employers and employees was a contentious issue. The conflict was identified as one caused by historical circumstances and the sectional obstruction of workers and their interest groups. The path to social

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52 Rotary Club of Stawell, op.cit., 10. Here again Rotary reflected the transformation in personnel management and the emergence of the ‘positive approach’ that I explore in detail in Chapter Three.
order lay with individuals taking responsibility and recognising that, when acting as individuals, sectional interest dissipated. The implications of such a path are significant. Rotarians positioned themselves as possessing significant moral and social authority; they obscured their own interest and, from a position of purported neutrality, claimed to be able to see more clearly into the nature of the conflict and its resolution. In the background lies an evident alignment between the class interests of Rotarians and the social philosophy that they proposed as the common good.

The most notable feature of Rotary’s post-war activities was the emergence of international service and the emphasis on international relations. In the pre-war era, Australian Rotarians had little interest in international service. The League of Nations was given some support in speeches and hopes for world peace attracted broad sweeping statements of support. Rotary Australia, however, tended to limit ‘international’ issues to questions of trade relations, particularly with the UK. Even at the outbreak of the war, international analysis remained remarkably simplistic:

I would say to the pessimist [said one Rotarian] that if there had been a sufficient number of Rotarians in Germany and Italy war would not have come to the nations.54

The relative isolation of Rotary was cast aside in the post-war world. Rotary International positioned itself in a Cold War context. National regions of the international federation were expected to adopt an international agenda. Australia picked up the theme and by the 1970s, when Australia hosted its first Rotary International convention, international service was a distinguishing feature of the local Rotary movement. The emergence of international service in Rotary was understood as being a logical extension of the interrelationship of service and a global citizenry. Businessmen became global citizens; country, international bodies and businesses held a significance, although allegiance was generated by expressions of virtue through service. Rotarians presented themselves in their discursive practices as benign internationalists:

before we can promote understanding amongst others, we must first establish it firmly among ourselves. We must show that we are able to

see others’ point of view and are ready at all times to place the most generous interpretation on one another’s words and actions.  

Once again the emphasis of service ran parallel to a political agenda. Australian Rotarians focused on South Asia and were particularly active in those countries that had been colonies of England or the where Australian business interests – such as PNG and the Pacific – were evident. In the exchange programs, the education of business elites was an evident priority:

It is important that all races, colours and creeds be brought together to promote their social, economic and educational advancement so that they will return to their countries with a spirit of friendship towards us, as well as the ability of progressive developments towards self-government.

National self-government and the self-government of business elites mixed in a development agenda that was linked to the expanding influence of multinational corporations in Cold War trade politics. Global understanding was linked directly to global trade. The balance in assisting poorer nations through ‘service’ frequently involved support for trade agreements that brought benefits back to developed nations. Hudson Fysch, himself a multinational executive and enthusiastic member of Rotary, presented a talk at a Rotary International convention entitled ‘World Understanding Through Trade’. Fysch’s paper made the pronouncement that:

if we are to achieve world understanding through trade we need to have before us, very clearly, certain objectives. Those objectives, I would suggest, are:-
1. The reduction of barriers to trade
2. The increase and facilitation of trade between nations for the good of all

As with their understanding of industrial relations, Rotarians projected a coherent but profoundly simplistic world view that masked their own class interests. Once more the principal appeal, amid conflict and difference, was for understanding and communication.

Young people were mobilised through exchanges and older Rotarians conducted study tours. The exchanges were seen as a “pipeline to peace”. Understanding, it was posited, would need to be developed in the young. The

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56 Rotary Club of Sydney, Annual Reports, 1921-1972, 1958.
exchanges also reflected a shifting attention to the wealthy and the older. Students were identified as potential leaders and held the capacity to exist in a better future:

while we are responsible for the present, let us open every known and unknown door now, that today’s youth will get every opportunity to join us in breaking down the barriers existing in the world today.

Targeting the children of business elites in developing nations, student exchanges sought to build a capacity to participate in a global, post-colonial marketplace. They fostered a managerial elite as an important benchmark to achieving the smooth integration of a global modernisation.

Rotarians struggled to apply this to their local conditions and their own worlds. Indeed there was some occasional questioning of the value of international service and whether it would actually achieve the lofty goals of global harmony. One letter to Rotary Down Under expressing this concern was given sharp treatment in an editorial of the same edition. The editorial typified the official Rotary position, with the bulk of the membership probably lying somewhere between. The editorial implored the reader to believe that change was possible and emphasised how much in the world had been changed by individuals with commitment, vision and passion. Young people, it stated, were the key because they were the potential leaders. Once again, the emphasis was on individuals making change, on promoting understanding and on obscuring any material basis (such as imperialism) for conflict. In the arena of international exchange challenges to international exchange challenged the Australian Rotarians' understanding of citizenship and the race assumptions that virtue and appropriate social participation masked. Exchange students, particularly from Asia, were seen as quite a novelty. The preference for older and better educated exchangees was a sign that Rotarians were more eager to mingle with what was already understood and to assign cultural difference to irrelevance in the face of an economic and occupational convergence. The unease towards mass non-anglo migration was less easily ignored in Rotary. Rotarians provided a significant level of support to the post-war migration program. Clubs were eager audiences for speeches on the importance of migration for population growth, for settling the north of Australia and for the need to create favourable economic conditions for the continued modernisation of industry. Rotarians, in their practice, evidently believed that employment and an appropriate educational assimilation program provided a firm basis for the development of a social body bonded in citizenship and capable of contributing to the profitability of the nation. Nevertheless, non-white citizens were the focus for anxiety. Rotarian Hudson Fysch provided a curious attempt to identify the Britishness of a fledgling ethnic diversity, and so, presumably, to identify the possibility of the social order being maintained:

"Combine or Perish
Australia itself is an outstanding example in the world today of a new Nation being built up from an admixture of peoples. Our only real reservation is that we want our country to improve and not become retarded in regard to good economic conditions. The same can be said of our attitude to good cultural standards … We must learn to sink our racial prejudices and I am afraid the older ones of us must let go some of our cherished traditions for the good of world unity. For the younger ones it is easier."

61 At a local level the racial aspect to international exchange challenged the Australian Rotarians' understanding of citizenship and the race assumptions that virtue and appropriate social participation masked. Exchange students, particularly from Asia, were seen as quite a novelty. The preference for older and better educated exchangees was a sign that Rotarians were more eager to mingle with what was already understood and to assign cultural difference to irrelevance in the face of an economic and occupational convergence. The unease towards mass non-anglo migration was less easily ignored in Rotary. Rotarians provided a significant level of support to the post-war migration program. Clubs were eager audiences for speeches on the importance of migration for population growth, for settling the north of Australia and for the need to create favourable economic conditions for the continued modernisation of industry. Rotarians, in their practice, evidently believed that employment and an appropriate educational assimilation program provided a firm basis for the development of a social body bonded in citizenship and capable of contributing to the profitability of the nation. Nevertheless, non-white citizens were the focus for anxiety. Rotarian Hudson Fysch provided a curious attempt to identify the Britishness of a fledgling ethnic diversity, and so, presumably, to identify the possibility of the social order being maintained:

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service, potential conflict was nullified by the mantra of ‘understanding’ and understanding was mobilised to mask the machinations accompanying post-war internationalism.

The ethic of civic service was also powerfully gendered. Rotarians directly identified a close connection between aspirations for (male-only) fellowship and their service activities. The interconnection of fellowship and service is significant in identifying and understanding the gendered interests lodged in the service activities of Rotary. The non-labour understanding of citizenship as being directly linked not to rights and benefits but to service and obligation gave impetus to the Rotarian ethic of service. In pre-war Australia this understanding of citizenship resonated most profoundly among ‘the angels of the state’, middle-class women. In the changed political context of post-war Australia, where labour reconstruction could present a vision of rights and a large proportion of men could claim service for country in war, service-based citizenship acquired a new significance. In the context of relations between men, the affirmation of citizenship and civic virtue through civic service was fundamentally distinct from the rugged solidarity of labour’s rights-based citizenship. Civic service depended upon the exercise of skills and expertise available primarily to managerial and professional men. For these men civic service provided a clear point of distinction from the practices of men from other classes. The citizenship thought to be obtained by Rotarians provided a resource to distinguish men from each other.

The male-only context of fraternalism was also vital in addressing the gendered interests of Rotary service. In a male-only context, non-labour middle-

Don't forget what new blood does for any breed and what it is doing for us in Australia. We are apt to revere Old England. We love her. We remember our ancestry, but how many of us pause to think of the extraordinary mixture of people which went to make up the British race as we know it … That mixture made England. New blood is a great thing and Australia is introducing it.” (Fysch, op.cit. 3.)

The anxiety about non-white Australian migrants contributed to the active involvement by Rotary in the ‘Bring over a Briton’ campaign. In 1958, the Rotary Club of Fortitude Valley “felt that among the thousands of immigrants they wanted a good proportion of the race from which we sprang.” (Fysch, op.cit. 4) As a result 56 families were sponsored in 1958 alone. Direct discussion of race either in Rotary’s international service work or in assistance to migrants was rare. In the context of this analysis of citizenship and service, these examples indicate Rotary was able to accommodate cultural difference but only within a structure of assimilation. Assimilation encouraged the erasure of difference and the ascendancy of a consensus based on sameness. The anxiety regarding non-white migration was tempered by an understanding of the unifying and controlling power of citizenship and understanding:

“How vividly I recall a statement by RI that at the division of India and Pakistan a Moslem Rotary Club paid a visit to a Rotary Club of Sikhs and were delightfully hosted by the club. What politics and religion divided, Rotary united.” (Rotary Down Under, March, 1966, 8/9.)

Brett, op.cit., 430.
class citizenship would not be compromised by an association with women or by traditional perceptions of a connection between womanhood and virtue. In addition, the civic service work of Rotary was represented as contributions to a common good immediately presentable in the public. The service work of Rotarians was not, generally, private care or assistance but projects played prominently from a public stage. Men were active participants in citizenship, accruing virtue through service club service in a context that affirmed their own sense of manliness. Rotary articulated a vision of unity and brotherhood among a particular class of men whose values and activities distinguished them from women and from other men. In their service activities with Rotary managerial and professional men were entrenching their own gender interests.

The service ethic of Rotary and the service club movement neatly paralleled the understandings of citizenship developed by an emerging middle class in pre and post-war Australia. The nexus existed in language, concept and meaning. Service was an expression of responsibility and it was an expression of virtue. Citizenship was dependent on virtue and was realised through fulfilment of responsibility. Service, therefore, offered an opportunity for Rotarians to reaffirm their authority as citizens and as men. They realised this opportunity in the activities and methods of their service. Service legitimated their position. The direct link to business contextualised their affluence, prosperity and ambition. The service club movement emphasised the primacy of communication as a mechanism by which social order could be adjusted and understanding prevail. The movement identified the special role and responsibility that businessmen held and their capacity to rise in service above sectional interest to promote the well-being of others and the common good. These examples demonstrate that within the drive for understanding and the articulation of a common good were social visions that advanced and obscured the interests of the managerial and professional men in Rotary.
6.5 The Rotarian as Civic Manager: service and authority

It was the figure of the artisan, according to Clawson, that best captured the complex interests of men’s engagement in nineteenth-century fraternalism.\(^{63}\) The idealisation of the artisan and artisan values and modes of interaction enabled men to develop these fraternities as a social resource. The artisan offered an image of a man as master of himself and master of others, it was an idealisation that challenged the social conditions in which it was proffered. Clawson also suggests that the figure of the artisan made a powerful contribution to the sense of self and authority for fraternity members. In Rotary and the service clubs of post-war Australia it is the manager who, for the purpose of analysis, occupies an analogous position. The manager and the value of management processes were affirmed in every element of Rotary activity. Management skills, as discussed above, were fundamental to enacting service and the concept of management provided a way to understand the particular relationship these men had with the community. Through their service activities Rotarians positioned themselves as civic managers, intervening into the citizenship of others while enabling their own citizenship. I use this figure of the civic manager, in this section, to explore the connection between understandings of service and the recirculation of authority to men. Service was interested in a way that provided a direct return to the Rotarian, authorising their position as civic manager and, I argue, contributing to their authority to intervene in all terrains.

Though service was understood as contributing to their own civic virtue and status as citizens, service activities were often explicitly focused on managing the citizenship of others. For Rotarians, the nexus between service and citizenship was realised through the management of the citizenship of others and interventions into the relationships non-Rotarians had with the community. For example, post-war migration provided opportunities for Rotarians to take an active part in the naturalisation of migrants and their full assimilation into the Australian body politic. Employment assistance was provided and clubs participated in the ‘Bring out a Briton’ campaign. Most pride, in the service to ‘New Australians’, was accorded to the work on naturalisation ceremonies, where the formal ritual of citizenship, allegiance to the nation and the Crown was played

\(^{63}\) Clawson, op.cit., 14.
out in public ceremonies. Rotarians claimed that it was their work which ensured these naturalisation ceremonies became more celebratory, with greater pomp and performance.\(^\text{64}\) Rotary’s service work with the disabled was also significant. Rotarians assisted in establishing welfare groups, raising funds or increasing awareness. Much emphasis in this work, as with the example of the South Sydney survey examined in section 6.3, was on providing opportunities for ‘those less fortunate’ to re-engage with society, to come into a relationship with the community.

From formation and through the post-war period service to boys and then service to young people more generally was the principal vehicle for Rotary’s service activities. Young people were not the exclusive recipients of Rotarian service, but their needs and their potential dominated the concerns of community service committees in Rotary. A typical formulation of the purpose and benefits of youth oriented service was:

1. To focus public attention upon youth, its potentialities and its problems; and to awaken an increasing number of adults to the values and satisfaction of service to youth.
2. To give impetus to year-round problems of character-building activities.
3. To emphasise the importance of a social body, a trained mind, and spiritual growth in the complete development of a boy and a girl.
4. To help instil in boys and girls the love of country and respect for its laws and established institutions and to bring to each the realisation of his duties and responsibilities as a citizen.\(^\text{65}\)

Service to young people offered a number of immediately identifiable advantages: as subjects young people were comparatively benign and service for young people allowed attention to be given to a future social body. In the post-war period, service work around youth and citizenship also tended to create programs that were likely to involve the sons and daughters of Rotarians.

The provision of service to young people directly engaged questions of future citizenship and inculcating the values that Rotary identified as virtuous. Young people were not the automatic bearers of rights conferred by citizenship, rather their citizenship was developed via a recognition of responsibility and the


\(^{65}\) Rotary Club of South Sydney, *Years of Challenge*, op.cit., 15.
leadership of others. Through their engagement with young people Rotarians provided themselves with an opportunity to manage and develop the understandings of citizenship in other people while also enhancing their own relationship to the community as citizens. These acts of service were demonstrations of civic virtue, the fulfilment of the obligations of citizenship by Rotarians. Simultaneously, they were also acts of authority over others. They were acts of authority that managed or intervened into the citizenship of others.

The affirmation of an individual’s civic virtue and affirmation of the capacity to act as civic managers with authority were combined in service to give Rotary membership meaning. Each element activated by service is accurately expressed in Rotary’s motto and also in the frequent reference to ‘service above self’. Service could be enacted beyond the self, expressed as a capacity to enhance the citizenship of others, while also remaining very much concerned with the return to the individual Rotarian enacting service. The following quote from a Rotary member illuminates the interconnection:

The theme of this conference is citizenship: How shall a Rotarian play his part in making his Town, his State, his Nation, the World, a better place to live in? What are his obligations, and what his opportunities for enriching his own life through the service he gives to others?66

In Rotary, service enhanced the Rotarian’s sense of who he was, who other people were and the relationship each had as citizens with the community. Service was presented in Rotary as being exclusively for a common good and this common good was the ‘profit’ referenced in the motto of Rotary. But the overwhelming emphasis given to managing the citizenship of others functioned to enhance the civic virtue of managerial and professional men. Service provided direct opportunities for the men of Rotary to reinforce and rearticulate their own relationship to citizenship and the community. Service provided pedagogies for the self; lessons in how to contribute to the civil sphere.

In the acts of service to fulfil the partisan requirements of citizenship there is also, Judith Brett suggests, a line of implication between government of the self and government of the community and nation. She argues that the virtue gained through sacrificing self to the common good and serving others enables a moral authority and capacity to act. This line is present in the service work of Rotary.

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66 Rotary Club of Sydney, *All Australian Rotary Conference*, Sydney, 1939, 10.
The mantra of service provided affirmation of managerial and professional men’s authority over others in the community as civic managers. Each act of service recirculated this authority, enhancing the legitimacy of the managerial and professional men as citizens, as men possessing authority.

The service ethic expressed through the discursive practices of Rotary was therefore a powerful resource in post-war modernisation. It provided a broader purpose to men’s participation in management and it naturalised the classed and gendered vision of society that management represented. The virtue of men in business was the virtue of the citizen and vice versa. The business manager was simultaneously a civic manager. Outside the world of business, the manager offered a figure of relevance to managerial and professional men. Through the idealisation of the civic manager men in Rotary could understand their own participation in the community and by embodying this figure these men could also express their own interests. Service was a reinforcing act that conferred and reaffirmed the capacity to act while also expressing and entrenching the interests of those acting. Service enabled the recirculation of authority and established men in a position from where they would participate in the regeneration of hegemony.

6.6 ‘The More Intimate Association of Individuals’: fellowship and the service club

Though service work may have given Rotary its public identity and public rationale, it was the practice of fellowship that captured the enthusiasm of members and dominated the discursive practice of the organisation. Every aspect of Rotary was organised around fellowship. Fellowship for Rotarians was the capacity for each member to ‘belong’ and to ‘get along’ with each other. Fellowship described the fraternal rituals that structured the association between men in Rotary. It expressed a fraternalism unique to managerial and professional men and distinct from that which characterised the declining secret societies and formal fraternities. Descriptions and suggestions on interaction with each other, the vitality of ‘club service’ and the organisation of service activities were together enunciations by managerial and professional men concerned with both their own sense of self and their relationship to others. Fellowship provided an
opportunity to intervene upon themselves, identifying adjustments to their own conduct in order to reshape their sense of place and their authority in the world. But the fellowship evident in Rotary was also present wherever managerial and professional men came together to act, across the terrains studied in this thesis. In organising and reflecting on fellowship, Rotarians offer perspicacious insight into the meaning of fellowship for managerial and professional men.

Mark Carnes’ analysis of nineteenth-century fraternalism emphasises the role of secret ritual in constructing a liminal world that enabled men to transcend their present material circumstances. The expressions of fellowship in Rotary suggested that the fraternalism of Rotary could offer a ritual to accommodate managerial and professional to the new social and cultural context of post-war modernisation. The expansion in both member numbers and club numbers in the post-war period opened the question of how to build solidarity and united purpose amid a changing world. For new clubs, the first task of Rotary was always to build the fellowship among its members. Club officials focused consideration on strategies that could build fellowship for new members and in new clubs. The many local histories of the post-war Rotary clubs all recognise the building of fellowship as a point of origin. These histories reflect a shared understanding that by working together the men in their membership became better friends and better Rotarians. Harold Hunt encapsulated this common post-war experience:

> the first function of a Club is to form a friendly group from men with a wide range of occupations and very varied business interests … Working together on committees and projects to make the Club a success, they become close friends. They know each other’s interests and enthusiasms.⁶⁷

Not simply an ‘ice-breaker’, fellowship was a strategy to connect men and then engage them in action. The fellowship committees were needed because, in the world of post-war modernisation, fellowship was no longer natural. It was something that needed to be created and affirmed in the rituals of membership. There is an aspect of critique to the games, the deliberately informal names, nicknames, even to the creation of service activities for the prime purpose of creating a space to come together. Fellowship was presented as offering a

⁶⁷ Hunt, op.cit., 90.
response to the rugged individualism that, Rotarians appeared to suggest, marred the public identities of managerial and professional men in a previous era. The rugged individualism that only celebrated the successes of leaders and captains of industry while distancing men from each other and their families could offer little to those men who would benefit from, but never control, modernisation. Fellowship provided a space defined by its distance from competitive anonymity and individualism. Rotarian Charles Daley expressed his discomfort with individualism:

> By real fellowship I do not mean mere back-slapping and the noisy exchange of ‘Cheerios’, but the more intimate association of individuals, sometimes in the closest ties of friendship, and especially the development of the faculty to take a personal interest in the other fellow as a man, respect his opinions and interests, and thus break down those tendencies to self-centred outlook that are, at best, purely negative, and at worst, actively harmful in a community.68

The fellowship of Rotary re-established a proximity between men. In addition, the representations by Rotary men of the need for and centrality of fellowship reflected a sense of loss and a yearning for times past or relations obscured. The most poignant illustration of this understanding was, for Rotarians, in the attention given to reclaiming ‘the boy in the man’:

> One way in which Rotary develops the individual is in preserving the boy in him. Deep down in the heart of every good fellow there is a boy, a boy whose outlook on life is rather wonderful, unspoiled, with no prejudice, no intolerance, with keen enthusiasm, ready friendliness, and all those qualities that we love to see. But as the years go on the boy is apt to become submerged, and it is a sad day for the man when the boy can be said to have passed away. Age is not a matter of figures on the baptismal register; it is a condition of mind, very largely. When our ideals weaken, our enthusiasms wane, when we become cynical, overengrossed, then we become old, no matter what the exact tale of our years. As long as man keeps his mind resilient, his nature open to friendly influences, he will never grow entirely old, and Rotary encourages and helps him by keeping the boy alive in him.69

Fellowship preserved the boy and emboldened the man in Rotary to face the realities of post-war economic life in Australia. The idealised youth that captured the inspiration of Rotarians communicated an uncomplicated security and authority in themselves and in the world around them. But while the popularity of Rotary and the emphasis on fellowship acknowledged a problem with the place of

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68 Hunt, op.cit., 47.
69 This quote comes from Sir Henry Braddon, Director of Dalgety and founding President of Rotary Club of Sydney. Hunt, op.cit., 7/8.
the individual (the managerial and professional man) in work and the wider-world, fellowship did not seek to transcend present circumstance nor renounce men’s position and participation in modernisation. Instead, fellowship encouraged a sense of self that was rooted in the conditions of modernisation and that better equipped these men to successfully participate in the public and private worlds that modernisation enabled.

The implied critique in fellowship of excesses in individualism did not mark a rejection of individualism. Instead, club fellowship reflected the development of what Charles has called “co-operative individualism”.

In the realm of work during modernisation the role of the managerial and professional man emphasised interaction, the manager was a service provider skilled in the ability to connect people or to facilitate effective resource use. Rugged individualism eschewed genuine fellowship but also jeopardised the careful management and mediation that defined the interventions of managerial and professional men. Co-operative individualism, while encouraging interaction, depended on strong identification of individual need and on acknowledging the individual benefits of co-operation. Fellowship also remained rooted in the language of personal growth and personal adjustment. This vision of fellowship corresponded with the emphasis in Rotary service on targeting the individual for assistance and reform. Society was a conglomerate of individuals, some were active citizens and others required service to assist them to become citizens. The appropriate focus for intervention was the individual who, in co-operation with others, could achieve individual goals and meet the individual requirements of positive citizenship. Co-operative individualism, expressed through the fellowship of Rotary, affirmed the position of managerial and professional men in modernisation while also maintaining support for the individualism that underpinned the liberal social system.

Understandings of Rotary fellowship encouraged these men to see themselves as secure and successful because they were able to move beyond individualism or sectional interest and develop connectivity. The logic of fellowship presented Rotary members as struggling individuals, responding to the common life circumstances of their age that assailed them with sectional interests (or “prejudice” in the quote above regarding the boy in the man) and the

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70 Charles, op.cit., 7.
pressures to succeed at all costs (or “cynicism”). The Rotary approach reflected a belief that individuals could ‘choose their path’, that with talent and engagement individuals could prosper. Service activities, for example, did not attempt to address structural disadvantage and, in the most part, tended to involve short-term commitment of resources. The success of individuals sprang from their own struggle with the circumstances of modernisation. Success was rooted both in what people did (by way of service, for example) and the beliefs that they expressed. Rotary claimed to represent a meritocratic ideal where innovation, ingenuity and interdependence were rewarded. In this way fellowship and service obscured the privileged position that managerial and professional men occupied. Fellowship disconnected the link between their success and their position in the ruling bloc. The fellowship of Rotary was consciously structured to meliorate identified deficiencies in the impact of modernisation, turning these into affirmations of the position of managerial and professional men and their authority as social actors.

Rotary members were also explicit in identifying fellowship as an asset, a utility that could assist the individual in the club, the club itself and the individual outside the club. Connections between men were given value for what they could achieve. One Rotarian expressed this approach through the example of service:

> Fellowship is basic to service. In simple terms this means that we work better for a project if we know the people working with us. We work better still if we are close friends. We have more chance of promoting a service project and we have more chance of recruiting labour for it from among our own friends than among strangers. Fellowship promotes warm and lasting friendships.

Service work was more effective when it could claim a connection between those engaged in service. Work was also more effective when fellowship could draw to a task more participants. The lesson for the members’ world of work was clear – fellowship is good for business. Those “warm and lasting friendships” did not stand alone. Fellowship was always contextualised, usually as a starting point from which other activities proceeded. Rotarians were eager to ensure that their fellowship was identified as purposeful:

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71 And the flip side of success, failure, was equally the result of individual failings rather than the outcome of the political dynamic in modernisation.

Fellowship [said one Rotarian] is much more than an end in itself: it is
the essential set of tools for performing all the other activities which
together make Rotary. Where fellowship flourishes the Club
endeavours will be well supported, and the search for avenues of
endeavour stimulated; these in turn provide other fruitful opportunities
for fellowship. 73

The presentation of fellowship as an asset or set of tools and the promotion of
familiarity as the basis for action positions Rotary’s fellowship explicitly as a
social resource in these men’s conduct. The fraternal connections created through
club membership contributed to these men’s capacity to act in the social world. It
was an asset for men to use among each other. It was also an asset that enhanced
the sense of self and authority of these men that could be carried through the
different social settings of their lives.

That fellowship was understood in terms of utility and was promoted for its
benefits to the organisational capacity of Rotary reveals an alignment between
service club fellowship and transitions evident in modernisation. Charles, in his
analysis of U.S. Rotary, draws a relationship between this fellowship and what
Renel Denney has called a “transition in sociability”, identifying the service club
fellowship as “evidence of something new - a general openness and informality
endemic in twentieth-century life.” 74 In fact the new fellowship of Rotary and this
transition in sociability suggests something more. The model of conduct
promoted and the sense of self encouraged by fellowship was one that reconciled
the public and private lives of men. Fellowship was not understood as a haven for
the private self away from the rigours of public identity or obligation, rather
fellowship was recognised as something to be incorporated into public practice
and identity; among managerial and professional men it became a mode of
operation, an expression of authority and an indicator of comfort.

Debate within early Rotary over the appropriate form of address for
members provides a revealing moment in this process of transition. The early
days of Rotary in Australia, dominated by an older, more elite middle class,
preferred and practiced the formal address of the Edwardian upper-middle class.
Rotarians themselves, in this early period, noted the distinction between their
fellowship and that which was practised in and advocated from The U.S. After

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74 Charles, op.cit., 7.
the war and coinciding with the expansion in membership, relationships between
the men in Rotary took a more familiar form. According to Rotary historian
Harold Hunt, a crucial turning point in the history of Rotary came in 1942:

There had been the problem of Christian names. Shocks suffered when
travelling Americans visited the Club raised, quite forcibly, the manner
in which members should be addressed. It had been usual to use the
prefix ‘Mister’ and to hear the visitors using first names raised doubts
in the members’ minds. Twice in 1925 and 1926 the Presidents had a
vote taken on the use of surname, Christian name, or nickname, and on
both occasions the vote was in favour of surnames without the ‘Mister’.
But working for the Boy Scouts, the members lost some of their
stiffness. By 1928 the use of Christian names was fairly general, but
there was still some way to go. Jock Reid, one of Melbourne’s most
senior members and a Past President, recalls quite a few years later: ‘I
remember myself, very clearly, one of the talks given in 1942, when the
dear old man who died a year ago at over ninety – Archdeacon
Hancock – spoke on ‘Why do Members call me Bill?’ The point of this
was that many of us didn’t, but after that talk everyone did, to the great
satisfaction of Bill. I believe that talk had a profound influence on the
growth of intimacy within the Club.’

The acceptance of the first name address and the general loosening of formality
within Rotary marked the emergence of this new model for the conduct of self.
Fellowship and familiarity was something to be used. It expressed and enhanced
authority. The fellowship of Rotary reflected the transition in sociability, it
encouraged members to invest in these new techniques of self and it recognised
the platform it created for their participation in hegemony.

Although membership of Rotary was limited to men and organised around
classification of men’s employment, the operation of clubs and practice of
fellowship involved extensive interaction with women. The positioning of women
and the family in Rotary marks a considerable distinction between nineteenth-
century fraternalism and the fellowship of twentieth-century service clubs.
Carnes’ analysis of nineteenth-century ritualism centred on the role of ritual in
“effac[ing] the religious values and emotional ties associated with women.”

H. Hunt, op.cit., 11. Hewitt quotes a Rotary International pamphlet of 1916 that defined good fellowship as being
evidenced by: “1. The hearty handshake.
2. The first-name acquaintance.
3. Thoughtful attentions shown by members to each other.
4. Courtesy exhibited to presiding officers, fellow members, and guests.
5. The gentlemanly demeanor and the thoroughfulness which characterise the mature business man.
6. Chorus singing.
Carnes, op.cit., 48.
argues that ritualism enabled men to express and understand an emotional connection between men (particularly with father figures) that was otherwise untenable in the outside world. In nineteenth-century fraternalism the positioning of men and women was oppositional. Women were absent and, according to Clawson and Carnes, fraternalism was driven in part by a class context, where withdrawal from the home and cross-class collaboration among men was central to both the architecture of social relations and to the alleviation of psychic pressures. Service club fellowship, by contrast, generated meanings for managerial and professional men by responding to and complimenting emerging familial structures in post-war modernisation. Rather than operating in opposition to a male role in the family and in opposition to domesticity, the organisation of service club fellowship was based around men’s participation in familial relations and their interests in that familial structure. The particular placement of women in or around Rotary usefully illustrates this interaction between fellowship, the familial and men’s own sense of self.

Rotarians were expected to be married men and the participation of wives, referred to as “Rotary Anns”, and families in Rotary was both explicit and implicit. The wives of Rotary men, for example, established a mirror structure to enhance their integration and utility in Rotary. ‘Inner Wheel’ clubs worked in association with, but independent from, the Rotary club. Little was written about the operation of the Inner Wheel clubs.\textsuperscript{77} It appears that the interaction between the Inner Wheel and Rotary clubs varied on a club by club basis. In the smaller regional clubs and the suburban clubs, the Inner Wheel groups could function as highly organised and independent units, raising funds, running projects and initiating activities that sometimes outstripped the activities of the Rotary group. Perhaps more commonly, the Inner Wheel groups functioned to support or enhance the initiatives of the Rotary group, providing an enthusiastic additional labour force in the achievement of particular service goals. The Inner Wheel groups were not bound by a constitution or any formal structural mechanisms, but existed through less formal networks of women that coalesced around the structures of Rotary. To this extent, the Inner Wheel groups did rely on either the

\textsuperscript{77} For an excellent account of the emergence of the Inner Wheel clubs in the UK see M. Gaskell, \textit{Home and Horizon: An Account of the history and organisation of the Association of Inner Wheel Clubs}, Hat, Barnard & Co., Bucks, 1953.
overt or tacit support of the Rotary movement. Gaskell’s account of the Inner Wheel in the UK, written from the participant perspective in the early 1950s, demonstrates that even prior to the 1950s there was general support and only very limited opposition from men to the activities of the Inner Wheel women.78

Less explicit was the assumed presence of the wives of Rotarians evident in the organisation of Rotary meetings. Small clubs, if meeting in the afternoon, for example, met in the homes of the Rotarians and breaks were taken for light meals, evidently arranged by the Rotary man’s “little helper” (who were occasionally thanked as such in meeting minutes). Special occasions in the club were often marked by soirees with “wives to be invited”. The initiation of members also recognised the importance of the wife and family to the Rotary man. The involvement of new members’ wives in social activities was seen as vital to retaining the new members. Wives were also present and active in the organisation and fulfilment of service activities. In both formal and informal contexts, the men of Rotary acknowledged and incorporated a particular presence of women into the fellowship of the post-war service club.

The presence of women in Rotary conformed to the model of domesticity that delineated women’s role in the family and marriage to be one of support for her husband. Women were acknowledged and valued for their utility within the home and the family. The Inner Wheel clubs operated on this premise. Inner Wheel members were praised as effective fund raisers, as efficient and competent local organisers for charity activities and as excellent companions at social functions (particularly for the application of their domestic skills, such as cooking, to the social arena). The implicit and explicit participation of women by facilitating fellowship in Rotary reflected the dominant division of labour and its identification of women’s specific (and obviously limited) utility within the home.

In the representations of fellowship by Rotarians the connection to familial relationships or domesticity was never challenged as a chore nor feared as emasculating. The Rotarian did not turn to fellowship in order to flee domesticity, instead he structured his fellowship around the expectations of post-war domesticity. Club meeting times were arranged to minimise any potential

78 Gaskell, op.cit.
disruption to the man’s participation in the home. Meetings were most often held at lunch, or in the early evening so as not to intrude upon dinner and the expected role of men in the family. Though Rotarians supported a rigid understanding of women’s role in marriage, service club fellowship was attuned to emerging understandings of ‘democratic’ or companionate marriages discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. The division of labour in marriage was, as explored in Chapter Five, assumed on the basis of perceived competency. In their service work, Rotarians were advocates for marriage counselling and marriage guidance.79 Rotarians also advocated responsible parenting. The Rotary member was recognised as a father with important roles and responsibilities both within the family and also in wider society. Encouraged by pre-war emphasis on the role of the Rotarian as father to boys, in the post-war era emphasis expanded and was underscored by an inclusion of girls and marriage more generally.80 Rotary fellowship encouraged these connections and, in the post-war era, Rotary membership was understood as extending, via the father, to the entire family.

There were powerful reasons not to bifurcate the organisation and practice of fellowship from domesticity and the family. Fellowship, and the centrality of women and the family to its practice, contributed to the interests of men, naturalising distinctions drawn between men and women and their respective social roles. In the home among the family, as elsewhere, the Rotarian was the manager. Although the home was represented as a space outside of the world of business and a place for intimate relationships between family members, the home and those relationships were also acknowledged as assets with a public currency that underpinned the authority and sense of self held by managerial and professional men.

6.7 Conclusion

The curious Rotary motto has attracted its share of scorn and criticism. But the popularity of Rotary points to a return on membership that was far more lucrative
and far more complex than the simple profits of increased business as supposed by critics. This profit, I have argued, lies in the meanings managerial and professional men in Rotary attached to the service and fellowship that defined their membership. It is a profit that springs from attention to their own relationship as citizens to the community and that reflects an intervention upon themselves.

Understandings of service in Rotary drew directly from the nexus with citizenship and positioned men’s practices as expressions of responsibility and of virtue. This interpretation of service has an application across the terrains of intervention examined in this thesis. In all these settings managerial and professional men came together (in a fellowship rarely recognised) to consider interventions upon the subjects and communities they imagined. They understood their interventions through the language of service and advocated action by appealing to a common good. As with the service interrogated in previous chapters I have demonstrated the civic service of Rotary and the common good espoused in Rotary’s appeal for greater understanding to be powerfully interested. In addition, the chapter has considered the figure of the Rotarian-as-civic-manager in order to interpret men’s understanding of their own role in the community. By acting on others men created their sense of self, by acting on others they understood their own position in modernisation as mediators, managers who acted beyond sectional interest. The figure of the civic manager captures the sense of authority and legitimacy that enabled interventions and, as a result, marks managerial and professional men’s participation in hegemony.

Emphasis on fellowship between men in Rotary developed in response to the perceived pressures experienced by these managerial and professional men during modernisation. Fellowship between managerial and professional men in Rotary was understood as an asset, a support system that mixed private and public meanings but also enhanced men’s sense of place in the community. This chapter has argued that fellowship was a part of and a support to emerging patterns of intimate relations, including familial structure, during post-war modernisation. The rituals of fellowship in Rotary provided a social resource for men which functioned to enhance authority while obscuring their interests.
Participation in Rotary and the emphasis given in Rotary to service and fellowship enabled managerial and professional men to act on themselves, school themselves, adjust their own actions and give meaning to their own place in modernisation. These men’s understandings of their participation in Rotary offer a reflexive moment, providing unique insights into the self-government of managerial and professional men and how they prepared themselves for their participation in hegemony.
The Comfort of Men:

A Conclusion

From the painting’s first exhibition, John Brack’s written and spoken recognition that his depiction of managerial and professional men (Collins Street, 5pm, Figure 1.1) was impermissible, that it disallowed the complexities of life, has been overwhelmed by the potency of the painted image. Collins Street, 5pm became and remains iconic: expressing a perception of the experience of modernity in post-war Australia and capturing an understanding of how power works in modernity. Brack’s portrait suggests at least two approaches to the subjects of my thesis. With some empathy, analysis could iterate the experience of tedium, the absent passions, the within-machine conformity and lost freedom of managerial and professional men in the inhibitive corporate culture of post-war modernisation. Or, with a more critical outlook, analysis could expose the prescriptive acts of these men, their violence, the coherence of their perpetual advantage, their inhumane triumph over other lives. Neither of these approaches provides a sufficient explanation of the passions that motivate managerial and professional men or the visions that direct their practices. Neither offers a way to account for either the colour of their lived experience or their consequence as historical actors.

The strategy of ‘studying up’, or engaging with ruling bloc men to examine the regenerative labour required to deliver and sustain power, offers challenges and opportunities unavailable in Brack’s dull and subdued palate. Working along the grain creates an opportunity to understand, firstly, how these men participated in reshaping and resecuring hegemony across time and, secondly, how their practices build the social relations that continue to deliver to their interests. Working along the grain also challenges the well-worn language and practices of
historical critique. Marx, in a prescient and perhaps surprising comment, is reported to have remarked that:

reactionaries often teach us more about revolution than revolutionaries do. The reactionaries tell us the truth about the object they love … Their critique raises the veils from that reality that critical reason wants to understand in order to subvert.¹

The love Marx speaks of suggests investments ruling bloc men make in “that reality” (hegemony) and the returns duly delivered. This love suggests the intimate frontiers in which hegemony is contested and recreated: a process not abstract from life itself and one that lies in the ordinary practices of the ruling-bloc reactionaries. Effective critique requires distilling hegemony’s efficacy and comprehending the dynamic role people play in its functioning.

In the visual images of success that often represent the post-war decades managerial and professional men hover in the background, away from attention. In the pages of *Who’s Who* and other traditional indicators of public prominence for men, managerial and professional men make few appearances. They have not figured as spectacular symbols of remarkable prosperity and Brack did not paint them for their eminence in affairs of the day. There is nothing subversive obscured in their quotidian comfort that might salvage these men and make them the extraordinary subjects of critical reappraisal. As Brack’s portrait vividly identifies, managerial and professional men occupy a middling ground. They are the comfortable beneficiaries of the social relations that propelled the development of modernity.

The comfort of managerial and professional men is not an indictment of their inconsequence in modernity or a diversion from a harsher reality being played-out elsewhere. Instead, it is precisely this comfort that makes these men attractive subjects for critical analysis. Comfort marks the point of their connection with hegemony and the unfolding narrative of modernisation. It is the comfort of men that makes hegemony work and so it is comfort that warrants interrogation. In the remainder of this conclusion I bring together key elements of the analytic framework I have applied to understand the history of managerial and professional men. Each has built my picture of managerial and professional

men’s participation and interest in hegemony and each has opened the comfort of men to scrutiny.

The accomplishment of hegemony is tied to history: hegemony being not only a situation renegotiated across time, but also a process reflecting the operation of power at a given point in time. The mechanics of hegemony, compelled by the political dynamic of social relations, were transformed during post-war modernisation and came to reflect the operation of government. Managerial and professional men were central to this transformation. From the inter-war period to the post-war decades, managerial and professional men adapted their practice and developed techniques that responded to the perceived problems of each terrain. The transformation in power represented by government also delivered to managerial and professional men new tools that reshaped their participation and interest in the regeneration of hegemony. In government, power is not dispensed upon composed subjects. Instead, it operates as a productive effect, existing within subjects, breathing with the life of people. Hegemony is enacted on ever more intimate frontiers, working through the satisfactions, needs and desires of individuals. Hegemony becomes a part of our ways of knowing and being, part of our sense of self and imagination of the possible. This transformation to government created the circumstances and context of managerial and professional men’s interventions in post-war Australia.

Placing the interrogation of how power works alongside the important questions of who operates power, in what interests and why directly connects government with social relations in modernity. Government need no longer be read as an abstract political theory but as an *historical* process that can be traced in local contexts and linked to struggles in social relations. My analytic model also opens the possibility for further histories exploring the context of this transformation (particularly in the inter-war decades and comparative international developments), the experience of this transformation (of being the governed or the governors) and later permutations as hegemony responded to changed circumstance (for example, struggles in the social relations of gender). In the case of the latter, the post-war decades can be re-envisioned as part of the pre-history of neo-liberalism, rather than being merely a stalemate, consensus or
compromise in the social relations of class, as is suggested in a number of influential accounts.² The transformation to government delivered on immediate interests but also represented foundational work by the ruling bloc. The shift in the operation of power was building the pre-conditions for neo-liberalism: the evacuation of political and moral meaning from concepts of common good and citizenship, the alignment of subjectivity with the pursuit of individual satisfaction and the emphasis on therapy in ameliorating the machinations of social relations.

Working with the colour and the consequence of managerial and professional men provides a portrait attuned to the passions and visions that propel these men forward. By involving themselves in the relationships of social settings and the lives of others, managerial and professional men positioned themselves in those relationships. The interventions managerial and professional men made reflected a natural logic or common sense. Through their solutions, these men created alibis for the connections of interest (of advantage or disadvantage) being constantly recreated in their interventions. Each intervention represented an investment, delivering to the interests of these men in social relations.

In addition to identifying men’s practice as interested, placing social relations and interest at the centre of analysis proves to be an invaluable tool for illuminating the partisan applications of apparently universal concepts crucial to the operation of post-war democracy and modernisation. In different chapters concepts such as service, citizenship, breadwinning and appeals to a common good were mobilised by managerial and professional. Each concept espoused a universal and apolitical application but each articulated specific political objectives aligned to the gender and class interests of managerial and professional men. In the family, for example, the attributes of the model-breadwinner shifted beyond basic financial capacity to include the skills, attributes and additional resources that only managerial and professional men could possess. In Rotary, managerial and professional men identified the virtues of ‘service above self’ but

² The notion of a stalemate is endorsed (with various inflections) by historians writing from a number of different political positions: from the left (such as Connell and Irving), the social democratic (such as Smyth) and the conservative (such as Whitwell). The historical connection to neo-liberalism suggested by my work is also identified in the speculative theories of the ‘control society’ discussed in section 2.4.
the civic engagement they practiced reflected their own professional skills and only acknowledged the highly individualised contributions primarily directed at their own class or class interests. In each instance, apparently universal concepts enabled managerial and professional men to mark out the boundaries of class and gender and, through that, to enhance their own interests in these social relations.

Identifying the practices of managerial and professional men as interested investments also highlights the contiguity existing with the political objectives of liberalism. Techniques of government provided a mechanism to ensure that the interests of men could be secured while entrenching the concepts of individual satisfaction, freedom and choice that underpinned the ostensible relationship between self and society advocated in liberalism. Earlier expressions of modernity, such as those explored so perceptively by Kerreen Reiger, were characterised by the disciplining presence of experts and a proscriptive relationship between managers and the managed. In the post-war period, the interventions of managerial and professional men depended upon the continual practice of freedom (to choose, to work, to love…) by the managed. Liberalism, as a result, became a set of practices and identities, a truth about individuals rather than an interested political system seeking adherents or generating resistance. This contiguity was explicit in post-war market research techniques and content; the strategy to sell cigarettes was equally a strategy that sold a way of being in society, a way of being that reflected liberal social analysis and liberal interests. The strength of liberalism then (as now) was its capacity to align political objectives to common sense about freedom and subjectivity. Managerial and professional men laboured in their practices to make this connection and enable this common sense.

The interests of men were also shaping transformations in the operation of power and the subsequent emergence of government. Government was not a neutral form of power utilised by a particular group in society for happenstance ends. Government depended upon the strengths of existing social relations. The leverage of gender, particularly in the example of market research and personnel management, was crucial for government taking form in the interventions by

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managerial and professional men. In personnel management, techniques of government were developed as a response to more direct and repressive power that challenged the gender interests and authority of male workers. In market research, techniques of government depended for their initial implementation on the gendered division of labour. The marketing concept utilised gendered ways of addressing women in order to mobilise women to consume. The techniques of government did not emerge in a social vacuum divorced from the interests of their propagators. They took form and were effective because they were a part of the struggle of social relations during modernisation.

The investments managerial and professional men made were also possessive. They were a part of how these men were made men in the social relations of gender and class. Interventions depended upon the sense of legitimacy and authority that they carried with them into each terrain. Simultaneously, their interventions recirculated and normalised that legitimacy and authority, making comfort possible. The meanings cultivated by the concept of service were crucial to this authority and legitimacy. The Rotarian-as-civic-manager exemplified the relationship between service and men’s sense of self. By acting on others, Rotarians affirmed their own virtue and, in their view, placed themselves beyond sectional interest working for a common good. Service in Rotary articulated the liberal citizen’s relationship to his social body and also confirmed his position in the social relations that constituted that social body. This understanding of service and the obfuscation of sectional interest underpinned the investments managerial and professional men made across society. At a general level, men’s management or mediation of relationships in each terrain placed others (those being managed) within social relations while they simultaneously placed themselves outside of social relations. In the workplace, for example, personnel managers directly identified the destructive potential of the class interests of workers and used the concept of citizenship to position themselves and their own interventions as being outside the social relation of class. The impact of this ‘occlusion’ was not only to enhance the authority of men, it also blocked the identification of their interests.

The fellowship evident in each intervention and most explicit in Rotary also underscores the interaction between sharing a set of practices or experiences and
the building of social groups and social relations. The fellowship of expertise and intervention was a resource enabling men’s comfort, proving men’s authority to be a natural endowment carried into any social terrain. The rituals of fellowship were a response to modernisation and they also reflected the interests of men in modernisation.

In contrast to the mute marchers depicted on Brack’s Collins Street, managerial and professional men possessed a strong sense of their own consequence. They presented and understood their own practices as solutions, direct acts of management that could ameliorate disruptions. The practices of managerial and professional men reflected their natural place, their authority and purpose among others. Men’s practices were part of a natural and common sense response to the conditions of the post-war world, enabling them to braid solutions with subjects and social relations.

As I considered the discursive practices of my subjects, their interests and the mechanics of hegemony in the post-war period, I turned away from John Brack’s painting and imagined a portrait of comfort to bring together the multiple strands of my investigation. Comfort expresses authority; the recirculation of legitimacy, carried like an inheritance into any social setting. Comfort suggests pleasure; a pleasure in practices, in the investments they walk towards, an embodiment of success. Comfort alludes to naturalness; a sense of their own place and purpose among others and the everyday. Comfort marks a moment of intimacy; the enveloping of government with self, present with history. It is comfort that portrays the participation and interest of managerial and professional men in the regeneration of hegemony.

Like Brack, I recognise aspects of the “impermissible” in my own portrait of managerial and professional men. My critical history represents a partial and partisan portrait. I have worked from a particular standpoint and I have read these men in order to contribute to a broader political project. That there exist other narratives and other standpoints is coincident to recognising these men as subjects in history: a point of opportunity not limitation. I have written about men’s place and practices in gender and class relations to open these opportunities,
foreshadowing biographies of culture, corporeality or experience that could go beyond identifying a professional manhood or a masculinity. I have written about the comfort of these men to make more transparent the process of hegemony. I have written because it is the comfort of men that challenges histories of men and histories of social relations to account for the ordinary acts that sustain power and secure interests while seeming not to be anything in particular.
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