The MAN from the Future

Traces of Masculinity and Modernity from Hamilton in the 1960s

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Abstract

This research offers a reading of the considerable change to the landscapes of cities, masculinities and bodies that occurred after the Second World War. With an emphasis on visual sources and methods, I consider how a distinctly modern post-war identity emerged out of the interaction between Hamilton's newly (re)built cityscape, human bodies and their gendered identities.

In the 1960s, rapid urban growth in Hamilton produced a large number of buildings designed in the Modernist style. This concrete language rendered public structures, and the city at large, as distinctly 'Modern' and progressive. The existence of these buildings was essential to Hamilton's transition from a rural town to an urban centre. Meanwhile, the 1964 Centennial served as a convenient narrative of progress to (re)create the city as Modern while remaining youthful and vibrant. Images of the past and the future were regularly and publicly invoked. Colonial Pioneers and Men from the Future were rhetorically exhumed and conceived in order to (re)construct Hamilton.

Material and discursive spaces of the cityscape were inhabited by images of a 'citified' Modern Man: the fabled Businessman and his derivatives. Images of masculine bodies offer an insight into constructions of gendered identity. Their 'suited' and impervious bodily boundaries reflect the rigid confines of 1960s masculinities and the firm geometric designs of Modernist buildings. Analysis of advertisements and photographs reveal bodily performances that maintain this identity while establishing an urban and masculine corporeality. A number of 'other' identities were excluded by dominant urban masculinity and offer areas for future research.

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Chapter One: Introduction
Concrete/ Corporeality/ Conversation

This thesis is a reading of the cityscape of Hamilton in the 1960s (See appendices A.1 and A.2 for maps of Hamilton). It discusses the (re)creation of masculine bodies and discourses to suggest what it meant for people and place to be 'Modern'.[1] In particular, this thesis is concerned with the relationship between people and place. In this case, masculine bodies are linked to spaces that also contain masculine symbolism. Sometimes called mutually constitutive, although this is debated, people and place (re)make each other (Grosz 1998). Given that Hamilton in the 1960s was a time and place of rapid growth, this setting serves as a historically accessible example of modernisation. Moreover, analysis of a local history using specific examples also has wider implications for the research of other urban histories and geographies.

Hamilton is currently a city of around 130,000 inhabitants and is New Zealand's largest inland centre as well as the nation's fourth largest city (Statistics New Zealand 2006). The city is located in the Waikato region on the banks of the Waikato River. It is surrounded by fertile farmland, much of which is, or has been, engaged in dairy farming. It was founded in 1864 by Imperial Army troops, militia and settlers on the site of the Māori settlement called Kirikiriroa. Since then, Pākehā occupation and development has been continuous, with the most extensive period of growth following the Second World War. In spite of often rapid change, Hamilton retains its somewhat conservative reputation. As a result, this research implies that the only thing swinging in Hamilton during the period were construction cranes.

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[1] The capitalisation of terms such as this throughout the thesis is intended to draw attention to their constructed natures.

Attempts at reading the relationship between people and place are often driven by a critical agenda. This thesis is no exception. It begins with the premise that there were/are, in fact, instances of gendered power in Hamilton. Men were, by-and-large, the decision-makers, controllers of capital and designers of buildings. At the same time, architectural theorists I draw on attributed masculine qualities to Modernist buildings – qualities that are similar to those inscribed onto masculine bodies. In particular, this thesis is concerned with the interaction between masculine bodies and buildings that was couched within notions of 'progress' and Modernity. Rather than accepting the rational-legal explanation for the (re)construction of cities and bodies, this thesis is intended to reveal everyday spaces as cultural constructs. That is, that gender, and gendered power, matters to everyday lived experiences. Given that most New Zealanders live in urban environments, the gendered reading offered here applies to many. Yet symbolic and social exclusion of particular groups – women, children, 'queer', and Māori – from aspects of the cityscape suggests that New Zealand was not quite as egalitarian as national myths insist.

As the title of this Introduction suggests, there are three terms that describe the boundaries of my analysis. Apart from their common first letter, the concepts that each term represents may not seem relevant to one another. Yet they are intimately interlinked by this work. Firstly, the theme of concrete encompasses the appearance of solidity and rigidity that is evident in the design of buildings and in town planning. Concrete, usually reinforced with steel, was a popular building material in Hamilton during this time. It was the ideal material for creating the strictly geometric forms of Modernist buildings. Concrete also references the ways in which masculinity was represented. The popular image of

masculinity and masculine bodies was based around notions of 'firmness', autonomy and rationality. Further, themes of strength and versatility in Modernist building design have been aligned with typically masculine symbolism. The symbolic and material reality of concrete aligns bodies and buildings with each other. As a result it serves as a useful metaphor with which to explore their inter-relationship.

Secondly, corporeality refers to the material reality of bodies and also to the discourses that bind and define them. This thesis emphasises the 'fleshiness' of bodies and also the materiality of space that affects them. All too often research creates (dis)embodies that have little relevance to our own experience. Yet everyone has/is a body, which often appears as the locus of everyday experience. For Hamilton, the growth of an urban environment went hand-in-hand with the creation of an urban, embodied, identity. The (re)construction of the cityscape went hand-in-hand with the construction of a Modern Man. The privileged status of this masculine image, secure behind a 'concrete' veneer, may be complicated by focussing on the body and its corporeality. That is, masculinities become cultural and social constructions rather than the rigid and biologically fixed categories that appear in documents from the time.

Thirdly, conversation refers to the language – both textual and symbolic – that is used to articulate the relationship between city and citizen. The symbolism of architecture and town planning, the rhetoric of newspapers, promotional brochures and opening speeches, and bodily performances are the accessible artefacts of past lived experience. For example:

[w]e have a grown up feeling. The old apathetic feeling has gone. In the next century we are going to be entirely different (*Waikato Times* 15 August 1964: 4).[2]

The future is a key theme in the language of this and other examples I have selected. Analysis of this theme is important to understanding the relationship between past people and place. It also plays a vital role in this performance of research. I was born in Hamilton in the early 1980s. My parents are children of men and women who lived in the city during the 1960s, and they themselves grew up during this period. As such, I am a man from the future of 1960s' Hamilton, and I have constructed an account of the past using various academic conventions and languages. My conversation between the past and the present has culminated in this thesis. The Man from the Future, a concept I develop further in later chapters, entails my positionality as a researcher and a grandson of men who lived in Hamilton during the post-war period. This term comes from a cartoon series that appeared in the *New Zealand Herald* during the summer of 1960, as shown in Figure 1.1. It also evokes the performance of looking back at Hamilton's past while trying to understand a post-war view of the future. Categories of past and present are often concrete. The transcendence of this temporal boundary, often made by historians and geographical historians, is possible by analysing examples of such language. Similarly, language has also framed the boundary crossings between disciplines during this research.

This research arises from my study within the disciplines of history, geography, and to a lesser extent, architectural history. It is an inter-disciplinary research project that comprises a pastiche of methods, theory and other academic conventions. While testing disciplinary boundaries, I consciously

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[2] D.L. Vermeren, President of the Frankton-Te Rapa Jaycees commenting in the *Waikato Times* during Hamilton's Centennial celebrations, 15 August 1964.

chose this combination to 'site' theory in place and flesh. Poststructuralist theory has proven very useful in both disciplines. Yet it has also abstracted resulting research from any recognisable 'reality'. By using empirical examples from Hamilton to illustrate theoretical conclusions I have aimed to invest my research with credulity and relevance. I have found this approach personally rewarding and I hope that it serves as a good example to other researchers.

Figure 1.1 A segment from the Mercury Features comic *The Man from the Future* that appeared in the *New Zealand Herald* over the summer of 1960/1961. Themes of time and 'space' travel and gendered relations evident in this comic series were the initial inspiration for this thesis.

The thesis is organised into six further chapters, although the material tends to refer backwards and forwards between them. In Chapter Two I discuss the role of theory, the precedents I have drawn from and the composite theories I have made from across boundaries. Chapter Three, the 'methods chapter', discusses the ways in which theoretical aims are put into action. In some ways it was difficult to separate these two chapters. Theory and method are intimately interlinked, and while their order in this thesis suggests causality, they serve as an example of mutual (re)creation that frames this research. Chapter Four introduces Hamilton's post-war context and charts development within the city from the close of the Second World War until the late 1960s. It is focussed on the material reality of the cityscape, and (re)reads Hamilton's central business

district as a Modernist Cityscape. Using examples of Modernist buildings, opening ceremonies and the events of Hamilton's centennial in 1964, it broadly concludes that gender is a useful category for understanding the (re)construction of post-war Hamilton. Chapter Five, however, is more concerned with the (re)construction of the bodies and identities that lived within the cityscape. It highlights the synergies that exist between masculine symbolism in architecture and the ways in which male bodies were coded as masculine. With these two chapters combined, they suggest ways in which bodies and cities were simultaneously rendered as Modern. Lastly, Chapter Six concludes the thesis. It summarises the main arguments and themes with reference to concrete, corporeality and conversation. In addition, it is also an opportunity to reflect on the position of the researcher 'looking back' and to suggest areas for future research.

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Chapter Two: Theory
Gender and the 'Citification' of Hamilton

Theory is used to pursue a critical agenda in this thesis. In this chapter I discuss ways in which I have used theory to access the past and make sense of its fragmented traces. In addition, I outline the ways in which theory has allowed sources to be 'read' for traces of gender. Firstly I will summarise the growth of scholarship concerned with gender, and masculinities in particular. A consideration of 'cultural studies' and its role in this work follows, along with ways in which I have used notions of 'fleshiness' and theories of performativity. This chapter also discusses the role of interdisciplinary study, and describes a theoretical stance that lies between, or across, history and geography. The last two sections that follow discuss the original contribution of this thesis, the relationship between bodies and cities, and how my use of theory has contributed to my analysis and argument.

The simultaneous (re)creation of Modern Men and a Modern City is the process under investigation in this thesis. Hamilton's transition from a rural town to an urban centre entailed considerable change in gendered and civic identities. Such change was also manifest in the flesh of bodies and the material of the cityscape. However, evidence of this is not immediately obvious in the sources I have selected. They require a level of analysis that is described in the next chapter. This analysis is predicated by theoretical perspectives that establish a research agenda while also linking to wider bodies of knowledge.

The Place of Gender

Both historians and geographers have only recently been concerned with gender. There has been growing acceptance of gender theory in both disciplines over the

last three decades. Joan W. Scott's seminal article 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' (1986) is a crucial point of departure for for this thesis and for scholarship in both history and geography. Research in this area has come in waves since the 1970s. Momentum built by the feminist movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s saw the publication of work that focussed on women's experience in history and in contemporary society. The 1980s saw another surge with the establishment of 'Women's and Gender Studies' Departments at many universities.

In the later 1980s, however, academics such as Bob Connell began research into the field of masculinities. This served both to complement, and to complicate, the growing field of gender studies. At about the same time in New Zealand, Jock Phillips published *A Man's Country?* (1987) which was to be the first national survey of masculinity. Throughout the 1990s work in gender continued to grow. The publication of Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) and Connell's *Masculinities* (1995) are just two books that are still often cited. Local research resulted in the publication of a number of books, including *The Gendered Kiwi* (Daley & Montgomerie 1999), *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Law *et al* 1999) and the re-publication of *A Man's Country?* (Phillips 1996). There was also growth in the study of gender at universities during this period. Frazer Andrewes' 1995 thesis, which later became a chapter in *The Gendered Kiwi*, is just one example. By the early twenty-first century, which is where my own research began, gender in general, and masculinities in particular, had 'matured' in geographical research and elsewhere (Longhurst & Berg 2003: 355).

A number of debates grew out of this growth and maturity, especially the critique of earlier research that presented dominant or national views of gender. Andrewes, for example, focussed on what he called a 'unitary' image of masculinity in Philip's work. He argues that the search for a 'typical' Kiwi masculinity (the 'bloke') tended to be reductionist. Instead, he put forward a model of masculinities that took into account their plural and complex nature (1995; 1999). The editors of, and contributors to, *Masculinities in Aotearoa/ New Zealand* (Law *et al* 1999) agree and also advocate theoretical complexity to tease out multiple and competing masculinities. Over time, ways of theorising this difference have become more sophisticated. Many have come to use:

> [h]egemonic masculinity theory [which] moves beyond patriarchy and beyond the notion that gender power is organised simply around the categories of male and female. It attends to the variability of relations of power between both men and women, and also, importantly, among different groups of men (Law *et al* 1999: 26).

Concepts of hegemonic masculintity translate into this thesis as a search for dominant 'Images of Man'. This is much like Andrewes' 'man in the grey flannel suit' (1995, 1999) or the 'everyman' observed by Roland Marchand (1985). Departures from, or ruptures within, these images and categories are observed and analysed.

After examining these general trends in gender scholarship, this thesis is my contribution toward recognising power relations between groups of men and the diversity of masculinities. I do this in two ways; firstly, by analysing dominant Images of Man – such as the Businessman - for evidence of variation, and; secondly, by recognising the 'irreducible bodily dimension in experience and practice; the sweat [that] cannot be excluded' (Connell 1995: 51). Furthermore, this thesis is located in a specific time and place. Previous work

that has operated at a regional or national scale has produced generalisations about masculinity out of necessity. By focussing on Hamilton in the 1960s, bodies, masculinities and intimate details of everyday experience become apparent. In turn, analysis of this 'data' can be used to create a more complicated impression of gender. Moreover, it establishes a precedent for local gendered histories.

Masculinities and bodily performances are invisible in historical records. This invisibility can be read as the privileging of the rational mind over the body to reinforce traditional notions of masculinity. Yet masculine bodies are highly visible in advertisements and photographs from the 1960s. One role of theory is to critique and unpack these images to access gendered identities and the performances that constitute them. Lynne Star remarks that research on masculinities has made use of '[o]pen ended explanatory frameworks like semiotics, deconstruction, discourse analysis, performativity and analyses of difference' (1999: 36). The importance of theory is apparent here, but it becomes more crucial still to fill gaps where records have been fragmented by destruction or loss. Theory also serves as a way of reading traces of the past while it also provides a vocabulary for writing and speaking about masculinities. The editors of, and contributors to, *Sites of Gender*, a key local work, agree that it is through the use of performative theory that researchers can 'access' masculinities (Brookes *et al* 2003: 9).

`Fleshy Theory: Theorising Bodies and Performance`
The growth of academic interest in gender has resulted in, or perhaps coincides with, the growth of work surrounding the body. At present bodies are in vogue in geography (Longhurst 1997: 486). In addition, Kathleen Canning writes of a

'veritable flood' of work on bodies in historical scholarship (1999: 499). 'Body

work' offers a way of sharpening the lens of gender. For example, Connell

points out that '[t]he constitution of masculinity through bodily performance

means that gender is vulnerable when the performance cannot be sustained'

(1995: 54). The firm and seemingly impenetrable boundaries of masculinities

give way (even just a little bit) when 'performativity reveals the body beneath

the performance' (Edwards 2006: 114). Suggestions of a growing uneasiness

with Foucauldian 'discursive' bodies (Canning 1999: 502) have tempered my

research perspective with a concern for material 'fleshy' bodies.

Biological flesh and its cultural frameworks are linked through notions of

performance. Elizabeth Grosz discusses a definition of the body:

> By *body* I understand a concrete, material, animate organization of
> flesh, organs, nerves, muscles, and skeletal structure which are given
> unity, cohesiveness, and organization only through their psychical
> and social inscription as the surface and raw materials of an
> integrated and cohesive totality. The body is, so to speak,
> organically/biologically/naturally 'incomplete'; it is indeterminate,
> amorphous, a series of uncoordinated potentialities which require
> social triggering, ordering and long-term 'administration' (1998:
> 243).

It is these instances of power and culture with which this thesis is concerned

with. That is, the ways in which the natural mass of human bodies might be

coded as masculine, but also, how they might be coded as 'in place' in urban

space. As such, it is often useful to locate theoretical bodies in recognisably

'fleshy' spaces in order to draw conclusions about (re)constructive processes

between bodies and places.

Theories of performativity elucidate this relationship. Butler argues that

'[t]here is no gender identity behind the expression of gender; that identity is

performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its

results' (1990: 25). More specifically, she writes that:

> [t]he repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly
> rigid frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance,
> of a natural sort of being (1990: 33).

Sara Salih elaborates, in her book that summarises Butler's work:

> … acts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or
> substance, but produce this *on the surface* of the body, through the
> play of signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the
> organizing principle of identity as a cause. Such acts, gestures,
> enactments, generally construed, are *performative* in the sense that
> the essence of identity that they otherwise purport to express are
> *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and
> other discursive means (2004: 110).

Performative theory offers a framework for understanding gesture in

photographs and advertisements. It is also a useful way of critiquing the

apparent solidity of masculine identity. It reveals bodies and identities as

culturally constructed rather than biologically determined entities. It is worth

noting, though, that the two are inextricably linked and their separation is

somewhat artificial. Such theory also challenges the concept of a 'core' identity.

Masculinity, then, is something performed in relation to space. For example,

Hamilton in the 1960s was an increasingly urbanised land/cityscape. The

emergence of a Modern male body that was 'in place' in urban space did not

rely on some essential masculinity. Rather, it relied on the sustained repetition

of masculine performances that were informed by notions of masculinity and

were/are apparent on/through the body.

(Re)Creating Bodies and Cities

Embodied performances of gender occur at specific sites and within specific

contexts. They are situated within space and time. Because gender operates in

the contemporary moment, past performances are accessible only through the traces they leave in the form of advertisements, photographs, and buildings. As a result, both the sites of gender (bodies and cities), as well as its representation, will be explored. A number of writers have brought together questions of gender, bodies and space. Cultural geographers are best known for this, notable in the work of Robyn Longhurst, Steve Pile, and Heidi J. Nast. *Sites of Gender* (Brookes *et al* 2003) is one recent attempt by historians to bring together gender and space in a historical context. For the contributors to the book, the historicity of their subjects meant that they had to rely on mere traces to write their spatial history. They give a two-part definition for the concept of a 'site':

> physical entities in socially and culturally mapped space [and,]
> refers to a domain or cluster of social practices and ideas that are
> expressed in a variety of physical spaces (2003: 11).

Clearly, concepts of space have been used to good effect in historical scholarship. Perhaps this is because geographers have moved their interpretation of urban spaces from the functional to the symbolic (Gruffudd 2003: 238) in a way that would also be useful to history. Geographical understandings of urban spaces and the 'pastness' offered by historical scholarship are alloyed here to offer a reading of gender.

As subsequent chapters show, the period following the Second World War was one of immense change. This was/is immediately obvious in the (re)construction of cityscapes. The parallel processes that (re)negotiated bodily and gendered identities has been less obvious – even invisible. The traditional masculine dominance of urban environments – as decision-makers, entrepreneurs, planners and leaders – calls attention to the roles of men in Hamilton in the post-war period. The purpose of this thesis is to make visible

the privileged position of men, and to analyse their relationship with the cityscape.

As an urban centre in a rural basin, Hamilton is a shining example of the transition from rural to urban made by many cities. It is also a good example of the considerable gendered and embodied changes that accompanied this process. Theories of 'citified bodies', put forward by Grosz, offer ways of discussing the mutual (re)creation of urban spaces and urban bodies. She writes:

> The body and its environment … produce each other as forms of the hyperreal, as modes of simulation which have overtaken and transformed whatever reality each may have had into the image of the other: the city is made and made over into the simulacrum of the body, and the body, in its turn, is transformed, 'citified', urbanized as a distinctly metropolitan body (1998: 43).

According to Grosz, the boundaries of the city and the bodies that inhabit it merge to create a dynamic urban system of flesh and concrete. In Chapter Five I discuss this process in further detail, with reference to specific examples.

Grosz's work also implies that the (re)created cityscape was the impetus for (re)creating bodies as Modern and urban. Judith Walkowitz, Myrha Jehlen and Bell Chevigny offer a concise mode of thinking about such change. They argue that 'material reality is a force that pressures and destabilises the discursive domain, requiring representation "to be reworked, shored up, reconstructed"' (1989: 7-8). From this perspective it appears that material changes within Hamilton's cityscape prompted change for bodies and bodily discourses.

There is not, however, a steadfast conclusion about any causality between bodies and cityscapes in this research. Rather, it is intended to make linkages between the 'citification' of space and bodies within a specific case study. Daphne Spain summarises this view when she writes that:

whether one chooses spatial form as the input and social processes as the output or vice versa should be a matter of convenience…it is fruitless to try to isolate space from social processes in order to say that one 'causes' the other. A more constructive approach is to acknowledge their interdependence, acknowledge how one tries to separate the two for analytic purposes, and then reintegrate the two (1992: 6).

Processes of urbanisation impacted on the (re)construction of bodies, as well as (re)presentations of bodies. Yet the (re)creation of Modern Cities also relied on the presence of Modern Bodies and gendered identities. Concepts of New Zealand masculinity had, for some time, been constructed around the rural idyll and idealised pioneering physical 'manliness'. With the growth of white-collar work and its urban environment and home-lives in suburban settings, the reality of Modernity as an urban experience clashed with these traditional notions of masculinity.

A Modern Age called for a Modern Body. Canning notes a number of questions surrounding 'a presumed but unexplicated "Modern" body, one that requires historicisation and demarcation from medieval or early Modern bodies' (1999: 504). The process of 'citifying' seems to be one such point of difference. The rapid growth of cities during the twentieth century literally 'left its mark' on the bodies of those who inhabited them. Alan Swingewood's concept of Modernity applies readily to both cities and bodies in this instance. He writes that it was/is 'the search for a new language and new forms to provide expressions to the "newness" of Modern society' (1998: 136).

This powerful sense of 'newness' is evident in Andrewes' suggestion that New Zealand men of the 1960s were engaged in a search for new expressions of masculinity (1995: 95). 'Newness' was also evident in the way Hamilton was (re)constructed. As in other places, Hamilton in the 1960s sought to modernise its cityscape with new public buildings in the Modernist style. They were/are

comprised of functional forms made from mass-produced components. This Modernist ethic also affected notions of embodiment; just as the city was a site of control and regulation, so too were/are Modern bodies. Writing of early twentieth century New Zealand, Caroline Daley observes that 'the Modern body had to be as streamlined and as efficient as a factory production line. It needed regulation, discipline and categorisation' (Daley 2003 5). Foucault's concept of 'biopower', described by Star as 'the massive discursive formation that literally ordered Modernity' (1999: 40), acts as the missing causal link between Hamilton's Modern Cityscape and the Modern bodies within it. Everyday bodies engaged in everyday activities and performances were (re)created or (re)imagined in a search for Modernity distilled in these two quotes. In subsequent chapters I will argue that this was profoundly gendered.

Postmodernism and the Modernist Cityscape

The post-modern perspective of this work reads the extensive (re)construction that occurred in post-war Hamilton for traces of Modernism. The design of many new buildings processes of town planning and design, even a belief in 'progress' are evidence of the influence that Modernism had on local experience. The presence of a number of Modernist buildings in Hamilton, and their prominent position in representations of the city, contributed to a distinctly post-war image of Modernity. However, the Modernist Cityscape takes into account the architectural symbolism of Modernist architecture and other cultural inscriptions that give a city meaning. In particular, this section is concerned with what it meant for a city to be Modern. Swingewood defines Modernism as being 'imbricated in Enlightenment reason, the belief in progress, empirical science and positivism' embracing a 'cult of innovation' (1998: 138). Part of the faith in

progress and innovation came from the youth of Hamilton and the sense of 'newness' brought by the construction of new buildings. This concept incorporates a number of themes, such as a desire for progress and a post-war Modernity along with cultural logics of 'civic-mindedness'. As a result, the material and discursive realities of Hamilton were unified to form a cohesive image of a rural town transforming into a Modern City. Urban landscapes tend to emphasise the vertical, and contrasts to the rolling horizontal lines of rural spaces. More than that, buildings erected during this period were the concrete expression of a post-war Modernity and a tangible edifice of the 'new start'. The cityscape, and the architectural and discursive languages that comprised it, signified civic identity.

The (re)creation of Hamilton may be critically assessed with the concept of the Modernist Cityscape. K.J. Donnelly argues that it is 'a product of civic and industrial planning and demonstrates a desire to centre and regulate the system of the human living and working environment' (2002: 245). The Modernist Cityscape is a critical tool comprised of a series of boundaries that were to be enforced in order to regulate and control space and time and gender. Architect Bill Toomath's 1955 speech to the NZ Institute of Architects can be read to similar effect. He remarked that Modernist architecture was intended 'to counteract the chaos of man's [sic] inventiveness' (1955: 166). All cities are dynamic compilations of buildings and networks. Office buildings, roads and electrical services are just some of the elements that comprise a cityscape. The control and regulation of these elements, through council bylaws, the abstract 'image' of a city, and, most publicly, the symbolism of Modernist architecture,

are all key themes in the concept of the Modernist Cityscape and feature in subsequent analysis.

Writing from this post-modern perspective it is often difficult to leave aside 'other' theoretical considerations. Post-colonial theory offers another perspective on Hamilton's 'citification'. Although this perspective has only been hinted at in the remainder of the thesis, it is worth mentioning as it is a rich area for future research. European forms of Modernist architecture were imported wholesale into the cityscape, and its cultural meanings went beyond gender identity. The presence of European and American Modernism in Hamilton is reminiscent of James Belich's argument that New Zealand was engaged in a period of 'recolonialism' during the early and mid-twentieth century (2001: 29). Writing about Modernity in the New Zealand context should, then, take into account the 'colonial desire to "tame difference"' (Matahaere 1999: 105). Elements of control and regulation within the Modernist Cityscape, as well as rigid categories of gender, hold obvious parallels to the means by which ethnically 'other' identities were marginalised or excluded.

A post-colonial reading has particular importance for Hamilton as it was a site of bitter conflict during the process of 'settlement' in the mid and late nineteenth century. For Hamilton and the wider Waikato, the view back to colonial settlement during Centennial celebrations in 1964 gave a retrospective view of progress and Modernity that sprang from the site of colonial warfare and the subsequent domination of both the landscape and tangata whenua. A similar post-colonial perspective has been useful in Glen Elder's work on South African Modernism and apartheid during the post-war period (1998).

Tracing Conclusions

This chapter has established a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between the (re)creation of cities and bodies as Modern and urban. This mutual 'citification' has occurred in specific places and at specific times. By using examples from post-war Hamilton, I tease out complexities within the operation of this process. Yet the identities it has produced, notably masculine and civic identities, remain elusive. Postmodern and performative theories critique the notion of fixed or 'core' gender identities without necessarily providing an alternative. Elusive masculinities, at once permeating and permeable, cannot necessarily be located and described as tangible entities. Historical records of Hamilton during the 1960s are almost invisible because the information they contain about masculinities is concealed. Furthermore, these visual and textual sources are only partial and fragmented traces of the past. The following chapter positions historical evidence as 'traces' rather than sources. The very concept of a 'source' implies some sort of privied knowledge of historical truth. Steve Pile's book (2005) uses the concept of phantasmagorias to suggest ways of addressing this problem. Notions of Modernity, gender and 'citification' discussed here are just a few of the intangible and fleeting forces that affect lived experience. Although they have tangible effects on cities and people, as discourse they are without form or substance.

The concept of a phantasmagoria lends a vocabulary to this thesis for talking about the ephemeral and the intangible – a metaphor especially useful for writing about historical contexts. Modernity itself is seen to be a dream-like state – a phantasmagoria – comprised of fleeting images of cities, bodies, technology and progress. It has no actual substance or concise meaning; Roland Marchand was able only to distil a morsel of its meaning in his analysis of

advertisements and their promotion of the American Dream (1985). In other words, gendered discourses of masculinities are dreamed into recognisable forms in advertisements and bodily performances within photographs. For a cityscape like Hamilton's, infused with rational and functional logic, the theoretical perspectives discussed in this chapter have the potential to strip away the ontological authority of Modernism and challenge its claim to universal forms of gender, flesh and material space.

<div style="text-align:center">�</div>

Chapter Three: Method
Traces and Methods of Cities and Flesh

This chapter puts theory into practice. Central to this methodological apparatus is a way of 'reading' a range of visual and written documents. These are sites (sights) in which elusive traces of masculinities are embedded in bodies and buildings. Particular methods discussed in this chapter are required to de-code them. While this is not a comprehensive 'how to' guide for analysis, it is an account of the intuitive and qualitative techniques used in contemporary scholarship that are deployed to read fragments of the past. In the sections that follow I discuss the performance of 'taking a reading' and the peculiarities of analysing visual and written sources. Firstly, I explore the concept of bodies and cities as method; the ways in which it is possible to access fleshy, performative and material evidence from post-war Hamilton. Secondly, I list the various sources I have used and how they were selected and interpreted. Following that, I discuss analytical precedents from the work of other researchers.

Fragmented Sources and Historical Traces

The usefulness of methodologies is relative to the sources at hand. At the outset of this project, I decided to use visual sources simply because they have been somewhat neglected in historical scholarship. Peter Burke ironically calls this the 'invisibility' of the visual (2001: 9-10), which emerges from the traditional privileging of written documents. The pragmatic concern of historical veracity has also marginalised the use of visual images. For example, without basic details of place, time and content, photographs in particular diminish in usefulness. In addition, a certain mistrust of the visual developed during the twentieth century as awareness of the ability to alter images spread (Larson &

Woods 2005: 7). The uncovering of fraudulent and faked photographs

undermined the authority of the 'objective' gaze of the camera. Looking beyond

these limitations, it is also important to take contextual factors of authorship,

intent of the image-maker and the audience into account.

In an effort to address the disparity between the visual and the written it

has been useful to call into question the definition of a historical 'source'.

Burke's alternative – the concept of 'traces' - better reflects the fragmented

nature of historical research and the piecemeal attempts that historians can make

at writing the past (2001: 13). Karen Till discusses Foucault's view of 'traces':

> … historical traces are produced through particular systems of
> meaning and cultural norms that have distinct genealogies. Because
> representations of landscape as material evidence obscure as well as
> articulate lived human experience, the archaeologist must pay attention
> to the waste, ruins, rubble, abandoned spaces – leftover matter – that
> have no place in dominant representational systems of meaning (2005:
> 95).

The concept of a trace better reflects the status of many of the photographs and

advertisements I have collected. Each is divorced from its historical context

simply because either that context has long since disappeared or it was not

recorded with the image. For Hamilton's post-war cityscape, this has certainly

been the case with extensive change to, or destruction of, many buildings from

that era. In addition, the anonymous photograph is common in collections.

It is a considerable challenge to make a cohesive historical narrative out of

fragmented evidence. With this in mind, it is important to develop and deploy

methodologies that can adequately address the nature of traces. On a more

pragmatic note, the appearance of images in this research has been directed by

my concern to show traces as they appear in the archive. Many images are

grainy and dark, sometimes difficult to read. Age and the technological limits of

(re)presentation affect the ability to take a reading. In particular, microfilm copies of advertisements and newspaper articles are of relatively poor quality, but appear in this research as they would in the archive as a nod to historical veracity and a visual reminder of the limitations that fragments of the past pose to research.

One way of addressing this apparent lack, or distortion, of detail is to link what is available with a wider body of language. The precedent set by those writing during or after the 'linguistic turn' provides one way of doing this. Ferdnand de Sassure argued that language, including the language of text and images, is constructed as a matrix of signs and signifiers. In turn, I have used a group of inter-related methods, including elements of deconstruction, discourse analysis and 'thick description' to reveal aspects of gendered power that are otherwise invisible. 'Thick description', in particular, is one method that has grown in importance since the 1980s in history (Green & Troup 1999: 177-8). Even though I draw on a range of sources for this research, I pay special attention to the visual. Walter Benjamin's assertion that history decays into images rather than clear and complete narratives reflects the view of the past presented in this thesis (1999: 476). Yet the ubiquity and prevalence of visual images in 1960s, and contemporary society, means that they should not be overlooked. To date, they have not been widely questioned or critiqued. Similarly, hegemonic masculinity also enjoys certain invisibility; a privileged position away from analysis and critique.

A critical agenda that makes visual images 'visible' fits well with the aims of this project to reveal examples of masculinities and gendered power in Hamilton's cityscape. Visual images are often the only remaining traces of

concrete materiality or fleshiness that existed in the past. Sources, or traces, I have collected are divided into categories of visual texts, such as advertisements, photographs and images of bodily language, and written texts such as the the written portions of advertisements, speeches, and promotional booklets or brochures. Both can be read (or perhaps interrogated) as language artefacts that are produced by a dynamic interaction of signs.

Selected Traces of the Past

In all, I have used twelve photographs from the Hamilton Public Library, eleven advertisements from the *Waikato Times*, and one advertisement or image each from the *New Zealand Herald,* the *New Zealander '61,* and *The Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects.* I have also drawn one advertisement and five images from promotional booklets. These booklets were produced for a variety of reasons. They are records of Hamilton's Centennial celebrations (Coumbe 1964), of construction within the city (Symes 1960), enticements to entrepreneurs (Hamilton Industrial Development Council 1967), and publications that showcase Hamilton as a Modern and progressive city (Bander 1964). There is also an internet-sourced image, a 'Jockey Performance' advertisement, used here to supplement and illustrate points of analysis. Casting my research wider still, I have analysed two maps of Hamilton: one from the Lands and Survey Department shown in appendices A.1 and A.2 and one from *Where Will You Build Your New Industry?* 1967 in Chapter Five. I have also utilised more ephemeral sources, such as extracts from the minute book of the Hamilton 100,000 Club, Town Plans and oral histories, observations of nine surviving structures from the period, embodied reactions to a grey period suit and selections from two comic-strips. These are in addition to 'traditional'

historical sources I have found, such as first hand accounts of Hamilton and other publications on urban planning, New Zealand culture and travel diaries. As a result, this thesis is laden with images and photographs that are the basis for my research. In many cases, the richness of each source could not be fully explored given limitations of time and space. However, it does provide a precedent for the use of methodologies in future research.

Selecting Visual Sources

As shown in Gillian Rose's work on photographic spaces of representation, information about gender can be drawn out of photographs by considering the processes of production and resulting 'genres' that the photographs may fit into (1997). My sampling method was systematic yet intuitive. The fragmented nature of historical traces encouraged me to select key examples from a wide range of sources. The Hamilton Public Library photograph collection is organised spatially, according to specific sites or areas within Hamilton. I relied on sections dedicated to bridges, public buildings, central streets and public events such as parades and the Centennial celebrations. A wide range of detail was available in the many photographs I found and I selected images that had the most detailed views of male bodies in space. Evidence of clothing, building design, bodily posture, streetscape design and other details of everyday life were readily available from this rich source. For the section on the Hamilton City Council Works Department, I limited my choices to those images made by council employees. These selection criteria guaranteed that I could find 'data' for both bodies and buildings in the cityscape.

For advertisements and newspaper articles I went to the collection of the *Waikato Times* stored on microfilm at the Hamilton Public Library. Initial

searches focussed on specific events, such as the declaration of Hamilton's city status in 1945 and the Centennial in 1964. These contained a large body of information about these events, with images and commentary that proved very useful. As this project focussed on the entire decade of the 1960s, I drew examples from a limited selection of issues. Rather than view whole years, or even entire weeks, I chose issues of the *Times* around Father's Day and Christmas of each year – a time when male-orientated consumer products were marketed with greatest intensity. A number of advertisements were taken from issues I viewed for information on events such as bridge and building opening ceremonies. After reviewing the collection I had made by this method, I re-visited the microfilm copies to fill gaps in the record, to ensure that I had a representative sample of images and advertisements to make conclusions about the entire decade. This technique revealed a number of key themes that highlight advertising practice, clothing, fashion, and the format of the *Waikato Times* itself, all of which belong to a separate research project. This sampling method led to a 'snowball' scheme of analysis. Relying on the chance of systematic sampling, I discovered that a regular column on men's fashion, *En Vogue*, was written by Derryn Hinch in the *Waikato Times*. This led to searching out further editions that contained this weekly column which, in turn, proved invaluable to my research. One issue of the *Waikato Times* that I was fortunate to use in its original form was the Centennial Edition. Published in August 1964, it contained many advertisements and lengthy commentary on Hamilton at that particular moment in time. Even at over two hundred full-size pages, I was able to examine this document in detail and draw from it a wealth of useful information and high-quality images.

For promotional brochures and other published materials from the 1960s I relied on the electronic catalogues of the Hamilton Public Library and the University of Waikato Library. I used a variety of key words to search for items of interest, and eventually narrowed my search to a number of key works, listed above. From there, references to other publications within those I had found added further 'snowball' momentum to my research progress.

The result of my research was a compendium of images and text that, although fragmentary, can be used to construct a vignette of Hamilton and gendered identities at various times during the 1960s. The use of official photographic records, newspaper articles and promotional brochures presents a civic and distinctly 'public' view of Hamilton and life within the city. I saw this as an opportunity to investigate the public rhetoric of text and image that was employed to (re)create Hamilton as Modern. Further reflection on my methodology reveals a synergy between the 'public-ness' of the sources I have used, and the traditionally public role of masculinity. Previous research has focussed on men in domestic spaces – sites most often associated with femininity. The in-depth analysis common in such research is useful, and is applied in this thesis to public, typically masculine spaces and discourse. The other benefit of focussing on publicly available information is that it was likely to have been in widespread use, or at least drawn from a common public imagination. For example, articles in the *Waikato Times* were written with the audience's ideals and prejudices in mind. Through careful reading, newspapers can be revealed as cultural artefacts of shared civic and gendered identities.

Photographic conventions and the photographer's agenda have a significant bearing on the way information in a photograph is framed. These

differences must be taken into account at a methodological level. Former Hamilton City Council Works Department photographs that record the (re)construction of Hamilton's urban landscape form a significant portion of the Public Library's archive. These photographs were taken to document spaces and also to show progress made by the Department and other agencies. As a result, many of the spaces shown are empty - human presences are peculiarly absent. In some instances they also capture what Burke would call 'unofficial' knowledges (2001: 185) or the presence of people and their gendered performances. This technique of photography was intended to capture official knowledge of spaces. The sizes, shapes and technical details of structures built in the Modernist style are present, and these photographs were to assist in planning a new cityscape while recording these achievements for posterity. Even if these photographs were intended as what Rose calls 'privileged images of reality' (1997: 277), they are still rich cultural texts for making assumptions about gender. Because the people shown in them were not disciplined by the knowledge of the photographer's presence – not required to pose – candid information about everyday embodied performance has been captured.

Many of the photographs I have selected for analysis have come from *Waikato Times* negatives, chosen for their depiction of detail described above. To best understand their role as examples of reportage I have referenced them to their corresponding news stories. For example, photographs of the opening night of the Founders Theatre were taken to emphasise the newness and modernity of the structure and its anticipated (aesthetic and functional) importance for generations to come. Articles and photographs were composed to appeal to an

audience that valued such articulations of progress, while they also reflected the political and social position of a community newspaper.

The spontaneous potential of a photograph, the rapid and sometimes candid capture of an image and its cultural meaning, is a point of difference between images from the *Waikato Times* and those made by the Works Department. They contrast even more with the considered and methodical construction of an image for an advertisement. Bronwyn Dalley writes that

> … some of the distinctions between informal and posed images may not necessarily be tidy. Informal images or snapshots where people are caught unprepared seem to offer a closer connection to the past than the carefully arranged composition. There is an element of realism here: quick snaps taken on the spur of the moment or at just the right time, capturing events as they happen, rather than ones that have been prepared (2006: 185).

Some of the people in the photographs I have collected seem aware that they are being recorded (and some pose for the camera). However, advertising copy goes through a far more rigorous process of selection and editing before it is published. As a result, advertisements contain symbolic information of a different kind to photographs and may reveal more about the cultural formations behind their production.

A considerable body of work exists on the analysis of advertisements. The power that comes from their ubiquity and persuasive force make them ideal subjects for analysis. Marchand argues, and Andrewes agrees, that they present idealised views of gender (Marchand 1985; Andrewes 1999). Similarly, Vilem Flusser argues that visual images, and photographs in particular, 'program society' to act in particular ways by presenting idealised examples of behaviours that people are compelled to imitate (2000: 41). The gulf between the reality of

lived experience and the cultural currency of imaginary lifestyles has been a methodological problem in this research.

Taking a Reading: A Poststructuralist Approach

The concept of a methodology implies a set procedure, a way of doing things that is consistent and effective. Broadly speaking, I have worked to access taken-for-granted details in images and photographs by 'reading sources obliquely'; the visual equivalent of 'reading against the grain'. This technique is often used by historians who confront silences and absences in the historical record (Dalley 2006: 172). Rose's *Visual Methodologies* (2001) has been instrumental to my methodological approach and provides a number of precedents from which to begin. Rose positions the two-part sign as the 'basic unit of language' (2001: 74). The first part is the signified, the concept or object being described. The second part is the signifier; the sound or image attached to a signified (2001: 74). The crucial point, Rose argues, is that there is no necessary relationship between signifier and signified (2001: 74). As a result, this 'gap' is an ideal site for analysis.

The methods I have used to analyse visual material follow five rough steps. The first step is to make a detailed recording of the appearance of images. Further steps are adapted from a 'checklist' proposed by Gillian Dyer which was originally designed to analyse advertisements (1982). She begins by examining representations of bodies, to ask questions about the age, gender, and 'race', size of bodies in images and what these might mean. Secondly, Dyer looks at representations of manner, to find meaning in a person's expression, eye contact and pose. Thirdly, representations of activity are read to consider touch, body

movement and 'positional communication'. Lastly, props and settings are noted for their cultural and aesthetic significance.

The second phase of analysis involves 'reading' the image and the descriptions made of it. Roland Barthes calls this the studium 'which is a culturally informed reading of the image' that takes into account historical context (Rose 2001: 83). With the details of the image, and an idea of its historical context, 'reading' an image requires questioning what particular symbols mean in a particular context. This is often repeated, especially in relation to the analysis of other images. If similar readings come from different images, their varied provenances can indicate an entrenched or pervasive way of thinking or acting. These are similar to what Marchand calls 'visual clichés' (1985: 202). Like clichés in text or speech, their visual counterparts can be read as signifiers of a common understanding. For example, body language present in an advertisement may be typically masculine. An open, confident and powerful stance, I argue later, was considered 'manly'. The use of similar clichés, gendered or otherwise, can be noted and used as a starting point for discourse analysis. The appearance of visual clichés in advertisements often overstated lived experience to present an ideal lifestyle. By cross-referencing to comparable photographs I was able to judge whether advertised images were a reflection of lived realities or aspired to an ideal. However, images of both lived experience and idealised lifestyles were useful to (re)construct a view of the world that takes into account both the imagined and the 'real'.

Reading the Cityscape

Modernist architecture presents a challenge to this method of reading. Although buildings themselves often appear as images – plans, photographs and elevations

– their reality as a space is much harder to capture, especially when they have been demolished. As a result, buildings most often appear as images. Yet their functional qualities must also be evaluated. Gruffudd suggests a number of principles for reading the architecture of the built environment. Firstly, he argues that the immediacy of built environment is important; the size, shape, location, orientation, and function of a building. He encourages researchers to think of the elements of a building (2003: 239). Secondly, an historical context for the building needs to be established such as political or economic conditions or notions of 'civic pride'. The meaning behind the style must also be considered. This is especially important in the case of Modernist design where applied decoration, and the historical symbolism that it entailed, was rejected. Lastly, layers of meaning should be considered, such as the flows of materials and money, ideas and creativity that resulted in the construction of a building and the cityscape at large (Gruffudd 2003: 240-41).

Throughout this thesis I refer to studies of dominant or 'unitary' masculinity presented in 'national' historical surveys, notably Phillips' *A Man's Country?* (1996). From this, I offer ways of finding multiple assertions of masculinities, as suggested by Andrewes in his thesis and later work (1995; 1999). Rather than present a range of masculinities as Andrewes has, I present a range of Images of Man that existed within the dominant image of the Businessman. The qualitative nature of methods I have used to support this argument are not consistent in a scientific sense. Rather, it involves a way of reading images and text and developing an 'eye' for analysis. These methodologies are fluid and adaptive in order to reveal examples of gendered power and performance that are often furtive and invisible. Evidence of ruptures

or variations within dominant concepts of masculinity may be found within photographs. The instantaneous and sometimes candid capture and representation of everyday life produce frozen performances of gender. Bodies perform their identities in space, traces of which may be found in photographs, as examples of official (posed) knowledges about gender, or as unofficial or 'candid' knowledges.

Reading Advertisements and Bodies of Text

Advertisements are useful as they are sites of high visibility for male bodies and performances. In general, 'advertisements are useful in a gender analysis since they depict an idealised version of the gendered self and the way cultural expectations of gender operate' (Andrewes 1999: 196). Sue Tait writes that '[f]eminist semiotics [have] read representations of gender difference in visual culture as "men act, women appear"' (1999: 189). She interprets representations posture, movement, powerful hand gestures or grips, and the role of the phallus in her work to locate gendered bodily performances in advertising. Further, 'gender difference continues to rely upon a distinction between the "powerful" (men) and the "available" (women)' (1999: 191). The active male and the passive female are an example of the way that identity is constructed for the self in relation to an inferior 'other'.

The written elements of advertisements are also important to make an informed reading. Textualised bodies emerge from this mode of analysis. Bodies are created, encoded and defined by the action of (visual, written and spoken) language. Recent scholarship has posited the body as an important theoretical and methodological symbol or concern, as discussed in the previous section. Canning has proposed a timely method for using the body when it had otherwise

been used as a mere 'fashionable surrogate' for sexuality or gender (1999: 499).

She is also careful to note these limitations that are distilled in Donna Haraway's

work: the potential for work about the body to recall themes of biological

determinism (1999: 501).

Heeding Canning's warning, other academics have instead focussed on

either discursive bodies or (disem)bodies (1999: 501, 502). The body, she

argues, is an inscriptive surface which acts as a social and cultural signifier

(1999: 500). She is interested in

> charting the connections and convergences of the material and the
> discursive that makes bodies such difficult objects of historical
> analysis and such intriguing sites of memory, agency and
> subjectivity (1999: 510).

Locating 'the body' is not her only difficulty. Canning also writes of the

challenge in locating a peculiarly 'modern body' as opposed to a medieval, pre-

modern, early modern and modern body (1999: 504). Similarly, Raphael Samuel

notes his onetime astonishment that in photographs of nineteenth century people

'they' looked just like 'us' (1994: 315). That is, these people are obviously

human, yet it calls into question how bodies are (re)coded or inscribed as

belonging to a specific time and space. In 1960s Hamilton, when the cityscape

was being re-negotiated with the construction of Modernist edifices, bodies and

identities were (re)coded to remain 'in place'. Andrewes' analysis of

advertisements suggests that the successful negotiation of these factors equated

with social, sexual and business success (1999: 197). Through the methods

discussed in this chapter I have endeavoured to describe Modern, masculine

bodies that were citified by, and specific to, Hamilton. Their 'belonging' relied

on specific gendered performances and (re)presentations.

This thesis argues that this sense of being 'in place', or perhaps 'in time', relied on the degree to which a person or place was perceived as modern. Modernity was not written onto inert bodies. Rather, it was an active negotiation located the fleshy sites of bodies and the material bulk of buildings. It is, in turn, represented across time as examples of both visual and written languages. The benefits of modernity, access to consumer goods and modern civic facilities, depended upon a bodily transformation to appear in place in Modern Hamilton.

Flesh from the Future

By investing concepts of 'fleshiness' into often disembodied research about the past, it is possible to understand the process of (re)creating Hamilton's cityscape and bodies as Modern. To gain a contemporary perspective on this process, and to garner information that was not available in sources, I literally used my body (and a vintage suit) as method (See appendices A.3 and A.4). The suit is light grey and made of a wool and synthetic blend with a grey satin lining. It has obviously been well stored and cared for as it shows little sign of wear or ageing. Throughout the process of dressing, and a day of wearing the suit, I noted my responses to its structure and symbolism. Along with an appropriate shirt and tie, it was also worn at a number of University events, where similar impressions were noted.[1] As a form of participant observation, this method sought to access the fleshiest of details.

Images of men in suits are complemented by this analysis. Fiona McKergow advocates the use of historical clothing to draw conclusions about

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[1] I was, however, unable to locate any examples of woollen underwear or shoes or men's shirts from the era. It seems that items that were designed to be worn closest to the skin are the hardest to find – whether they were worn-out, thrown-out or not suitable to be sold in second-hand stores.

past experience (1999). Through their structure, suits encourage an upright posture, with shoulders back and chest thrust forward. As I discuss in Chapter Five, tailoring and padding further emphasises this stance. This method also allowed me to consider aspects of bodily comfort and control. It is hot and clammy during summer, while the open lapels expose the wearer to the cold in winter. Intimate access to this cultural artefact allowed me to note details that were not apparent in other sources I interpreted.

This method also gave a new perspective on the survivability, and availability, of historical traces. Particular forms of clothing are often hard to find once they fall out of fashion. Vintage clothing is even more scarce when considerations of fit and quality are taken into account. The current trend in fashion that favours vintage clothing compounds this. Much like photographs and written sources, clothing degrades over time, or is simply discarded when it is out of date or no longer needed. The 'everyday' quality of clothing is of most value to researchers, but, for the same reason, is rarely kept by owners. As a result, while the suit itself is representative of clothing from that period, based on photographic evidence, it was not sampled from a particularly wide pool of 'sources'.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a number of ways in which visual and textual fragments may be analysed in order to write about the past. With these methodologies in mind, photographs, advertisements and other images, along with text from promotional brochures and elsewhere can be analysed with some confidence. They yield important information about the (re)creation of Hamilton's cityscape, the bodies within it and masculine themes in common

between the two. I have drawn on a range of precedents from present scholarship and elaborated on ways in which these might be used in this particular research context. With reference to the previous chapter on theory, and this chapter on the ways in which it might be put into practice, the one that follows focuses on Hamilton's (re)construction during the post-war period.

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Chapter Four:

'Hamilton's First Step into the Future': Post-War Expansion and a Gendered Modernity, 1945-1967

Figure 4.1: Garden Place, Hamilton 1967. The BNZ building is at centre right of the photograph with the General Post Office at right. Insurance Company office buildings surround the open area, while the city's suburban sprawl is shown in the background.

> Hamilton represents a great monument to the foresight and faith of the pioneers of the last century, who could hardly have visualised that their small settlement would ever flourish into an important inland city. Wide streets, a thriving business area, and a well-planned residential area, adequate municipal amenities and other equipment of civic life tell the story of the advancement of the last 80 years (*Waikato Times* 12 December 1945: 4).

Although there is a relatively small amount of scholarship about Hamilton at any historical moment, the city provides a useful case-study for understanding processes of post-war urbanisation in New Zealand. Hamilton was proclaimed a city in December 1945 – the first in New Zealand following the Second World War. Over the next few decades the city experienced unprecedented growth. At the height of this expansion Hamiltonians celebrated their Centennial in August 1964. During these years of civic reflection and reverie Hamilton was (re)constructed as a Modern City in ways obvious to both locals and outsiders alike. Robin Winks, a visiting American academic, remarked that 'Hamilton is the most modern city in New Zealand in its appearance' (1954: 23). Public rhetoric and recollections from the period, indicated by the quote from the *Waikato Times* at the beginning of this chapter, hint at the degree to which Hamilton became modern through changes to the urban landscape and representations of it. New office buildings and other public structures were designed in the Modernist style and were erected at an unprecedented rate. Roads were paved – many for the first time. As a result, Hamilton was talked about differently. Peter Gibbons notes that, by the 1960s, '[t]he city was beginning to look like a city' (Gibbons 1977: 246) (See Figure 4.1).

In this chapter I chart the (re)construction of central Hamilton. It focuses on the buildings and structures that comprised the cityscape as examples of how the city was developed with Modernity in mind. As Spain argues, '[t]he spatial structure of buildings embodies knowledge of social relations' (1992: 7). Firstly, I outline the post-war context of Hamilton's expansion. Secondly, I discuss the potent logic of progress of the time and the associated 'civic-mindedness' of the city's leading citizens. Thirdly, I introduce Modernism – an

architectural style and cultural logic – as a civic language. The next section

engages with what I have called the photographic gaze of the Hamilton City

Council Works Department. Photography was used to represent the city in

particular ways, and with reference to other collections I have found I discuss

the privileged perspective afforded to the council through civic responsibility.

Also in this section I discuss the role of mapping, and how it complemented this

perspective. The fifth section analyses the regulation of temporal boundaries in

architecture and during the Centennial. Finally, I offer a reading of Hamilton as

a gendered cityscape, which acts as a primer for the following chapter on

embodied gender.

Throughout this chapter I position Hamilton as a city under

(re)construction following the Second World War.[1] While this might seem

ironic, given that the city sustained no war damage, the term refers to the way in

which Hamilton came to be viewed as a modern city rather than a rural town.

The extensive scale of construction, and the ways in which Hamilton was

represented in various media, seem comparable to processes of re-building in

war-ravaged cities overseas. The destructive forces of war can be paralleled to

those of modernity; in order for a city to be modernised it must first be

deconstructed. Yet during this process a number of important concepts held

together the material and discourse of Hamilton. In particular, it was the rhetoric

of youth, 'newness' and growth that bound together the disparate activity of

groups and individuals into the cohesive notion of progress.

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[1] The term '(re)construction' refers in the first instance to the re-building programme initiated by
cities affected by war damage. A significant literature exists that analyses this process. For
Hamilton, however, this term refers to the construction of new buildings in the spirit of the
European 'new start'. The process in Hamilton can also be read as a *re*construction. The existing
cityscape was inscribed with the architectural symbolism of newness and urbanity that modified
older images of a rural town. (Re)construction refers to this simultaneous process of material
construction and cultural inscription.

Prelude to Progress

Harold Wadman, writing for the *New Zealand Arts Year Book* in 1948, proclaimed that: '[H]ere on the outward edge of the world we have an exciting opportunity to begin again [after the war] … to make a satisfying environment for twentieth century man [sic]' (1948: 8). A local architect was more measured in his observations when he noted that 'the immediate future of architecture in Hamilton appears to be a continuation of the tremendous building expansion evident throughout the world today' (Mercer 1964: 15). Nonetheless, Wadman's sentiment reflects the rhetoric of progress that fuelled cultural imaginations of what a modern Hamilton would be/look like. The concept of modernity is useful to understanding this change. It is deployed by the editors and contributors of *Sites of Gender* who write that in New Zealand, industrialisation and urbanisation worked together as the engines of modernity (Brookes *et al* 2003: 3). In the search for a post-war modernity, the theme of urbanisation is particularly important to an analysis of Hamilton.

Linked to wider processes of modernisation and expansion overseas, Hamilton was gradually re-developed throughout the post-war period. In many ways it was the continuation of a process that began before the Second World War. The General Post Office (GPO), in 1940, was shifted north along Victoria Street from the much older building (built in 1905) to its new site opposite Garden Place (See Figure 4.1). Garden Place became the core of commerce and civic life with the construction of new city council buildings at its west end in 1960. It is important to note that this control and regulation was secular; the symbolic meaning of Christchurch's Cathedral Square was (consciously or unconsciously) avoided in Hamilton. The Modernist style, with its outright

rejection of architectural decoration, contrasts with the highly ornate design of many churches.

Office-buildings were the most potent signifiers of an urban modernity and were the result of central government and private investment. The appearance of multi-level buildings in the city was widespread. Public cultural facilities and infrastructure were also developed during this period. In this section I discuss three examples of what I suggest are 'public monuments to modernity' that cover the range of institutional, cultural and infrastructural developments: the Cobham Bridge (1963 – Figure 4.2), Founder's Theatre (1962 – Figures 4.5 and 4.6) and the Hamilton City Council Buildings (1960 – Figures 4.7 and 4.8). I also refer to other examples throughout this and later chapters, including the BNZ building (1966 – Figure 5.1) and the Claudelands road and rail bridges (1968, 1882).[2] The frequent appearance of Garden Place and its surrounding buildings in advertising and promotional material highlights its importance as a signifier of Hamilton's new urban identity. Marguerite Hill argues that Garden Place serves as an epicentre for the processes that transformed Hamilton from a 'country town' into a 'modern metropolis' (2002). A number of insurance companies erected multi-storey buildings around the edges of Garden Place throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. The government, too, saw fit to develop offices for its Departments located in Hamilton, notably the State Advances Corporation (1963) which was, for a time, the tallest building in the city at six storeys high.

The completion of these and other buildings 'impart[ed] by sheer size that city look which for so long [had] been lacking' (Mrkusic 1964: 15). Architect

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[2] The Claudelands railway bridge, originally constructed in 1882, was converted to carry road traffic in the late 1960s after the railway line was lowered to pass underneath Hamilton streets.

Aubrey de Lisle recalls how he argued for the City Council to amend its bylaw restricting the height of buildings in the central city when designing the BNZ building (de Lisle 1999: OH342). These concrete assertions of modernity seem self-conscious in retrospect. They were built with future progress, and an age of maturity, in mind.

Figure 4.2 Cobham Bridge shortly after completion. It serves as a crossing for State Highway 1 which runs through the city. See Appendix A.1 for location.

Hamiltonians were aware of their city's youth, even if other cities in New Zealand were relatively young. Oliver Duff, author of the popular *New Zealand Now* series, published his recollections of the city. He wrote:

> Hamilton is as young as a youth can be and still sit at table with grown-ups. It will someday be mellow and beautiful, as every town must be that lies long enough on the high banks of a clear river. But it is not mellow yet. It is new – clean, vigorous, bustling, alert, but almost indecently young … the South Islander suddenly entering Hamilton wonders where all those shops came from, who built them, who visits them, and what right the Waikato has to be so flagrantly prosperous. … As long as its cows calve and its bulls gender money will flow into its pocket and petrol fumes rise like incense from its main street (1956: 56-7).

The compound catalyst of a post-war 'new start' and the optimism of civic youth helped to assert an urban identity as opposed to the long-established 'cow town' image. Primary industry was to play a pivotal role in the economy for many years to come, a fact that was often recognised in advertising and editorials. Yet as time went by, a growing urban image – signified by buildings in the Modernist style – became the justification for pulling up a chair with the 'grown-up' cities.

Figure 4.3 Hamilton City Council recruitment advertisement. Notions of the future and progress were invoked here and elsewhere with the use of futuristic cityscapes as shown in this advertisement.

The transition from rural to urban identity equated with maturity. Behind this image a burgeoning economy produced extensive urban and suburban growth.

'The Fastest Growing City in New Zealand'

A Hamilton City Council advertisement in 1964 (see Figure 4.3) claimed that Hamilton was 'the fastest growing city in New Zealand' (*Waikato Times*, 29 October 1965: 2). Hamilton during this period reflects Belich's national view of 'long slow [economic] booms' (2001). Rates of growth were high and sustained. As a result there was a certain amount of optimism in the future. Architect R.M. Mercer commented that a 'relatively stable international economic balance …

[made] possible a world-wide building programme [that was] striving to keep pace with very rapid increases in population' (1964: 15). This is reflected in the total value of building permits issued by the Hamilton City Council in 1954, which increased by around 250 per cent on the previous year (Gibbons 1977: 246). The urban population of Hamilton grew at an incredible rate following the Second World War. Growth of 23 per cent a year was sustained for the 15 years up to 1966. Accordingly, the population increased from 50,000 in 1961 to 63,000 just five years later (Gibbons 1977: 247, 249).

Hamilton's tremendous growth during this period was part of an international trend of prosperity, yet its central location and transport infrastructures added to its appeal as a site of urban investment. The result was an influx of government-funded architecture and privately funded buildings that emulated the government benchmark that favoured Modernist design. In the first half of the 1960s a number of government Departments and buildings were located in Hamilton. The Telephone Exchange, Power Board and Government Life all erected buildings of at least four storeys in height. Prior to this, the first buildings in the city to rise above two stories in height relied on insurance company investment. Four insurance companies erected five story office-buildings around the edges of Garden Place (see Figure 4.1) in the mid-to-late 1950s (Gibbons 1977: 234). Architect S.V. Mrkusic also commented that '[i]nsurance companies, always in the forefront to invest in sound real estate, set the pattern for the future development of Garden Place with multi-storied buildings'(1964: 15). As functional structures they served to increase office-space in the centre of Hamilton as demand rose. As cultural signifiers, however, they represent(ed) a growing urban identity. They also represented a

diversifying economy. Andrewes (1999) notes that the post-war period was characterised by the expansion of bureaucracy and the corresponding growth of a white-collar urbanity. The growth of government services and private enterprise, both nationally and locally, prompted the construction of office buildings that significantly altered cityscapes.

The influence of central government on the (re)construction of Hamilton did not stop there. Assistance in the form of funding and engineering experience made possible the lowering of the railway line in the centre of town and the construction of Cobham Drive and Bridge. Without input from the government, which in itself relied on (inter)national prosperity, further development would have been impeded and the cityscape would have retained its squat and sprawling character. In addition, other assertions of civic identity were crucial to (re)constructing Hamilton as modern.

Progress and 'civic-mindedness'

The construction of buildings that symbolised a strong belief in progress and civic duty relied on the considerable contribution of a number of groups and individuals. Concern for the future of Hamilton was articulated in a number of ways. Mrkusic argued that the transformation of Hamilton 'from its present adolescent state to one of maturity is of vital concern to all civic minded persons' (1964: 15). de Lisle considers Hamilton fortunate for:

> … the civic feelings of business and professional people at the time [who] gave their time in service to the city as mayors and councillors and we had a good run of those because councils weren't paid, so if the people were there they were definitely there for the good of the city (de Lisle 1999: OH342).

Development of Hamilton in the 1960s, then, relied not only on the capital of government and private enterprise, but also on those interested in the 'good of

the city'. One such organisation, the Advance Hamilton Group, was set up in the mid-1940s and was led by Hilda Ross and R.A.M. Braithwaite (who was later to be rewarded with the Mayoralty for his efforts). At about the same time, J.R. Baird (who was a long-serving councillor) was asked to design a plan for the general redevelopment of the city. This was promptly shelved due to political conflict. However, elements of it were later adopted by successive councils (Gibbons 1977: 233). Public interest in the future of Hamilton was cemented with the establishment of a town planning society soon after (Gibbons 1977: 233). Hamilton's first Town Planning Officer was appointed in 1948 (Gibbons 1977: 234) and later, the Town and Country Planning Act (1953) positioned responsibility for the regulation of development with the Hamilton City Council.

By the 1960s the appearance and function of the city relied on a public and democratic institution. Gibbons contends that this served to move planning beyond 'intuition about the human landscape' toward 'the promulgation of a rational-legal framework for debate, design and change' (1977: 295). Far from being a process removed from the public, there existed, in public rhetoric at least, a strong cultural logic of progress and a very clear idea of what a desirable future for Hamilton would be. Moreover, this image relied on the work of men who held dominance in public space and discourse. Privately owned companies took this precedent and local businessmen appeared in advertisements and newspaper articles as civic-minded citizens. Brian Perry, owner of a prominent local construction company, saw fit to run a full-page in the Centennial edition of the *Waikato Times* (Figure 4.4). In this he not only reviewed the past of his company and the city, but also to look into the future (24 August 1964: 208). In

this advertisement a series of photographs shows Perry Ltd machinery and construction workers at work on a number of public projects over time: literally 'doing [their] part in the building of Hamilton'. The act of doing one's part – both in the sense of physical construction as well as in the rhetoric of civic responsibility – aligned with the ideals of modernity. It is clear from both of these advertisements that progress in Hamilton owed much to the exercise of (masculine) power. Civic duty and public endeavour aligned with that which is typically masculine.

As is clear from the prominence of construction machinery in the Brian Perry Ltd advertisement, modernisation owed itself to the availability and manipulation of then-new technology. The construction of buildings and infrastructure required the use of modern technology. Newness was also implicated with physical power. According to a Black and Decker advertisement (see appendices Figure A.5) '[p]rogress today needs powerful tools' (*Waikato Times* 24 August 1964: 19). Further, Andrewes writes that 'the control of technology, and the ease at which one controlled it, were most firmly tied into the discourse of modernity' (1999: 203). This process operated on a

Preliminary works at the Rukuhia Airport, one of Hamilton's projects in centennial year, was entrusted to Brian Perry Ltd. and pictured with one of the machines used is Mr W. Dommerhalt, engineer's assistant, Mr W. F. Sayers, the Airport Engineer, and Mr T. J. Palmer, Hamilton City Engineer.

Figure 4.4 Detail of Brian Perry Ltd advertisement. The civic-mindedness of this company was further emphasised by depicting Civic Men such as these.

range of scales, from individual to local and national. New Zealand-wide:

> [e]lectricity consumption rose as more users were connected, and
> telephones became increasingly common. Many formerly gravel
> roads were sealed, considerable expense was laid out for the
> construction of highways, and the country's first motorways,
> where men could take their symbols and masculine achievement
> for a spin, were constructed (Andrewes 1999: 192).

Andrewes' focus on the public and visible signs of modernisation establishes a
way of thinking about Modernity. It is accessible through common/public
expectations and imaginaries of what it meant to live in the modern 1960s. He
also hints at the gendered nature of such development with his image of
automobiles, motorways and men. Modernity is positioned as an achievement of
the co-ordination of capital, planning and design and an outward signifier of
prosperity.

However, civic groups were not only interested in economic expansion.
At a time of rapid growth, civic leaders were also interested in local culture. The
editor of the *Waikato Times* put it this way:

> …the merit of a community does not consist only in numbers or in
> material progress. Hamilton would have failed its mission if it had
> merely given living room to 57,000 people and established the
> foundation needs for many more. So today the people are asking
> themselves what they have done, as a community, to develop
> Hamilton as a capital for the Waikato from cultural, aesthetic and
> economic points of view (24 August 1964: 4).

Figure 4.5 Founders Theatre, 1962.

One organisation that asked such 'questions' was the Founders of Hamilton Association. It successfully lobbied and fundraised for the construction of the Founders Memorial Theatre (Figures 4.5 and 4.6), which was completed in 1962. By drawing on notions of civic pride and a growing sense of urban identity, Hamilton gained a memorial landscape dedicated to its pioneering ancestors generally and Dame Hilda Ross in particular. Moreover, it was designed in the Modernist style, which emphasised its function as both a town hall and performance space. A strong sense of purpose is echoed in the well-attended opening ceremonies, such as the one for Founders Theatre (Figure 4.6) held during this period. Civic leaders spoke of duty and responsibility in front of the thousands of Hamiltonians who turned out for openings and ceremonies. As a result, they are likely to have internalised a number of expectations of what it was to be a citizen of a modern city.

Figure 4.6 Opening ceremony at Founders Theatre, 17 November 1962. Dignitaries include Mayor Rogers at centre.

Perhaps the most important cultural milestone during this period was the celebration of Hamilton's Centennial in 1964. It is also the event that indicates the extent to which the citizens of Hamilton were 'civic minded'. The

achievement of one hundred years of settlement signified maturity. In particular, it signalled '100 years of progress' (*Waikato Times* 24 August 1964: 4). Hamilton remained a relatively youthful city, yet it capitalised on the kudos that 'maturity' brought. The official publication of the Centennial, *Hamilton Hundred,* noted that '… in spite of venerable age, [Hamilton] was still a comparative youngster, bursting with adolescent health and vitality' (Coumbe 1964: 5). Leading up to, and during this event, many civic minded people were involved with a number of local organisations. The celebrations themselves included public events such as parades, beauty contests and historical re-enactments at the Centennial, promotional publications and the lobbying of, or co-operation with, council and other planning committees. Organisation of many of the main events and celebrations was co-ordinated by members working with the city council, and so determined the formal tone of the celebrations.

The Hamilton 100,000 Club was also involved in the planning of Centennial celebrations, in conjunction with the local historical society (Minutes Book 10 February 1964). Minutes of the club show a number of events including a 'Teenorama' dance party and a 'Miss Hamilton' beauty contest. This organisation was especially important to the discursive reconstruction of Hamilton because of the club's role in marketing the city to tourists and investors. The club employed a public relations officer throughout the 1960s, which was later taken over by the city council with the establishment of the council's first public relations office. The club itself was highly active, with the publication of 'Who's Who' and 'What's On' guides, a booklet that records the Centennial, various columns in the *Waikato Times* and involvement with the

Industrial Development Committee. Minutes of the Club's meetings also record co-operation with the National Film Unit in 1968 to plan a promotional film on Hamilton and the Waikato, although it is not known if this film was made (Minutes Book 23 July 1968).[3] The performances of civic duty and concern were played out in tandem with the (re)creation of urban space. The still-new cityscape, and the architectural languages that comprised it, had a significant role to play in supporting and promoting this particular cultural logic of progress.

Modernism as a Gendered Civic and Architectural Language

Many of the new buildings, both public and private, that were erected during this period adhered to the Modernist style. The application of the Modernist edict 'form follows function' allowed the style to be applied to any number of design problems. As a design solution for new problems of Modern Life the style embodies a collective concept of what a state of modernity should be like. The role of architectural language should not be underestimated. Pyrs Gruffudd writes that '[t]he restrained and even clinical simplicity of modern architecture … tends to symbolise a different form of rationality – a scientific and democratic faith in universal "progress"' (2003: 240).

Modernism entailed a number of qualities that were instrumental to (re)creating the cityscape. It was relatively cheap to design and build in this style given that it relied on mass produced components and was relatively efficient. Most importantly, it produced buildings that looked like they

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[3] Neither the Hamilton City Council Film Archive nor the New Zealand Film Archive contain this film. Figure 4.6 shows a videographer at extreme left and indicates the prospect of further research using film resources if they can be located and accessed.

belonged in a far larger city. Typically Modernist buildings were/are rendered in piers of reinforced concrete spanned by repetitive panels of glass. Especially in the city centre they appeared as multi-storey office buildings. The modernist design ethic encouraged this. Le Corbusier's[4] model of a multi-storey building of reinforced concrete floors supported by concrete pillars was strictly followed. Another local architect, Arthur Hill, agrees with Le Corbusier's definition of 'good architecture' – a designation that held considerable influence over twentieth-century design. 'Good architecture is a combination of firmness, commodity, and delight, and I would add a fourth one to that … and that is to say – modesty …' (Hill 1999: OH356). In the following chapter I explain how many of these qualities were also present in assertions of masculine identity.

de Lisle recalls the influence of overseas magazines and books, especially from the United States and Britain, on the designs and buildings that took shape in Hamilton. As a partner in a firm that de Lisle calls 'up-to-date', he encountered material shortages which meant that many designs had to use substituted materials, 'to get the same effect with the materials we had available' (de Lisle 1999: 342). When it came to civic buildings, however, they were to be made of 'permanent' materials such as concrete, glass and steel. In terms of design, he mentions an element called a window-wall, where internal structures support the mass of the building and so leaves the outer walls to be sheathed in glass. The grouping of services – elevators, wiring, toilets, ventilation – in a central core left the outer edges of the building as non weight-

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[4] Le Corbusier, an influential French architect of the early and mid-twentieth century, was a key figure of the Modern movement. Much of his work was/is venerated as examples of what modern architecture should look like. He published many works on architecture and urban planning, a number of which, including *The Radiant City* (1933; 1967), were reprinted in the post-war period. His concept for high-rise buildings, discussed below, is still evident even in contemporary architectural design.

bearing 'window-walls' with floors supported by concrete columns at regular intervals. The resulting smooth, reflective and easily cleaned surfaces of glass align with the ideal qualities of Modernist design. My analysis of plans, photographs and artists' impressions of such buildings emphasises the potential of these buildings to seal the chaotic performance of commerce and human activity within a rational and urban architectural form. In short, the new buildings of post-war Hamilton provided much needed office space while they also rendered workplaces, as well as the cityscape at large, with an acceptable veneer of Modernity.
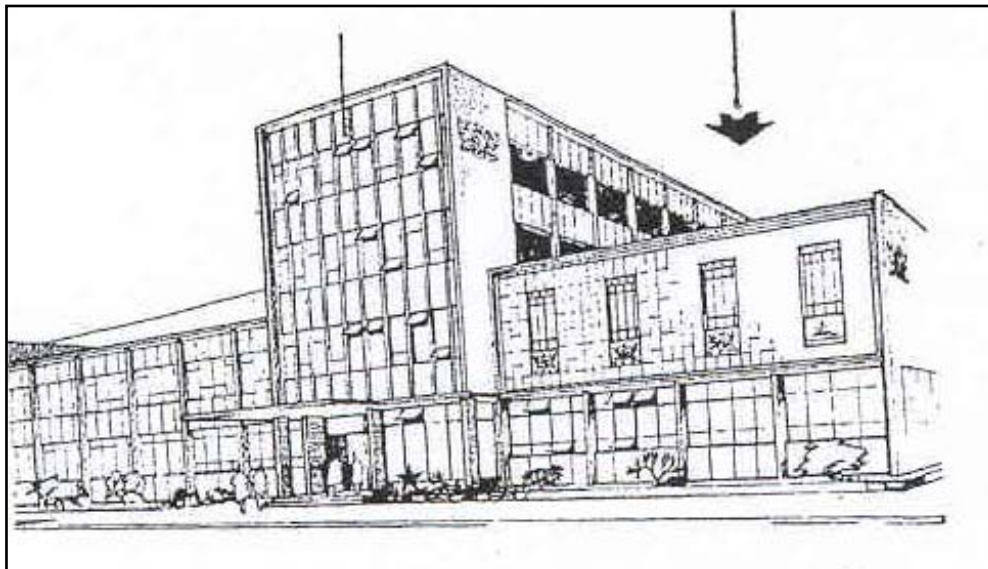
Figure 4.7 An artist's impression of the Hamilton City Council Buildings. The debating chamber was housed in the wing on the right with the public library occupying part of the left wing. This façade has since been obscured by a nine storey office tower.

The celebration of Hamilton's Centennial was seen as a coming of age and an opportunity for a new start in a new century. In a nation that now, forty years on, still sometimes laments its 'youth', such celebrations represent a milestone. As mentioned above, it served as a pervasive cultural marker that encouraged reflection on concepts of progress and also gave impetus to projects and discourses of (re)construction and modernisation. While buildings are obvious signifiers of progress, construction work under ground and over water had

profound effects on the (re)creation of the cityscape. Until 1964 the main railway to the East coast of the North Island crossed Victoria Street in the very centre of the business district. As a constant impediment to traffic and a symbol of Victorian enterprise, the lowering of the railway line in 1964 freed up central city land for development, allowed traffic to flow smoothly, and was a step beyond Hamilton's colonial past. As such, it was thought of as 'a really worthwhile reorganization of the whole of the city's traffic system' (Symes 1960: 19). The wider problem of traffic flow was relieved with the construction of two new bridges and a motorway – the all-new Cobham Bridge and Drive South of the business district and the conversion of the old rail bridge at Claudelands to carry road traffic. Even without considering the fast growth of suburbs outside the city centre, the landscape of Hamilton changed tremendously during this period. This change entailed a number of symbolic themes.

In addition to a built-rhetoric of the 'new start', five other key themes are apparent: regulation and control; an aesthetic and functional desire for order; a concern for the maintenance of boundaries; and a certain directness and 'honesty' in the expression of these qualities. Themes of regulation and control permeated the design of public buildings during this period. As signifiers of a modern, often governmental or corporate authority, modernist buildings were designed 'to counteract the chaos of man's [sic] inventiveness' (Toomath 1955: 166). The presence of government and a sense of civic responsibility feature prominently in images of the modernist cityscape. In pre-1984 New Zealand, local and central government regulated most public services that are now privately operated. This function of the City Council was expressed in the

design and appointment of its new buildings, right down to the inclusion of a meter that recorded water mains pressure placed in a prominent position in an office (*Waikato Times* 28 May 1960: 2). The chaos of modern urban life, at least publicly, was to be managed, ordered and organised. While it is difficult to measure the impact that architecture had on the cityscape and lived experience within it, the gendered reading below offers several suggestions.

Adrian Forty suggests that themes of regulation and control in architecture are highly gendered. Traditionally, architectural symbols of decorum, seriousness and physical strength have been aligned with the masculine (2000: 46-47) and this is apparent in the design of the Hamilton City Council buildings. A strong physical presence was essential to conveying a sense of civic authority. For the council buildings, this took the form of a forceful rectangular central space that housed the entrance that was bisected two smaller wings. Traditional styles would have capitalised on the aesthetic and functional power of a symmetrical layout. While symmetry is referenced in this design, authority and a sense of order comes out of a repetitive pattern of windows and a strong geometric layout. Like the ideal local government, there are no surprises with this building. As a monument to Hamilton's urban management and administration it represents honesty of political process and rational, democratic planning. The result, according to the *Waikato Times*, was one of 'dignified modernity' (28 May 1960: 2). The boundaries of buildings – walls and windows especially – were sites of regulation and control. Obviously, the concrete and steel buildings of Hamilton appear(ed) as solid and rigid. They had/have mass, carried/carry loads and divide(d) space with their bulk. The very shapes they created in concert were also highly rigid. The council buildings

were rendered as intersecting rectangles and mimic the rigid Departmental structure of contemporary local government. Commentary in the *Waikato Times*, as noted above, emphasised these qualities and clearly approved of the design.

Figure 4.8 The T&G Building under construction with the city council chambers at right. At centre right behind the council chambers is the retaining wall for the remnant of the Garden Place hill.

An 'ordered' aesthetic, such is apparent in the design of the Council buildings, can be read as the symbolic expression of regulation and control. Speaking of architectural Modernism, with a view to future forms, Toomath commented that buildings of this style had 'structure [that] is regular and repetitive and their walls are composed of repeating units standardised for the particular building' (1955: 164). Photographs and plans show that these themes continued into the 1960s; buildings show a high degree of repetition in their composition, and so compounded their appearance of solidity and rigidity. Themes of repetition also reference the mode of industry – the acts of

manufactory repetition that produce consumer products – that were equally rigid within the Fordist mode of production.

This rigid aesthetic, as Forty (2000) suggests above, is somewhat gendered. These qualities ensure that both the city council building and the Cobham Bridge (discussed below) dominate their sites. That is, they seal the natural landscape beneath their form and modify it with design that is latent with gendered symbolism. Cobham Bridge, too, is comprised of heavy and solid concrete forms that were pre-fabricated and reminiscent of factory-style production. It is a monument to engineering technology and the ability to overcome a natural obstacle while it also serves as a functional structure that allowed greater traffic flow across the river and eased congestion at other crossings.

The council chambers are an even more impressive monument to progress given its site in Garden Place. A *Waikato Times* (8 July 1960: 11) caption for a photograph of the new building emphasises its considerable size by noting how it 'dwarfs' a large concrete retaining wall to its rear – the last remnant of the Garden Place hill (See Figure 4.8 above). The removal of the hill, initiated during the Great Depression of the 1930s, is another example along with the Waikato River of the malleability of natural features under a Modernist hand.[5] The flat space left proved integral to the (re)creation of a modern cityscape as it was to be surrounded by tall buildings by the end of the 1960s while it also served as a central hub of commerce and administration.

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[5] It is also worth noting that the Waikato River became a particular site of control and regulation during this period. The construction of the hydro-electric dam that created Lake Karapiro, South of Hamilton, in 1947 also meant that the level of the river could be raised or lowered according to electricity demand or the risk of flood during periods of heavy rain.

Such concentration of symbolically charged design would ordinarily hint toward the importance of such symbolism. Yet Forty notes that by the 1920s gender had ceased to be an organising metaphor for architectural language (2000: 52). The practice of describing architectural features as masculine or feminine vanished with the advent of Modernism (2000: 44). This trend may be read alongside the rejection of decoration in design from the period – a paring down of architectural form and function to its bare essentials. However, this analysis reveals that gender had a persistent presence in the cityscape. Quite simply, assertions of gendered difference were subsumed within the dominant (masculine) discourse. For example, just as 'Man' was supposed to stand for all of humanity during this period, so too were the apparently gender-neutral symbolic language of modernist architecture. Forty explains that '"form", "space" and "order" were generally presented as absolutes, concepts that embraced the entirety of their categories, that subsumed their "other"' (2000: 61). The stripped and sparse elements of modernist design, those aligned with masculine symbolism, subsumed the feminine 'other' – in the form of either the natural landscape or the cosmetic niceties of applied decoration – in order to present a singular architectural and symbolic language. Without such single-mindedness, and without the control and regulation that made this possible, concepts such as modernity and progress, which relied on the simplicity of their message, could not have gained the cultural currency they enjoyed.

Architects and engineers with a mind for progress designed many of Hamilton's new buildings to provide for expansion. The city was growing at a fantastic rate and population projections pushed planners to consider the future in their plans for the present. The City Council buildings (1960), the Federated

Farmers building (1959), the Waikato Savings Bank building (1966) and the BNZ building (1966) were all designed with provision for extension. Plans to rupture existing boundaries of a building might generally undermine the building's claim to authority. Except, that is, when such ruptures were couched in the rhetoric of progress. However, extensions to the Federated Farmers building were met with one architect's derision (Mrkusic 1964: 15). While future extensions to these buildings failed to take into account Modernism's aesthetic and functional ethic, the original designs comprised symbolism of civic responsibility to justify instances of regulation and control. Such responsibility was tempered by the mores of democracy.

Expectations of democracy and egalitarianism ran concurrent with the control and regulatory power of local authorities. For government offices, architectural symbolism that conveyed a sense of honesty was crucial to garnering trust and complicity from the population that had just paid for them. 'Honesty' in design translated to literal transparency; tall and plentiful windows make this building accessible (yet still secure and enclosed) especially in the debating chamber. For the City Council buildings, the binary of (dis)honesty in governance and design had to be maintained for political and administrative reasons.

Binaries also structure other examples of symbolic language. Distinctions between past and present were crucial to maintain. The chaos of war, for example, was countered by and contrasted with the rational order of post-war democracy. In a similar way, the fragmented chaos left behind by the past – memories, partial cityscapes – was also to be ordered by development and discourse. Yet a post-modern analysis reveals Hamilton's reconstruction as

anything but complete, and the language used in this project comprised a series of incomplete sentences. As in other forms of language, the symbolism of modernist architecture was structured around a binary between the old and the new, the past and the present. As with other binaries, one side is privileged over the other; in this case, what was new and Modern was favoured over what was old-fashioned and out-of-date.

Hamilton is now, as it was in the 1960s, full of remnants of historicist styles of architecture, notably the neo-classical, baroque and 'wood renaissance' styles of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. While these older buildings are currently *en vogue*, their presence in the Modern city of the 1960s acted as unwanted reminders of a colonial past. The ornate decoration and 'old-fashioned' design of these relics was contrasted with the stark modernist edifices that appeared during the 1960s. Classical columns, friezes, cornices and pediments were disdainfully stripped from architects' vocabularies in favour of designs that were free of applied decoration. Older styles, such as neo-Gothic and Baroque, used religious imagery liberally in decoration.

The transition to a secular society in Modern Hamilton is also echoed in the rejection of decoration. As a result, buildings were functional, their layout and appearance was dictated by whether the structure would carry traffic or hold theatre-goers. The features of a building reflected its purpose and were often regular and repetitive. Windows, especially, were arranged in rhythmic planes that reflected the modern manufacturing and fabricating techniques used to make each component. Spaces, walls and skylines had a machined look, and 'hard' surfaces of pre-stressed concrete and steel were common. The composition of space could maximise the efficiency of function within a

structure. Adam Mercer, the son of local architect R.M. Mercer who practised in Hamilton during the 1960s, saw a distinct agenda behind the design and construction of modernist buildings. Modernism was a reaction to neo-classical and colonial architecture, their 'façadism generally – false, thin buildings that have no relevance to anything else in particular' (Mercer & Mercer 1999: OH357).

While Hamilton's location on the edge of the world engendered a new start, it also meant isolation from the centres of post-war progress. Other cities, closer to Europe or North America and with larger populations and resources, began their projects of reconstruction considerably earlier. Melbourne, for example, embarked on an earnest period of modernisation in time to host the 1956 Olympic Games. 'Modernism, expressed … in the bold geometry of the new Olympic Swimming Pool, was the symbolic language in which Melbourne sought to project itself as a modern city' (Davison 1999: 46). It is the use of architecture, rather than its symmetry, that is crucial here. Just as in Melbourne, Hamilton's new buildings and the composite cityscape that they were part of the means by which the city came to be seen as Modern. This sense of Modernity was also imbued with gendered symbolism.

The Photographic Gaze of the Works Department

Joseph Rosa argues that the 'construction of Modern architecture takes place between the camera lens and the building' (1998: 103). On a wider scale, this collection of photographs contains evidence of Hamilton's past Modernist Cityscape. Writing of 1950s Melbourne, Graeme Davison comments that the process of modernisation, when

considered in its cultural aspect, was a complex dialectical process [that includes] visual images of the city – in the form of building facades, public sculpture, picture postcards, magazine illustrations and film sequences (Davison 1999: 46-7).

Photography was used extensively to create this image, both in promotional books and brochures as well as council records.

The vision of a Modern and urban Hamilton articulated by photographs, maps and other images was a crucial marketing device used to attract capital and labour during a period of high demand for both. The unspoken privilege of these media indicates the extent to which the cityscape was conceived of as a landscape of control and regulation – something that could be tamed and exploited for profit and lifestyle. Scott McQuire notes that camera technology has been integral to processes of modernisation in the west: 'The shift to secular, urban-industrial, bureaucratic societies, which has forged the distinct horizons of modernity, is not only unimaginable but practically inoperable in the camera's absence' (1998: 1). The collection of Hamilton City Council Works Department photographs is one such example. A council employee was entrusted with recording the construction of various buildings and infrastructures on film. In turn, they created a (re)presentation of Hamilton in a particular light.

The content of these images, as well as the conventions of their representation, tell us something about the (re)construction – both materially and discursively – of a modern Hamilton. The photographer, always absent (and therefore disembodied) captured all sorts of scenes, at different times and from different vantages, aiming to record the everyday spaces of the city. Although little is known about the provenance of these photographs, apart from that they were commissioned by and stored at the Council. Yet their

composition reveals a desire to record the cityscape using the seemingly objective gaze of the camera. As a result, the cityscape was regulated by those who, as Davison suggests below, could tell others 'how to see it'.

Three key themes emerged from the analysis of Works Department photographs. Each refers to the specific gaze that the council used to 'see' the cityscape. The first is concerned with the absence or presence of people in the

Figure 4.9 A view of Victoria Street, Hamilton, at the intersection with Garden Place, 1964. While the presence of people in the street adds to the image of a 'bustling city', as sources they are invaluable for detail about everyday experience.

cityscape. Some photographs show a 'pure' view of buildings and streets, without people to disrupt the clean lines of new buildings. Others show the bustle of main streets, full of traffic and pedestrians. The second theme emerges from the attention paid to the city's skyline as a signifier of urban maturity. The third extends from the first two and considers how a public, 'civic' gaze was created through photography. Each theme is linked by a privileged perspective that aimed to record Hamilton for posterity. The photographic conventions used

to capture such historical moments reveal something of how Hamilton was to be represented.

The absence or presence of people in Works Department photographs indicates different intentions or aims between different modes of representation. This collection has a fairly even mix of images that show pure cityscapes and bustling street-scenes. Yet the 'pure' images stand out as an attempt to record Hamilton at a particular historical moment. Given that an immense amount of change and growth was underway at the time this is hardly surprising. This collection could be read as an attempt to make a record for posterity. Images of

Figure 4.10 Morning commuters crossing the Claudelands bridge in late October 1960. This photograph reveals variations across occupation, class and gender, and it is clear that the photographer composed this image carefully. Also worthy of note is the strict lines formed by the people on their respective sides of the bridge. Contemporary experience is somewhat different, as far fewer people use this route (and mode of transport) to get to work.

street-scenes could be read to similar effect. The people in these images appear as props that reinforce an urban 'feel'. Many of these photographs are taken from a high angle that privilege urban form over human chaos. Figure 4.9 is a Works Department photograph taken in the early 1960s near Garden Place. Individual elements of human bodies, buildings and pavement are not represented separately, but rather, as a dynamic and busy cityscape. Taken from a first storey window, Figure 4.9 is one instance where the privileged perspective of photographer and viewer is able to transcend the street to gaze down upon a 'scene'.

A clear distinction becomes apparent when such images are contrasted with other collections. Photographs taken by Waikato Times photographers are often more concerned with the political and social situations of people – if they are not reporting on the latest Modernist edifice. This is reflected in the perspective assumed in photographs as the viewer is immersed in the scene by low-angle shots. As a result they are able to empathise with the subject(s) through the immediacy of the photograph. For example, Figure 4.10 shows commuters crossing the Claudelands Bridge just before it was to be converted for road traffic.[6] The publication of this photograph on the front page of the Waikato Times raised the question of how these commuters would reach the central city while the bridge was closed for conversion (1 November 1960: 1).[7] Rather than assuming the functional and administrative perspective of Works Department photography, this photograph revels in the human detail it shows,

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[6] An all-new rail bridge, just visible in the left of Figure 4.10, was built to carry rail traffic. The higher-level carriageway was converted after the completion of the new bridge, but not until 1968.
[7] The caption given to Figure 4.10 in the *Waikato Times* on 1 November 1960 was: 'A stream of morning foot traffic on the Hamilton railway bridge. It is not yet known how these people will fare during the conversion of the bridge to take vehicular (and foot) traffic'.

and employs it to take a political position.

A later photographic project, 'Hamilton Views' by Kees Sprengers in August 1976, took the immersion approach one step further.[8] In the archive this collection appears as an unexplained series of photographs of people on the street taken from street level. Although taken slightly after the time-period of this thesis, this collection provides a useful contrast to other images, in particular, to the Works Department's collection. While the visual rhetoric of Works photographs seem to emphasise the function and role that council played as planner and regulator, the 'Hamilton Views' collection takes a more artistic approach. Perspectives and subjects are experimental, and the photographer has taken particular interest in people's performance of daily life in the city.

By contrast, the human-centered focus of the *Waikato Times* and the 'Hamilton Views' project is at odds with the often concrete notions of civic identity evident in images of the city skyline. The Works Department's photographs, such as Figures 4.1 and 4.9, take an interest in the tall buildings that crowded Garden Place. They document then-recent developments that inscribed vertical urbanity onto the formerly squat city. The skyline of a city is important to its image. New York's skyline, for example, has long been that city's key signifier. As a visual metaphor for wealth and power, its dramatic modification by the events of 9/11 reinforced the importance that it holds. For Hamilton, the emulation of this example formed part of the search for an urban modernity.

The creation of a skyline through photography also had the benefit of unifying individual buildings into a recognisable form. The collection of plans,

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[8] This series of photographs was commissioned for Gibbons, P.J. 1977: *Astride the River: A History of Hamilton* [Source: personal correspondence].

photographs and artist's impressions for individual buildings that I have drawn on for this research give a fractured view of the cityscape. Urban theorist Kevin Lynch wrote of the importance of 'legibility' in a city's image (1960). Works photographs show a dynamic composition of buildings reminiscent of images of far larger cities. The tangle of concrete and steel shown in these images takes on a new, more symbolic, form. Crucially, many of the buildings that are shown are office buildings that are designed in the Modernist style. They are the most noticeable elements of these skyline shots and give the impression of a city that has embraced newness and progress. This is a very public view, which reveals evidence of a privileged 'civic' gaze.

All of the images selected from the Works' collection are taken from vantages in the open air of the city. Almost all of them are taken from a high vantage point – usually one or two levels above the street. While aerial photography offers a far more transcendent view of the city, its high cost made lower-level photography a more viable option. Nevertheless, they have a sense of transcendence, so that the viewer (most likely an employee of the city council originally) may apply codes of control and regulation. The perspective of these photographs reflects the powerful perspective of (mostly male) council employees and Civic Men. This contrasts to the totally immersed perspective of the 'Hamilton Views' project, whose photographer had no claim to, or responsibility for, control and regulation of the cityscape. Council employees are likely to have had a better chance of accessing the high vantage points that these photographs are taken from. Their official function as employees, along with the civic mindedness of their task, guaranteed access to sites that offered views that were not publicly available.

While the Hamilton City Council Works Department's camera sought to map the cityscape, more traditional processes of mapping were at work. The most obvious boundary is the city boundary which incorporates scientific reason of town planning, surveying methods and positivist thought (see Figure 4.11 and appendices A.1 and A.2). It was officially extended four times during the post-war period and maps struggled to show mushrooming development beyond (Gibbons 1977: 247, 366). Maps such as in Figure 4.11, published by the Industrial Development Council in 1967, helped to code the landscape as 'available' for development. The city appears orderly and rational on this map – curious given the rampant activity that must have been seen at the time - and emphasises features of interest to developers. The Hospital, University, and the Ruakura Research centre are all shown. Crucially, they are represented as Modernist high-rise buildings.

Other boundaries that were frequently ruptured also required a broader language to keep them under control. Images and maps of the city boundary reflect attempts to regulate and control (sub)urban expansion during the 1960s. Ruptures of the boundary occurred with the subdivision of nearby farmland, which was shifted repeatedly during this period. Paradoxically, these same boundaries had to be ruptured in order to satisfy the requirement for 'progress' and growth. The concept of a modernist *land*scape reveals Hamilton as a site of regulation and control. Advances in technology and the expansion of public infrastructures and services established new levels of control and regulation. Although photography had been a common technology for over fifty years by that time, it still remains a powerful medium for the control of the image of the city.

Notions of civic responsibility that were internalised by Works'

photographers are not just interesting for their historical and cultural value.

Civic mindedness in photography has proven useful to researchers, especially in

the case where a building has been demolished before it is otherwise recorded.

Such visual and textual traces of buildings and cityscapes, then, are crucial to

this research given the access they grant to past spaces. The desire to record for

posterity plays an important part in imaginings of the future. More precisely, a

future that would care to look back at the past.
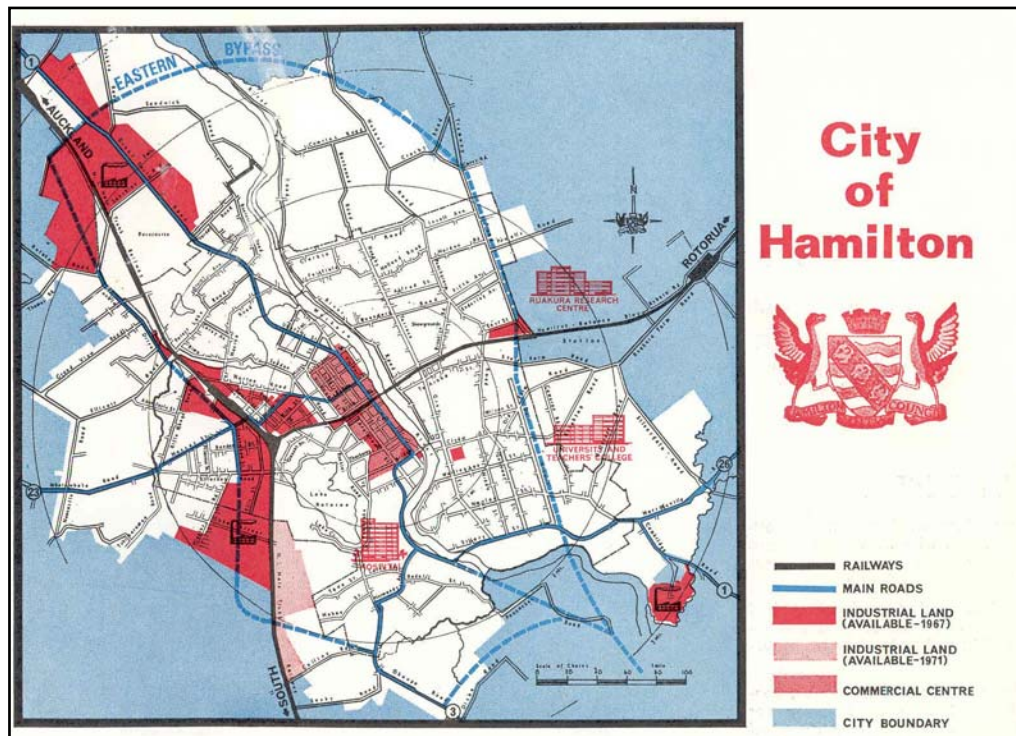
Figure 4.11: A 'Businessman's' Map of Hamilton City originally published in a publicity
brochure. Infrastructure and services are emphasised in this map while private spaces –
suburban roads – are simplified or omitted altogether.

Temporal Boundaries: Modernism and the Future of Hamilton

The future, or rather, visions of an imagined future, helped to shape the

reconstruction of post-war Hamilton. A concept of what the future could be like

was a crucial part of the planning and (re)construction of Hamilton. Mrkusic

wrote at the time of the Centennial that '[t]he future cannot be foreseen, but it

can be shaped!' (*Waikato Times* 24 August 1964: 15). Architects and civic

leaders alike drew on previous work that privileged views of the future in urban

design such as Le Corbusier's influential work *The Radiant City* (1933; 1967).

The metaphor of light itself in the title of this book, which Marchand positions

as a signifier of progress, refers to a bright future (1985). For Hamilton, this

enlightened future was literally 'beckoning' (*Waikato Times* 24 August 1964:

4). The gleaming newness of the surfaces of modern buildings stood as tangible

evidence of Hamilton's progress beyond its colonial past. Material and

discursive reconstruction of Hamilton was undertaken with the goal of asserting

a post-war modernity. In turn, this affected an epochal shift from a moth-eaten

wartime austerity into an age of prosperity and urbanity. This shift was

Figure 4.12 Participants in period costume for the re-enactment of the landing of
Hamilton's Pākehā settlers during Centennial celebrations in August 1964.

intimately linked to concepts of the future. The contemporary post-modern

perspective that I write from is intended to engage with this concept of 'the

future'. David Harvey insists that architecture is linked to postmodernism. He

argues that the demolition of the Modernist style Pruitt-Ingoe tenement blocks

in St Louis, Missouri in 1972 signalled the beginning of a post-modern

architecture (1973). Although it is problematic to posit any single moment as a

precise beginning, his example is useful to consider the ability of architecture to bring about a new epoch.[9] The shift beyond one era and into the next through the celebration of a Centennial, the (re)construction (or even deconstruction) of an urban landscape seems

Figure 4.13 The 'Parade of Progress' passing officials and locals assembled along Victoria Street and in Garden Place, August 1964.

to have relied on a shared cultural imagining of what the future would be like.

Futurism is apparent in the designs of individual buildings as discussed

above. In a similar way, foundation myths that drew on Hamilton's colonial past

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[9] The topic of epoch-shift and architecture brings to mind a twenty-first century comparison. If Modernist architecture (in construction or demolition) can be the catalyst for a new cultural beginning, as Harvey argues, what role does it have to play in the current 'age of terror'? The architect of the Pruitt-Ingoe tenements, Japanese-American Minoru Yamasaki, also designed the Twin Towers during the mid-1960s. The destruction wrought by airliner and terrorist in 2001, given ample time to cool, may in time be read as another 'new start' and the beginning of a new epoch. Indeed, many in the media refer to a post-9/11 mentality in government and society at large.

were deployed at the Centennial moment.[10] Davison discusses the use of

foundation myths and pictorial conventions to illustrate Melbourne's growth in

civic celebrations and advertising (1999: 49). In a similar way, Hamilton in the

1960s was a site of progress, and a monument to the foresight of its Pākehā

founders. Discourses of newness and a sense of progress from a colonial past

compounded with new urban developments to encode the cityscape as modern.

The boundary between past and present was ruptured repeatedly during this

period, but it was regulated to produce a benign narrative of progress during

Centennial celebrations in August 1964.

Historical re-enactors drew on such foundation myths during a public

Centennial ceremony. Spectres of settlers were resurrected by actors in costume

for a re-enactment of the landing of the original settlers at the Ferrybank.[11] The

procession began from the Ferrybank, then to the council building for an official

reception, and then ended at Founder's theatre where a plaque was laid

(Coumbe 1964: 42). A stark contrast exists between the clothing of the

spectators and the participants in photographs of this event. The past and present

seem to mingle across a temporal boundary, governed only by the banality of

the proceedings. Speeches, a scripted schedule of events, and the requirement to

make a palatable 'family-oriented' history controlled and defined this event. A

strong sense of 'history in drag' emerges from analysis of images such as this.

The ill-fit of costumes and the simulation of nineteenth-century facial hair with

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[10] Although it is likely that Centennial celebrations represent a widespread 'civic-mindedness', the events found criticism from all sides. The author of the official record of the Centennial, with laconic understatement, wrote that '[i]t wasn't the greatest Centennial ever staged. But no one could say it was not a success' (Coumbe 1964: 6). Reserved descriptions of celebrations continue elsewhere. Organisers commented in the *Waikato Times* that 'the town doesn't lend itself … to a carnival atmosphere' (*Waikato Times* 24 August 1964: 4).
[11] The Ferrybank is an open area owned by the Hamilton City council that was the site of the landing of Hamilton's Pākehā settlers in 1864. It was also the site of a punt (and later a ferry) that carried passengers and freight before the first bridge was built.

appliqué moustaches and sideburns raise questions about how gendered identity was performed in the 1960s. These will be addressed in the following chapter.

An image of Hamilton's grand march through time was evoked by another parade during 1964 – the aptly named 'Parade of Progress' (Figure 4.13). This was one of the main public event of a fortnight of Centennial celebrations in August 1964. It was described as an hour long, two-mile long recognition of a 'job well done' on the part of pioneers and their progeny (Coumbe 1964: 14). Figure 4.13 is an image published in the official record of the event, and reinforces the role that public space and masculine authority had to play. Strictly regulated masculine bodies appear in this image, the military personnel giving the salute and the Mayor, Dr Denis Rogers, accepting it on behalf of the city and the progress it had made. In the section that follows I discuss other, perhaps less obvious, examples of masculine symbolism and authority evident in the cityscape.

Reading Hamilton's Gendered Cityscape

Both bodies and buildings had a role to play in the (re)construction of Hamilton. Hill describes the role of architecture in (re)creating Hamilton as a modern city after the Second World War. She writes that Modernist architecture, with all of its investment of masculine symbolism, appeared as a visage of what a city should look like (2002). An image of gender is one outcome of a critical reading of Hamilton's cityscape. Canning discusses the value of such a reading. She emphasises:

> [t]he ability to attend to the rhetorical aspects of historical texts, to their contrasts, exclusions, and/or binary oppositions, makes it possible to uncover, for example, the metaphor of female sexuality that might otherwise be difficult to see or interpret. In fact, learning how to read in new ways may be a prerequisite for pursuing the

history of experience as a process of making, assigning or contesting meanings (1994: 379).

New meaning was assigned to a city that was the site of colonial establishment, experienced a century of Pākehā development, then frantic growth in the mid-twentieth century. The agent for change, the style and cultural logic of Modernism, entailed an unquestioned authority to make change – or rather, progress - happen. Photography from the period also embodied this unquestioned authority through its apparently objective gaze.

For researchers looking back on this period, the visual language of photographs is of immense importance. For this thesis, it is the problematic authority carried by these images that is of most interest. Patricia Vettel-Becker summarises Butler's argument when she writes that 'the camera trades on the masculine privilege of the disembodied gaze, the gaze that has the power to produce bodies, but which itself is no body' (2005: 136). Rather than a historical irrelevance, gendered power had a considerable effect not only how the city was constructed, but also in how it was represented.

Just as the photograph archive of Hamilton is incomplete, its material transformation into a Modern City was fractional and patchy. Yet an impression of a complete city was sought through the facades of scattered Modernist buildings, some fleeting images (both visual and imagined) and text in promotional copy. In the face of symbolic warfare an imagined future was privileged as a strong central narrative. This was the means by which Hamilton could claim to be Modern. James Donald observes that '[i]n telling us what a city is like, they teach us how to see it' (1996: 183). The public and highly visual spectacles surrounding the celebration of the Centennial in 1964, the flurry of official opening ceremonies for public buildings, and the clamour of

civic promotion all had a role to play in the discursive construction of Hamilton. As Donald's quote above suggests, it is often useful to consider 'who' describes a city and assigns identity.

In short, the language of architecture has gendered implications as discussed above. Moreover, Spain argues that 'nonindustrial and industrial societies attribute greater value to the public forms of status defined as masculine' (1992: xv). Modernism was self-proclaimed as a gender-neutral style. Yet a number of themes emerge from analysis that suggests both the logic and aesthetic of Modernism was inherently masculine. More broadly, language of that era included references to a gender-neutral 'Man' to stand for a universal humanity. The hegemony of such gender-neutral language afforded invisibility to gendered difference and served to privilege typically masculine forms and functions in architectural design. With this in mind, Hamilton can be read for traces of a gender. Far from being a gender-neutral landscape Hamilton's (re)construction inscribed an invisible and typically masculine logic. Like Spain, 'I rely on traditional "male" measures of status: control of labor [sic], control of property, and participation in public life … post-structural feminists are correct to question not only male privileges but the criteria by which those privileges are defined' (1992: xv).

Hamilton's cityscape is a highly gendered space. Through critical research, formerly invisible processes of gendering in this and other cityscapes may be revealed and inequalities recognised. Themes of masculine rationality in the cityscape reflect the strong influence of masculine civic leaders in the (re)construction and modernising process at all levels and analysis of these hints

at ways in which particular identities – subjective and civic – were encouraged or discouraged.

Figure 4.14: An imagined future, in the form of the anticipated 'Space Age', originates from a masculine 'cradle of civilisation' in this advertisement.

The importance of industry is reflected in the presence of advertisements for local firms in the Centennial edition of the *Waikato Times*. At a time when the past was the focus of celebrations as much as the future, light industry was positioned as the driving force of modernity. More importantly, it was the source of much capital and expertise that was essential to funding (re)construction. In between nods to primary industry – the dairy farms that produced initial prosperity – rhetoric of progress exalted the potential of industry for future growth. For R.M. Aitken & Son LTD of Frankton this took the form of an advertisement (See Figure 4.14) commemorating their contribution to Hamilton over during the preceding 40 years with a 'salute' to 'the engineers' (*Waikato Times* 24 August 1964: 77). The central image of this

advertisement uses the torso of a gloved-and-safety-helmeted man to cradle symbols of industry with one of his sinewy arms, while guiding the launch of a rocket with his other. Crucially, this advertisement appeared five years before 'Man' landed on the moon. The imaginative potential of what is still a momentous achievement shaped local expectations about what the future would be like. At the very least, lunar exploration was a goal that could be applied to local imaginations of what it was to be modern. The challenge of space travel stood as a metaphor for the future-oriented projects based on the ground in Hamilton. One 1964 advertisement intoned that the 1960s 'offer many challenges to our city … to us all … challenges that must be met if the visions of today are to become reality tomorrow''' (J.J. Craig advertisement in Symes 1960: 42). While such notions of modernity relied on a vision of the future, and were inherently masculine, they also relied on an implicit definition of femininity.

Given that evidence so far suggests that Modernist design entailed masculine qualities, it is also useful to reflect on examples of where the feminine is invoked. Davison argues that'[b]y constructing Melbourne as a woman with an inferiority complex, or a split personality, the leaders of the modern movement were implicitly reinforcing their own masculine role as her counsellors and guides' (1999: 53). Mrkusic's image of Hamilton as an adolescent, noted above, has a similar effect Planners, industry and civic groups were positioned as wise prophets of progress. Images of elderly forefathers around the time of the Centennial reinforce this view of wisdom guiding youth. A booklet produced by the Hamilton Chamber of Commerce for delegates to the Annual Conference in Hamilton contains much gendered language based around

notions of maturity or youth. It claims that '[n]o other province is more youthful and virile'. Hamilton itself had 'been struggling manfully' with rapid post-war expansion, but had 'grown to lusty manhood' (1955: no page).

Hamilton's position as an urban space in a rural basin makes it an interesting example of gendering along the binary of nature/culture. The landscape itself is another source of gendered imagery, where constructions of feminine beauty were applied to the surrounding rural landscapes while the city was emphasised as being functional and efficient. The seemingly malleable 'natural beauty' that had been paved over to build a modern city was, paradoxically, an object of desire. The surrounding landscape is bounded by the language of 'natural beauty' exalted by Mayor Rogers and others (Symes 1960: 15). The qualities of the rural idyll, open space, and distant hills are just some of the 'natural beauty' that made Hamilton a 'pleasant place to live' (Symes 1960: 15). Further, Hamilton's progress owed much to the fertility of surrounding farmland. Vettel-Becker argues that '…the natural landscape is considered a site of maternal nurturing where the soul can be replenished, [while] the landscape of the city is more often regarded as a whore to be fucked' (2005: 71).

The firm concrete boundaries of the city seal and delineate soft and malleable natural surfaces. Yet, increasingly, wealth and civic identity relied on the masculine virility of urban environments. The 'machine aesthetic' of the twentieth century that was also prevalent in the urban design of Hamilton was 'characterized by repetition and rigidity which sounds just like a description of male sexuality – cool, mastering nature so as to be able to submit to its seductions' (Forty 2000: 59). According to this reading, the city became a site

of masculine power. At a time when masculine identity was being renegotiated, urban and civic identities reflected this change through public developments.

The obvious phallic imagery of office buildings aside, a number of other developments also represented masculine power within the context of progress and modernisation. At the opening of Cobham Bridge in 1963, Mr Goosman, Minister of Works, was reported in the *Waikato Times* to have named the bridge and in doing so commented that Hamilton's 'terrific and phenomenal growth' was due to primary production that would never peter out (29 June 1963: 1). The *Times* continues, stating that Goosman performed the 'necessary' ceremony watched by 'thousands' of people (29 June 1963: 1). [12] Public attendance implies a widespread acceptance of the ritual, and interest in the bridge as an assertion of urbanity and modernity. As good citizens, attendance at such ceremonies is likely to have been a self-conscious performance. Such notions signal toward a collective concept of acceptable norms of behaviour in the Modern City.

In a similar way, themes of acceptance and acquiescence defined ethnic and rural/ urban difference articulated within the structure of the bridge. During the opening ceremony of the Cobham Bridge, 'the Rev. A.O. Jones dedicated the bridge "of understanding between Maori and Pakeha and between city and country." Then speedboats screamed under the bridge as a colourful procession crossed it' (*Waikato Times* 29 June 1963: 1). An alternative reading has a figure of authority deploying a modernist ethic to code the Bridge as open. This is further compounded by the conspicuous presence of high technology in the form of the engineering prowess and marine technology. The absence of any

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[12] Even in the text of the *Waikato Times* the function of an official who performs a 'necessary' function takes precedence. Just like the clinical simplicity of function strived for in design, masculine performances adhered to the modernist ethic.

record of a Māori presence at the opening, raises interesting questions about how issues of 'race'/ethnicity and place were negotiated, and just whose understanding was represented by the structure.

During processes of modernisation I read the language of Modernism as a series of one-way conversations. For example, an Eclipse fencing advertisement from the *Waikato Times* (see Figure 6.3) includes the outline image of a Māori man in 'traditional' garb transposed over an aerial image of Hamilton with the phrase 'the only thing we don't enclose – progress' (24 August 1964: 227). The Modernist Cityscape enforces cultural boundaries that marginalised experiences of those defined as 'other'. It defined them in opposition to 'progress' and modernity by representing them as 'backward' or 'primitive'. The absence of any 'others' apart from Pākehā identities in historical traces suggests that there was little opportunity at that time to challenge marginalisation. It is also interesting to note that the 1960s was also a period of transition for Māori, who began to migrate into cities. Māori, too, must have experienced a (re)negotiation of identity.

The Cobham bridge is a useful example for considering the transition from a rural to an urban identity to Hamilton. The urban did not, strictly speaking, subsume the rural. Rather it was built upon the rural in the same way that Modernist buildings sealed the landscape and used it as a literal foundation. Rural influence was, and still is, strong in Hamilton. Primary production remains important to the city's economy. Modernity was the outward signifier of a diversifying economy during post-war prosperity. The expansion of industry and other white-collar tertiary services provided challenges to the civic and bodily identities alike.

Conclusion

This chapter is bounded by two key moments in the history of Hamilton: the achievement of city status in 1945, and the celebration of the Centennial in 1964. It traces the transition of Hamilton from a rural town to a modern city. This process was permeated by discourses of civic-mindedness, progress and dreams of the future. I have cited evidence of the tremendous growth of the city and suggested alternative ways of reading the cityscape for traces of gender.

Hamilton was and is a site of modernity that was (re)constructed with a gendered vision of the future in mind. At the opening of Founders Theatre in 1962 Mayor Dr Denis Rogers made this quite clear when he asked those present to '[r]emember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that stagger us' (*Waikato Times* 16 November 1962: 10).[13] Rather than being a gender-neutral space Hamilton's cityscape, both past and present, was imbued with masculine power. Spain argues that such gendered spaces: 'shape, and are shaped by, daily activities. Once in place, they become taken for granted, unexamined, and seemingly immutable' (1992: 28-29). In the chapter that follows I consider how the privileged position of masculinity was involved in the (re)production of bodies and place.

As I have argued in this chapter, gendered identity was under re-negotiation just as civic identity was. Andrewes writes of the difficulty faced by masculine identity in defining white-collar work as masculine as men's workplaces were increasingly located within the city, and male bodies were more often located within a suit (1999: 194). This process relied on the large-

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[13] Mayor Rogers at the opening of Founder's Theatre referring to a quote from American architect Daniel Burnham's work used by Lord Cobham in a speech.

scale material changes that created an urban cityscape. Analysis reveals

prevalent themes of control and regulation. Donald argues that this is

problematic:

> [t]hose who fantasise about turning the city into an efficient
> machine, with all its component parts flawlessly engineered and
> geared, misrecognise the space of the city. They see it as a territory
> to be bounded, mapped, occupied and exploited, a population to be
> managed and perfected. This is the overweening dream of
> Enlightenment rationality: to render the city transparent, to get the
> city right, and so to produce the right citizens … (1996: 182).

Yet Hamiltonians themselves, and especially their corporeal forms, have

featured little. As Davison suggests, '[i]f cities have souls, they are formed as

much by their inhabitants internalising the expectation of others as by projecting

the essence of themselves' (1999: 45). Following this precedent, the next

chapter argues that gendered expectations of what it was to be Modern in the

city were internalised by its inhabitants. I suggest *who* these ideal citizens were

and argue that both masculine discourse and flesh were implicated in the

(re)construction of Hamilton.

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Chapter Five:

Citified Bodies: Masculine Flesh and Discourse in Modern Hamilton

In the preceding chapter I investigated the material and symbolic value of buildings and the cityscape as a whole. Processes of urbanisation transformed Hamilton from a rural town into an urban centre. In turn, bodies within it also became distinctly urban, or 'citified'. This relationship has not been examined before in this context, where local examples lend support to a largely theoretical argument. The interaction between people and place, and how meaning is ascribed to both, is well documented. Although cities and bodies make and re-make each other, I am primarily concerned with the processes and performances by which masculine bodies became 'citified'. This chapter presents a series of empirical examples to illustrate one example of this interaction, and to set a spatial precedent for further study. Masculine bodies and the cityscape were inextricably linked, and were (re)created in concert with each other in post-war Hamilton.

Widespread processes of urbanisation during the mid-twentieth century suggest that bodily and gendered identity underwent considerable change. By reading historical traces of masculine bodies in Hamilton I intend to shed some light on this change. Firstly, I consider the range of dominant images of masculinity in currency at the time. Throughout the remainder of the chapter I discuss particular bodily sites of change and performance, including: suited bodies, modes of gesture, erectness/posture, and grooming practices. Far from being a complete and authoritative account of embodied practices within a

cityscape, this work is intended to put forward a new reading of a space familiar to many New Zealanders of the 1960s. It is also a vehicle for suggesting areas for future research with an emphasis on the use of critical theory in local histories.

Figure 5.1 An artist's impression of the BNZ building which stood opposite Garden Place. Its firm geometric forms seem to be referenced in the corporeality of the businessman in Figure 5.2 adjacent.

Figure 5.2 An archetypal businessman adopting a typically masculine pose. It is unclear whether the suit wears the man or *vice-versa.*

Traces of Hamilton's past can be read for examples of this interconnectedness, some of which I have included in later sections. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate some of the synergies I discuss in more detail. The firm and rigid design of the BNZ building echoes the rigid comportment of the businessman. Both appear as rational and solid and, most importantly, as the result of (financial and bodily) control and regulation. The geometric design of the building aligns strongly with the Businessman's corporeality. Yet, such

examples only hint at the staggering complexity of historical and spatial processes that produced them.

Images of Man: Hamilton's Businessman

The material (re)construction of Hamilton affected constructions of gender identity. Above all, the construction of a Modernist Cityscape provided the impetus for a transition from rural and small-town bodies and identities toward more metropolitan forms. The easily recognisable image of the Businessman, as both image and masculine identity, serves as an 'umbrella' term for a range of images of masculinity that appeared in advertising and other promotional material (See Figure 5.2). Because of this, the Businessman seems to have been a dominant 'Image of Man'. This image is the bearer of considerable cultural and symbolic value. Elements of it are evident in many popular images of ideal or 'everyman' masculinity. Photographs from the period also suggest that this image exerted a certain amount of authority over the everyday embodied performances of gender among Hamilton's male population. Certainly, in advertisements from the period, the Businessman is a frequent cliché. 'He' stands by himself as a potent signifier of an urban – and Modern – masculinity.

Other scholars have often insisted that research should focus on multiple masculine identities rather than presenting 'unitary' views of gender (Andrewes 1995, 1999; Phillips 1996). Instead, I present an image of a dominant masculinity in an attempt to draw out the complexities within it. While this is partly due to constraints of space in this research project, this singular image is also useful when considering interactions with space. Rather than reflecting an historical reality of multiple and subjective masculinities, my research is concerned with the reasons for the proliferation of the Businessman as a

masculine image and its relationship to the cityscape. As an embodied signifier of an urban modernity this image links local and subjective male bodies and identities to national and international concepts of what it was to be 'manly'. In the same way that solid vertical and horizontal lines in buildings were intended to convey an image of urban strength and authority, men's bodies were made solid and rational through particular attention to comportment, bodily behaviours and grooming habits, and clothing. As a signifier of masculinity, the body of the Businessman is of absolute importance as a visual cue for manliness. The Businessman is emblematic of the managers, entrepreneurs and businessmen and a wider urban masculinity. 'He' was also discursively responsible for the capital, planning and civic leadership that made abstract concepts of a modern city into a material reality.

Demographic figures indicate the presence of businessmen in Hamilton. In spite of a youthful population, a marked 'middle-aged bulge' of men in their early forties existed in Hamilton throughout the 1960s (Gibbons 1977: 250). A large cluster of any demographic group is significant and worthy of scholarly attention. It is more significant still in light of Bruce Bander's comment that '[e]xpansion in the century-old city is not just a wish fulfilled or the automatic drift of a young community in the newest of the New Worlds. It is [a] planned, controlled, conscious movement' (1964: 14). Given that this relatively small group was likely to hold a disproportionate measure of cultural and financial captial, not to mention gendered power, the proliferation of the Businessman as an image of masculinity is hardly surprising. While I use the word 'Businessman' to articulate an image of an urban, exclusively Pākehā and relatively youthful masculinity, I have sought to complicate it by drawing out

variations in how it was represented. For instance, the Businessman was often evoked through images of architects, engineers, builders and politicians. This image, and its variations, held currency simply because 'he' was recognisable on the everyday streets of Hamilton (refer to Figures 5.3 and 4.9).

Figure 5.3 A second view of Victoria Street at the intersection with Garden Place, 1964.

Images of masculinity relied on bodily traits being recognised in advertisements, photographs and everyday experience. Contemporary scholarship also focuses on physical qualities to define masculinities. Indeed, this research has relied on a vocabulary of physical traits that signify urban masculinity. Bodily traits, and the way in which the Businessman was represented 'exemplified control and efficiency' (Marchand 1985: 191) while he also stood as an 'everyman' (Marchand 1985: 189). It is worth noting that themes of control were evident in architecture of the period, alongside democratic symbolism – literally for every-man. Andrewes writes that:

[t]he common image [of the businessman] was of a smartly groomed man, neither a youth nor very old, who embodied the physical traits that defined a 'manly' man. The businessman always wore a suit and tie, was tall, well-built but slim, with square shoulders and an open, strong-jawed face (1999: 196-197).

Similar masculine types had influence across time and space. Writing of early twentieth-century America, Carole Turbin describes the features of the 'Arrow Collar Man' which echo in later images of man. She describes him as a man 'with broad shoulders, a strong jaw, chiselled features, and muscular hands … he was a visual representation of the New American Man' (2002: 472).

The 'new start' for urban design described in the preceding chapter applies equally to masculinities and masculine bodies. The desire for a 'new' gender identity in Hamilton followed the chaos and destruction of the Second World War. Bodily boundaries were tightened in response to the remembered (and for those at home, the imagined) threat of bodily evisceration on the Front. The emasculating penetration of bullet and bayonet in the bodies of soldiers at war contributed to the zealous guarding of masculine bodily boundaries at the war's end. Boundaries of an acceptable masculinity were inscribed onto the body in the same way that concepts of modernity were inscribed onto the cityscape. Deborah Montgomerie, writing about wartime New Zealand, comments that 'the attributes of masculinity were not regarded as pliable or negotiable. The square jaws and the broad shoulders of masculine popular image symbolised constancy, not flux' (2001: 11-12). Although it seems that masculinity had for some time relied on rigid qualities for definition, their alignment with the concrete forms of new urban spaces reinforces their importance in the post-war period.

The metaphor of boundaries is useful for understanding both the image and the embodiment of masculinities. As I discussed in Chapters Two and Three, theory tends to disembody subjects. It is crucial to find a way to give shape and form to theoretical (disem)bodies and reinvest them with 'fleshiness'. In particular, I locate what Susan Bordo calls 'firm bodily margins' (1990). When Tamar Garb writes of an earlier twentieth-century body, and notes that '[i]f boundaries were transgressed, chaos could ensue' (1998: 11). It is worth considering the nature of that chaos, and why it would relate so closely to bodies. In considering these boundaries it is useful to ask why chaos would be avoided so vehemently in the built landscape and through embodiments. Firstly, chaos implies inefficiency, which stands in direct contrast to the requirements of modernity. Chaos is also aligned with the natural; tangles of organic matter that border the river contrast to the ideal cityscape and the well-ordered bodies that inhabit it. Chaos also refers to the destruction and disruption caused by the Second World War. By controlling and regulating bodies and place, the past is sealed and transcended. A progression from the state of war and its effects was sought through symbolic language that was both embodied and erected.

The sealing of gravel roads with tarmac and the covering of earth with pavement served a similar purpose to the regulation and sealing of bodies. Both signify the control of boundaries between what is natural and what is cultural or social; what is private and what is public. Moreover, post-war prosperity meant that a higher quality of clothing of a wider variety could be bought by New Zealanders (McKergow 1999). As the city grew, more people were involved in white-collar work, which often required employees to adhere to a dress-code and to meet grooming standards. More often, these expectations were enforced

through what was considered 'respectable' in public, urban space. As a result, the boundaries of what was acceptably masculine were constricted. In terms of bodily 'tightening', the suit served to regulate and seal men's bodies, as I will discuss. Perhaps this could be a useful illustration of Belich's concept of the 'tight society' (2001). The Businessman is an obvious, and clearly embodied, example of this 'tightening'.

The Businessman was often associated with what was new and Modern. Andrewes notes that '[b]usinessmen were often depicted in a dialogue with modernity. Advertisements asserted the control of businessmen over their surroundings, and their mastery of technology' (1999: 195). This is by far the image with most currency and hegemony during this era given that alternative masculinities were rarely depicted. The Businessman is a symbol of capital and management. He is a locus of abstract power through his control of finance and employees that extends beyond the office and into other arenas. Material and discursive regimes were
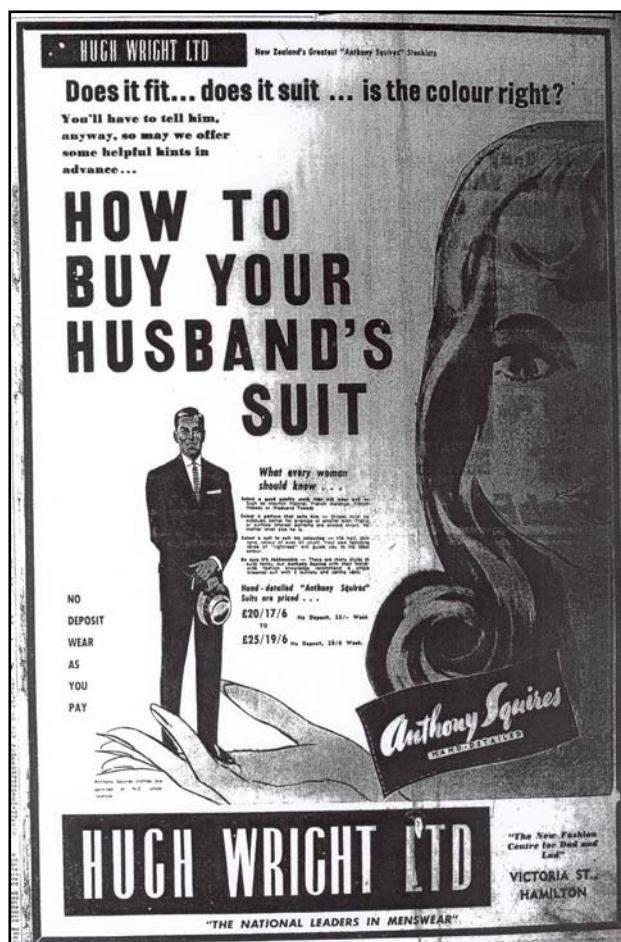
Figure 5.4 Themes of masculine autonomy are complicated in this advertisement, where the classic roles of (male) King Kong holding (female) Fay Wray, are reversed. At times women's roles were perceived to threaten men's place in society, when women entered paid employment during and after the Second World War.

(re)invented to sustain the 'ideology of masculine wholeness, mastery, and autonomy that is necessary to the maintenance of patriarchy' (Vettel-Becker 2005: xi). In this period, where women were increasingly entering paid work, a strong masculine identity seems to have been essential to the performances of gendered power.[1]

The apparent threat to the dominance of masculinity is especially evident in advertising. The negotiation of gendered power is amply illustrated through the purchase of consumer goods. In particular, the purchases of commodities for men – clothing and grooming products for example – offer an insight into the power relations between men and women. In his *In Vogue* column for the *Waikato Times* Derryn Hinch remarked that 'he wears the pants but she buys them' (22 November 1962: 19). Although it is a light-hearted commentary on consumerism, this column is also revealing of gender relations. Further, an advertisement for Hugh Wright advises women on 'how to buy your husband's suit' as 'you'll have to tell him anyway' (*Waikato Times* 9 July 1960: 5 see Figure 5.4). It seems that while men 'wore the pants' in an idealised relationship, women performed the necessary (feminine) task of selecting and buying them. This further complicates a gendered understanding of clothing especially where, in the section that follows, suits serve as a symbolic linkage between bodies and the city. Themes of control, established in the previous chapter with regard to the cityscape, continue here in defining what it was to be manly in Hamilton.

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[1] Although it was a carefully crafted shot, Figure 4.10 illustrates the presence of women in (or at least travelling to) paid work.

The Businessman's Contemporaries

So far I have concentrated on the image of the Businessman as a dominant masculinity in the sources I have analysed. Yet it does have a number of derivatives. Rather than seeking out many assertions of masculinity, I chose to analyse this dominant image in depth. In this section I describe two other forms of dominant masculinity – Civic Man and the Architect – that, alongside the Businessman, appear most frequently in local advertising and photographs. All three share common physical traits with subtle inflections according to their perceived function in society.

IN STEP WITH THE DEVELOPMENT and PROGRESS OF THE WAIKATO

PROGRESS
High Density
Living

DEVELOPMENT
Dairy
Research

F. T. HAWKINS
LTD
Building Contractors and Steel Fabricators
Tawa Street   HAMILTON
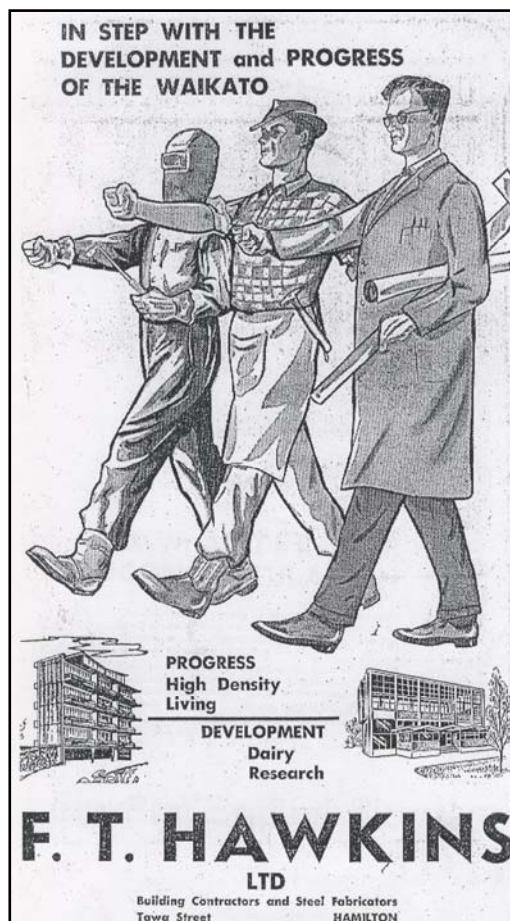
Figure 5.5 Similar to the 'Parade of Progress' in Figure 4.13, this image suggests a variety of masculine identities involved in Hamilton's (re)construction.

Similar to the modernist design ethic for the cityscape, form followed function for masculine bodies. Similarly, the men depicted in Figure 5.5 all share physical traits of 'manliness' while they also bear the markers of their role in society; dressed as a welder, builder and architect. They are also unified by the common aim of progress; men from various walks of life united in a dialogue with modernity. It is also important to note that these three men represent occupations involved with construction. With the massive growth

of Hamilton at the time, this is hardly surprising. Alongside the Businessman, who appeared to have control over capital and employees, Engineers and Architects were also important signifiers of a 'manly', progressive masculinity.

The Architect also played an important role in the articulation of masculinity. He is directly responsible for planning the new buildings of 1960s Hamilton, and claims a wider discursive responsibility for the progress made in other cities and places. Rather than financial control or control over employees, the Architect exercises control over architectural symbolism and the form and function of city spaces. His imaginative and conceptual work, which allows for the privileging of his mind over his body, is creative yet rational. This facet of his identity is expressed through the presence (and 'use') of props such as pens, rulers and paper/plans, yet he is still linked to the 'Everyman'/ Businessman through his wearing of a suit. It seems that even in instances of career difference, egalitarianism ensures that variation within class boundaries is rarely discernable. In a similar way, the civic-mindedness of the Architect is apparent in the buildings he designed. With an emphasis on function and adherence to a

Figure 5.6 Modern Man performing his civic duty. Mayor Dr Denis Rogers speaking at the opening of the Claudelands bridge in 1968.

modern aesthetic, the Architect as a public image of man that served a crucial discursive role.

The third manly image is of the Civic Man, either a politician or a civic-minded individual, engaged in the processes of decision-making and policy that perhaps have the most abstract effect of control, yet the most pervasive (See Figure 5.6). He occupies a suited body and embodied symbolism points to his ability to manage people and communicate ideas and rhetoric. During this period of expansion and progress, the demand for Civic Men was at its highest. Mrkusic commented that in order 'to ensure that Hamilton transforms from its present adolescent state to one of maturity is of vital concern to all civic minded persons' (1964: 15). The development of Hamilton relied on the action of such individuals as much as it did on their appearance. Men who acted in their official capacity to open bridges and buildings during the 1960s adhered to this image of Civic Man. All wore suits and adopted a formal comportment, as I discuss later.

Yet it is problematic to reduce masculinities into any categories, let alone the three that I have described above. Even between these, the boundaries of each are fluid and unclear,

Figure 5.7 – 'Mr Businessman' from a Silhouette Studios advertisement. With the disciplining form of the suit stripped away, the Businessman's physique is revealed. Even 'in the flesh' firm bodily boundaries, muscle tone especially, are privileged.

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while the discursive threads from one may be found in any of the others. For example, one Silhouette Exercise Studios advertisement from the *Waikato Times* encouraged 'Mr Businessman' to get into shape so that he could maximise his contribution to the community (see Appendix A.6). While my classification is not arbitrary it is also not entirely expressive of the profound variation of masculine identities that inhabited Hamilton. However, it does go some way to complicating the dominant and powerful Images of Man, and suggests ways in which it might be critiqued. Further research into the many and varied assertions of masculinity would usefully follow this thesis.

Contemporary scholarship on masculinities emphasises how multiple and fragmented experiences of masculinities over time have been, and continue to be. Yet, even a cursory glance at traces of Hamilton in the 1960s reveals a remarkable uniformity in the expression of masculine identity. Dalley has discussed the uniformity of masculine appearance in mid twentieth-century New Zealand (2006: 184). Phillips agrees, and argues that 'the sheer ideological hegemony of the male mythology served to disguise conflicts and obscure diversity within society itself.' (1996: 284). Multiple masculinities must surely have existed, but historical traces often show only the dominant ideals. The rhetoric of egalitarianism, it seems, was strong even in the way a man behaved and dressed. Similarly, the 'suited body' contained bodies, sealed bodily boundaries and unified body-parts and discourse into a unified 'whole' Man.

Suited Bodies, or Bodies Suited to the City?

This section deals with perhaps the most ubiquitous veneer of masculinity – the suit. Yet the suit was specific to the cityscape. My grandfathers were both employed in rural or trade occupations. They did not wear a suit habitually. Both retained 'going out' suits for outings to town and special occasions. Hamilton, with its thriving industrial and rural sectors, contained a plethora of clothed expectations for men in different occupations. However, for white-collar workers and those visiting the city centre, the suit was essential for being read as 'in place'. The creation of a Modern and urban masculinity relied on repeated performances that were stylised by the suited body. In effect, it sealed an unruly biological body to make it (re)presentable. Reading whole masculine bodies means regarding the suited body as a potent signifier of an urban masculinity. The suit itself refers to a 'whole' masculine body and acts as a unifying garment for the disparate bodily parts as this chapter goes on to analyse.

Figure 5.8 Male bodies are measured in this advertisement, where a suit serves as majority signifier of gendered and (hetero)sexual identity.

Within images of the Businessman and his derivatives, certain cultural capital seems to be woven into the fabric of the suit. Longhurst writes about the contemporary role of the suit, which is similar to its

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role in post-war Hamilton. She argues that it 'helps to create an illusion of a hard, or at least a firm and 'proper' body that is autonomous, in control, rational and masculine' (2001: 99). Longhurst also argues that '[f]irm, straight lines and starched creases give the appearance of a body that is impervious to outside penetration' (2001: 99). The suited body is central to an understanding of what constituted a 'citified' body. Considering the relationship that creates these bodies, Grosz puts forward two ideas. Firstly, that bodies predate cities, and so cities are built to their (our) specifications (1998: 44) and secondly, that cities alienate bodies and humans (1998: 45). One view is causal, and the other is representational. Whether suits reflected or inspired the firm and rigid forms of Modernist Cityscapes is up for debate. However, it is apparent that there is a strong connection between the two that centres upon notions of masculinity.

The newly sealed surfaces of Hamilton at the time coincided with the application of seemingly impervious layers of fabric to masculine bodies. The fabric, structure and design of the suit produced a particular type of body, and bodily comportment. Many of the suits and pants of the period were advertised as 'slim-fit' and emphasised the vertical lines of their tailoring. The torso was emphasised with a tightly cut jacket and padding in the shoulders. In a *Waikato Times* column, Anne Fisher reported on an interview with L. Klein who was then a managing director of Anthony Squires, a leading suit manufacturer. In reply to her question, he remarked that '[y]es, men's suits are being given a cut that emphasises the figure' (25 October 1965: 9).[2] Hips and thighs were also emphasised with minimal pleats around the waist and a tapered shape to trousers. Bodies were modified, or enhanced, by what advertisements called a

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[2] Fisher's question was not reported in the *Waikato Times*, even though she wrote that she had asked one.

'new look'. Seduced by the newness of fashion, or motivated by office dress-codes, masculine bodies were also channelled into bodily performances of a specific type.

Putting the researcher's body on the line (of the written page), my own 1960s era suit serves as visceral evidence to complement the examples discussed here (See Appendices A.3 and A.4). As a habitual wearer of jeans and a t-shirt, the sartorial imperative of the suit gave me a new appreciation for the influence that clothing has on gendered performances. The cut and padding of suits from this period influence bodily movement and posture. In particular, structural devices encourage the wearer to stand erect with chest thrust forward to emulate an idealised masculine stance. Padding in the shoulders accentuates the relative breadth of male shoulders and reinforces the tapered shape of the torso. The lapels are narrower and extend further down the suit than in current fashion. Pin-stripes were also popular. Just like the multi-storey buildings of Modern Hamilton, such suits emphasise vertical lines and give the appearance of solidity and rationality.

The very fabric of the suit contributed to this appearance. Longhurst notes that '[w]hen bodies are draped in soft, light fabrics it is often possible to see the boundaries of the body – the rise and fall of the chest, mound of the breast, contour of the muscle' (2001: 99). By contrast, suits from the 1960s were most often made from heavy and dark fabrics that sealed and concealed the body. A *Waikato Times* column recorded the 'new look' for suits, noting they were of '[f]ine striped, smooth-finished fabric … almost black in colour … These are the hallmarks of sartorial elegance for modern, smart and successful businessmen' (25 October 1965: 9). According to this commentary, an image of

success relied on a smartly suited body. An advertisement for Berwick suits

suggests success of a different kind (Figure 5.8). The central male figure,

looking dashing in a suit, is surrounded by women who appear to like the

'impression' he makes. Sexual success and financial success merged here,

similar to Andrewes' analysis of 'Invincible' suits (1999: 199). Yet, in many

ways, the suit renders bodies as asexual. The sexual threat of the male body is

lessened by the sealing properties of the suit, and makes the body respectable

within the cityscape

 As well as appearing successful, while I wore the suit, I also took on a

formal and modest demeanour. The cultural meaning of a suit, imbued with

ideals of respectability and the bodily restraint of its structure, meant that even

an unruly student and his biological mass is sealed and regulated. Hints of the

body beneath that shape and show through the suit suggest that it acts as a

membrane between a private (sexual) body and a public (respectable) body.

Certain elements of the suit, however, served as liminal spaces between the

public and the private.

 Pockets within the suit have important functional and symbolic roles.

Short of carrying a briefcase, the Businessman relied on the pockets of their

suits to carry personal possessions. He carried any number of items in the

course of a working day – wallet, keys, pens, cigarettes or pipe – and all

required to be stored near the body for easy access. The sheer number of

pockets emphasises this while the ready availability of these items spoke for the

Businessman's preparedness and efficiency.[3] The use and design of such

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[3] In all there are nine pockets in a typical suit. They include: two breast-pockets and a smaller pocket on the lower left-hand side inside the jacket, two on each side on the outside, and four pockets in the trousers – two at the thighs (one with a smaller compartment for coins) and two over the buttocks.

pockets, however, could disrupt the carefully constructed bodily boundary. As Barbara Burman explains:

> [m]apping trends of the function of men's pockets show a tension between this moulded, external 'visual tidiness' of the suit and the tendency of used pockets to disrupt it by bulging or sagging with an abundance of portable personal possessions. Like the proverbial cat out of the bag, the disruptive male pocket then reveals just the same degree of consumerism and apparent lack of control over the world of things by which women were judged inferior (2002: 455).

While pockets in one way allowed men to organise their personal possessions, they also served to undermine the boundary established by the suit. Little wonder, then, that they feature so little in advertisements. The masculine qualities of a suit, discussed above, were therefore emphasised over any functional advantage that pockets might give.

The obvious emphasis on the outward appearance of the suited body raises questions about the body beneath. The volatile biological mass beneath should not, and cannot, be ignored. Anne Hollander argues that the 'naked male body, coherent and articulated' is present underneath the suit as, what Burman calls a 'ghostly visual image' (Hollander 1994: 113; Burman 2002: 460). Rather than an ethereal form, the suit contained a fleshy body prone to leakages of discourse and biological matter. Longhurst, who analyses the gendering of bodily 'leaks', argues that women's bodies are constructed according to their (undesirable) potential to leak, while men are positioned 'on the side of mind and solidity' (2001: 102). Suits, with their rigid qualities and dark fabrics, acted to contain bodily by-products. As images of masculinity are strongly aligned with work, it is useful to consider the gendered role of sweat as it is especially aligned with 'hard' work.

Figure 5.9 Bodily comfort and regulated temperatures are aligned with masculine enterprise in this advertisement.

Unlike the rural environments that men would have worked in previously, the urban spaces were sites of bodily control. Sweat presented a challenge to the rigid bodily boundary established by clothing and notions of respectability. The appearance of wetness and bodily odour could be read as a challenge to any claim of solidity and autonomy. For example, if a Businessman was to be seen sweating profusely it could be read as an inability to control his body rather than it being a sign of hard work. Wearing a full suit in high summer presented a particular challenge to the Businessman.

Figure 5.9 shows a typical businessman sitting at a desk mopping his brow and tugging at his collar. The advertisement explains how climate affects the body which, in turn, leads to the breach of the Businessman's suited boundary. His collar and tie are loosened with sleeves rolled up. Rather than being coolly in control he appears distressed by bodily discomfort and loss of productivity. With the development of air conditioning, however, there came a way to control the environment. Businessmen could 'beat the summer' with an air-conditioning unit according to this advertisement. Similar to the domination

of nature in the Modern City, technology allowed Modern Men to control the temperature of their offices. The bottom image of the Businessman in Figure 5.9, who has purchased an air-conditioning unit, is (re)presented in contrast to his clammy colleague. He sits at his desk beside his air-conditioner with one hand adjusting the controls, clearly in control of both his climate and his work. He is dressed immaculately, aware that this technology will make '[e]mployees feel better, think better, work better' (*Waikato Times* 20 October 1965: 35). The text of this advertisement plainly aligns how employees 'feel' with their ability to think and work. Not only did air conditioning allow businessmen to maintain their suited body, but if the advertisement is to be believed, it also improved efficiency. The coolness of the interior of Modern buildings, and the bodily comfort of those that occupy them, were linked to notions of rationality, efficiency, and ultimately, a gendered Modernity.

Similarly, an upright bearing stood for an urban and modern masculinity. Erect posture reference the Darwinian concept of what it was to be a 'civilised' person. The posture of the ideal 'citified' body contrasts with the stooped and animalistic posture of chimpanzees and other close 'relatives'. In turn, bodily metaphors can be read from the design of the cityscape. Modernist buildings emphasised vertical elements, similar to the idealised upright posture of the businessmen who inhabited those spaces. The 'slim-fit' of many suits worn during this period echo the efficiency of contemporary buildings and their sheer forms. The slim body accentuated by the 'slim-fit' was equated with efficiency. Even in the face of increasingly sedentary jobs in the city, fat was seen as something to be disciplined and lost.

As well as forming a solid bodily boundary, the suit coded men's bodies in specific ways. Katrina Honeyman writes that:

> [t]he simplicity of the suit has encouraged suggestions that it was a functional, business-oriented garment. The appearance of functionality, however, was probably more important than its reality, yet its undoubtedly sensible look – in contrast to earlier forms of male dress – was relevant to the contemporary making of masculinity, key features of which were respectability, rationality, sobriety and diligence. Appearance was paramount. Like any other garment a suit made a statement about its wearer. In this case the sartorial message was honesty and rationality, seriousness and discipline (2002: 428).

The suit imbued bodies with an outer shell that emphasised masculine qualities of an ideal male body. It also rendered them as 'in place' in the cityscape. Similar themes of rationality, respectability and efficiency are apparent in the architecture of the cityscape. The suited body was/is something constructed for public life. Yet it entailed bodies that were variously fleshy and private but also regulated and public. Images of Men relied not only on the suit but also on a complex array of performative acts to code individuals as masculine and Modern.

Gendered Gestures: Performances of Male Bodies

In this section I focus on sites of the body that represent fleshiness that existed beneath the suit. The action of hands, modes of gesture and bodily comportment all served to reinforce the typically masculine themes I have discussed. They also extended the Businessman's grasp beyond his fleshy body, to become powerful in discourse. For example, Marchand notes that '… [men's] hands [in advertisements] exemplified the contrast between the functional grasp of the male and the ethereal gesture of the female' (1985: 190). Masculine hands are a marked locus of gendered power as they are often (re)presented as active and

functional. They are signifiers of class and instruments of utilty and control. Their importance to posture and comportment is alloyed with the power of the suited body. An advertisement for India Tyres (Figure 5.10) shows masculine hands in action, gripping a car's steering wheel. This advertisement entices 'the man in a hurry' to 'really "step on it" and let the high powered engine of your modern car take you forward in a thrilling burst of speed' (*Waikato Times* 15 January 1960: 8). The hands of the driver appear in this advertisement as a representation of the hands of the reader – controlling that modern car on a stretch of highway.

Hands most often appear in advertisements manipulating props. Rather than the decorative hands of women in advertisements, masculine hands

Figure 5.10 Similar to the previous advertisement, this one aligns technological advances with the ability of Businessman to carry out their masculine tasks. By 'hurrying' productivity and efficiency are improved.

emphasise action and utility. In a series of photographs in a publicity brochure published by the Hamilton Industrial Development Council (1967), a typical businessman appears interacting with a number of objects (see Appendix A.7). Crucially, this interaction reinforces his position as a man in control. He often appears with maps (presumably of Hamilton) with a ruler, which positions him as the maker of rational decisions. In this image he is looking

into middle distance and gesturing with his right hand as if making a point.

Other gestures also assert masculine authority over props. In a photograph of organisers for the first concert held at Founder's Theatre, four suited men appear, three of them with a finger on a piece of paper 'inspecting the programme for the commemoration concert at Founders Hall' (*Waikato Times* 3 November 1962: 10). The act of 'inspecting', indicated by their clearly staged poses, was used by the *Waikato Times* photographer to convey these men's role in organising events at the theatre. More broadly, the recognition of their efforts in this image suggests their elevated status as 'civic-minded' individuals. Not only do these men adhere to dominant Images of Man, but their bodily gestures reinforce notions of what it was to be 'manly' in the city.

INSPECTING THE PROGRAMME for the commemoration concert at Founders Hall. Left to right, Mr A. E. Cope (stage manager), Mr Haswell Paine (programme organiser), Mr J. R. Day (Hamilton's Public Relations Officer and organiser of back and front stage services) and Mr H. H. Innes (chairman of the executive committee of the Founders of Hamilton association).
(Times Photo)

Figure 5.11 Four of the organisers posing with their plans for the opening gala at Founders' Theatre, November 1962. Their posture signifies their official function and 'Civic Manliness'.

While gesture can be read as a sign of belonging, it can also be read for distinctions between masculine identities. An advertisement for Wilson's Cement (Figure 5.12) has two men with rather different hand gestures, which, when analysed reveals class divisions within Images of Man. The first is similar to the image described above. He is a builder or an engineer pointing out a detail on a plan for a building. His 'lean and jab' gesture is far more active than the other man in the image, presumably an Architect, who sits back with hands folded. This more formal, somewhat sophisticated posture – especially when contrasted to the bold

physicality of the man opposite – hints at which performative gestures could render masculine bodies as 'in place' where notions of respectability reigned. Similar gestures appear in photographs from the period, especially at formal events like opening ceremonies. Whether sitting or standing, those depicted adopt similar gestures and comportment (see Figures 4.6 and 5.6) at the opening of Founder's Theatre and the Claudelands road bridge. In both instance, Mayor Rogers, male dignitaries and onlookers are often shown with a somewhat rigid posture and with hands clasped or folded. A gendered reading of this trend suggests that hands, as sites of masculine power, were controlled in such formal situations. They are not shown manipulating tools or objects other than those recording the event or necessary to perform the ceremony. An active, grasping masculinity is under regulation, to appear respectable and rational. The gaze of the audience, full of cultural expectations, disciplined these bodies to perform in specific ways. Additionally, gesture is often the signifier of a masculine gaze of the land/city-scape.
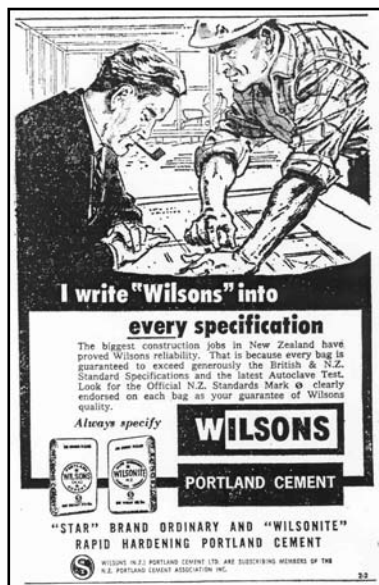
Figure 5.12 Clear class distinctions are made through gesture in this advertisement.

Examples of men gesturing with their hands are shown in Figures 4.4 and 5.13. In the first, the Engineer's Assistant points out a point of interest to two senior engineers while earthworks are underway in the background.[4]

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[4] The class distinction described in the paragraph above is also evident in Figure 4.4. The Engineer's Assistant is shown pointing, a somewhat active gesture in comparison to the more reserved posture of the two suited (and professionally superior) men. These two rely on more abstract forms of masculine identity rather than the physical 'manliness' inherent to the raised-arm-and-pointing gesture.

This is an obvious example of a controlling, masculine gaze that has potential to modify the landscape. The physical act of gazing, signified by the pointing hand and arm, is translated into abstract plans by the two men on the right. This path of production also represents the ways in which the Businessman and his derivatives distinguished themselves by opposition to other forms of masculinity.

Similarly, a man (probably an architect or engineer judging by his clothing) is shown in Figure 5.13 alongside two men in overalls. Yet, the distinction between different assertions of masculinity should not be overstated. It is clear that the suited man associates with the two overalled men, in spite of the difference in occupational status evident in both their clothing and their comportment. While the three were likely to chat over 'smoko' (which is, I

Figure 5.13 Three men, probably an architect or engineer with construction workers, survey the construction of Founders Theatre c.1962.

suspect, was when this photograph was taken given that the man on the left is holding a cigarette) the more open and erect posture of the architect/engineer indicates a certain amount of possession over the construction he was in charge of. The use of his hand to shade his eyes not only enables him to gaze on the progress of construction but emphasises this act of looking. It is an active gesture, but not one that indicates a sense of 'physicality'. In both photographs, different assertions of masculinity are evident based on class and occupational status and rely on the creative potential of masculine hands. Yet hands also had a performative role to play in concert with clothing that seems to transcend such divisions.

As well as manipulating objects and technology, hands often appeared interacting with the pockets of clothing. Yet '[t]he hand in the trouser pocket, though expressive of bodily confidence and presence, was also an ambivalent stance because of its association with poor deportment, lack of restraint and degeneracy' (Burman 463). The image of a man with (a) pocketed hand(s) was quite common in clothing advertisements. It applies to Images of Man across class divisions. However, read within the context of the highly respectable comportment of the Businessman, a hand in the pocket can be read as a daring and somewhat debonair expression of identity as Burman suggests. The pose of the man in the

Figure 5.14 Hands are engaged with pockets here in a performance of effortlessness.

Berwick suits advertisement (Figure 5.8), standing coolly with one pocketed hand, is infused with gendered symbolism. Abstract forms of power and capital, controlled via letters, plans, employees and the telephone, for example, relied on the hands of the Businessman for action and direction. Instances where one hand is revealed emphasises its utility, while hinting at the pocketed potential of the other. This relaxed stance is an idealised bodily metaphor for a man comfortably in control.

The ease with which men stand, with one pocketed hand, hints at the confidence felt during performances of masculine identity. Burman argues that:

> the embodiment of power does not always have to occur purely through the development of a powerful body. … This is evident in the way the articulation and form of the male body is emphasised by disposition of hands in pockets (2002: 461).

It seems that a certain amount of authority and power came from the extent to which men *comfortably* performed masculinity, in contrast to the exertion and raw physicality of traditional masculinities. The Businessman defined himself through postures and gestures of comfort and ease that aligned with rationality and logic. Crucially, this posture emphasises the 'maleness' of male bodies. With two hands pocketed the arms form a diamond shape, inverse to the ideal 'v' shape of a male torso, which gives the impression of wider shoulders and often reveals the slimness of the waist. When thrust into trouser pockets, the bulge made by hands also draws attention to the groin in a way that is rather more respectable than vulgar. Especially in the cityscape, where men were most often engaged at sedentary jobs, a physically powerful body was not necessarily of any use. However, an efficient, respectable, 'manly' body was.

An advertisement for 'Action Waist' trousers also shows one pocketed hand, this time to emphasise the 'slim-fit' of the product (Figure 5.14). Notions

of slimness and fitness have long been align with efficiency, as noted above with reference to the Silhouette Studios advertisement. Moreover, the masculine imperative to be doing *something* with one's hands might be the motivation behind this gesture. Rather than hanging limp beside the leg, this hand is partially inside the pocket, as if fishing for keys or a wallet. Such objects were essential to performing daily tasks, and represent both public and private spheres.

Processes of production and consumption, work and home, are represented by these objects in particular. Personal belongings such as these have a place in public and private space, as do the features of clothing that carry them. Further, '[p]ockets offer one of the few permissible breaches of the clothed space between the private body and the public world' (Burman 2002: 460). Gender, then, is something simultaneously private and public and is often performed in tandem with these functional flaps of fabric. Pockets are liminal zones between the two spaces, containing objects and body parts applicable to both. Images of Man, relying as they do on themes of 'publicness', efficiency and rationality, are embellished through analysis of everyday detail such as the use of pockets. Rather than undermining the rigidity of masculine bodies as a 'breach' of a suited boundary, they carried objects that allowed men to be autonomous (i.e. able to purchase items and access spaces) and powerful in a gendered cityscape. The functional potential of pockets outweighs any negative effect that a 'hands in pockets disposition' might have on an erect and respectable posture.

The Importance of Being Erect: Posture and the Phallus in the Modern City

Rather than strictly emulating the physique of the Ancients, as expressed in statues and frescoes, these firm and stony forms were referenced by rigid boundaries of acceptable masculinity. Stretching this metaphor further, concrete symbolism of masculine bodies appeared in the cement and steel of Modernist buildings and the cityscape at large. Reinforced concrete, then, re-enforced expectations about what it was to be, or have, a citified, masculine body. As Grosz argues, 'the city always leaves its traces on the subject's corporeality' (1998: 49).

During the 1960s the phallus, as symbolic power of masculinity, was an increasingly abstract reference to rigid and upright form and function. Concrete was infused with gendered discourse and masculine bodies followed suit. Forty comments on the gendered symbolism of Modernist architecture. He writes that it is 'characterized by repetition and rigidity which sounds just like a description of male sexuality'(2000: 59). In light of this perspective, comments made in the *Civic Commercial and Industrial Yearbook* take on a new, more revealing, meaning. Speaking of new office buildings, he writes: '[t]hese structures poke their great girders aloft, reaching five and six storeys skyward where one storey was once considered adequate' (1955: 67). Yet both Modernist design and masculine identity emphasised modesty and respectability alongside rationality. Buildings and bodies were both disciplined to make them appropriate to the cityscape while also asserting masculine characteristics. As I have argued above in relation to the suited body, bodily boundaries were made firm and rigid to seal and regulate the biological form beneath.

Figure 5.15 In this advertisement the acceptable bulges of biceps are striking next to the absence of any bulge within the underwear.

Underwear, as shown in advertisements, was a particular site of this process. Advertisements for underwear often called attention to a product's unique ability to provide 'masculine support'. Images of men in underwear also had bodily bulges smoothed out to preserve a firm boundary, as shown in Figures 5.15 and 5.16. The absence of the most masculine of bulges in advertisements, that made by male genitals, is striking. Especially where more acceptable bodily bulges, such as the accentuated biceps in Figure 5.15, are emphasised, this is a glaring gendered absence. Such advertisements 'give body' to Images of Man while underwear appeared as a two-dimensional layer over a three-dimensional image. While this trend might reflect censorship policies of the period, it is a glaring absence to contemporary eyes. Early twenty-first century advertisements, including All Black Dan Carter's celebrated Jockey underwear series, have an all-too-obvious bulge (see Appendix A.8). This contrast suggests ways in which masculine power was embodied over time.

The absent-presence of genitals and their phallic power disembodies images of men. They retained their privileged and rational status by being aligned more with their minds than their bodies. This is similar to the privileging of culture over nature in the cityscape discussed in the previous

Figure 5.16 This advertisement depicts a 'castrated' male crotch in detail. The absence of any hint of male genitals raises questions about their role in constructing masculinity.

chapter. By contrast, advertisements for women's underwear show obvious traces of (a sexualised) physicality beneath. Women's bodies were often associated with natural and biological forms, and especially with notions of beauty. One advertisement for Hickory strapless brassieres (see Appendix A.9) emphasises the shape and form of breasts, accompanied by discussion of contour. The models' faces also indicate sexual availability to complement reclining or decorative poses in contrast to the active and powerful depictions of men.

The way these bodies were represented, such as the conventions of drawing or photography used, were structured with gender in mind. Turbin notes trends in the drafting of male bodies in advertisements in the 1920s: 'Turns in the directions of lines that shaped the body and features are not rounded but gently angled, conveying strength and presence' (2002: 475). Women, on the other hand, were shown with gentle curves or 'contours'. Crucially, this difference affected how men and women were portrayed as Modern. Marchand writes that 'if a woman's modernity was primarily decorative, a man's was primarily functional' (Marchand 1985: 191). He also notes that '[t]hat difference reaffirmed which of the sexes was truly instrumental

in making the world modern' (1985: 245). In this way, men's perceived role as provider, planner and decision-maker was evident in advertising, and accorded a considerable amount of gendered power. It suggests that masculine power, as a signifier of modernity, could be deployed in the absence of the phallus proper through various other means.

Shaving the Modern Way: Clean-shaving and Images of Man

A cleanly shaven face is a consistent feature of the Businessman, while shaving is an important masculine performance. It is a daily re-coding of the body for public life and the disciplining of an important bodily boundary and site of identity. Moreover, shaving is a sign of 'manliness' as it is often positioned as a sign of emerging 'manhood' during adolescence. Advertisements for electric and 'wet' shavers reveal a moral economy of cleanliness that surrounded the construction of a 'citified' masculine body. The modernity of such men was also defined by contrast to Images of Man from Hamilton's past.

As established above, the Businessman was almost always clean-shaven. The absence, and daily removal, of facial hair reveals the face as a unified whole. Rather than masked by whiskers, and through this conforms with Modernist notions of democracy, regulation and the primacy of technology. The clean-shaven man has nothing to hide, is clearly subject to bodily self-regulation, and engages with technology to maintain a firm bodily boundary. These smooth faces of Modern Men are reflected in the stark surfaces and clean lines of Modernist architecture. In addition, the practice of shaving recalls the (re)construction of the cityscape; how it is sealed over and (re)presented as Modern. Faces have an important role in cultural life. As the symbolic and

material bearer of identity, analysis of faces is crucial to an understanding of 'citified' bodies. As I have argued above, masculinity during this period relied on the maintenance of firm bodily boundaries. The performance of 'clean-shaving' bears out a tension between the biological and cultural elements of Modern Man. Yet it was his natural qualities that served as outward signifiers of masculinity. Bodily size and shape, genitals and the ability to grow (facial) hair were coded according to concepts of an appropriate masculinity. While men's physical prowess played a lesser role in advertisements, the robust qualities of facial hair was emphasised – as well as reifying the technologies used to tame it. This Gillette advertisement (Figure 5.17) was designed to appeal to the (male?) consumer's concept of masculinity.[5] Over 25,000 'real tough bristles' grow on a face each day. This 'toughness' attests to both the man that grew them overnight and the shaver that removes them. As a result, he is a 'real man' who gets a 'real man's shave'. The engagement with increasingly sophisticated shaving technology allowed men to be more active and be more efficient in their daily ablutions while also maintaining a high level of hygiene. The application of consumer technologies

Figure 5.17 In this advertisement the qualities of a 'real man's' shave are described. The performance of shaving is inherently masculine. Yet further 'real' masculine identity was conferred on the shaver who engaged with this new technology.

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[5] While such shavers were used by men, it is unclear whether they were purchased by men. A perennial Father's Day favourite, shavers were likely to be given as gifts. Their 'usefulness' and efficiency at removing stubble makes a shaver a suitably masculine gift.

helped to stream-line the process of creating a daily veneer of respectability and cleanliness. The act of shaving should be efficient and effective as shown in an advertisement for the Remington Roll-A-Matic Deluxe that promises the 'cleanest, quickest shave' (*Waikato Times* 28 November 1962: 24). The Ambassador 1200 also boasted cutting-edge technology with twin-rotary 'floating heads', 'more powerful motor' that ensured a shave that was 'faster, closer, cleaner' (*Waikato Times* 26 November 1962: 15). Again, physical qualities of masculinity were mediated by technology in this Modern Age.

The shaven face becomes a signifier of modernity when it is contrasted to historical trends of facial hair fashion. More precisely, it is defined as Modern in opposition to 'old-fashioned' styles and shaving methods. The moustaches, 'lamb chop' sideburns and goatee beards of the nineteenth century were also modern in the sense that they were contemporary for their times. Photographs and paintings depict men from colonial Hamilton with faces full of hair in various styles. For researchers looking back, the modernity of facial hair was under negotiation at Hamilton's Centennial in 1964. Figure 4.12 shows actors in costume to re-enact the landing of the first settlers at Hamilton. They (re)inscribed their clean-shaven faces with camp historicity with appliqué facial hair. Figure 5.18 shows one of the participants having a beard applied to his face for his role in the re-enactment. The performance of a historical masculinity relied on such signifiers of masculinity as facial hair. As such, facial hair played a role in inscribing Modern Men as belonging to their time.

The performative aspect of shaving calls into question whether clean-shaving was indeed an unquestioned act, or part of a wider project to encode bodies with a new Modernity. The symbolism of a shaven face, especially one

that is cleanly (or recently) shaven emphasised the newness and youth of

Hamilton in particular, and post-war society in general The clean shaven faces

of the crowd behind the actors hints at the authoritative look of the Modern face.

Within categories of past and present, facial hair became a marker of what was

and was not in or out of place in an increasingly urban Hamilton.

This vignette of historical facial hair is part of a trend apparent in

architecture and in bodily performance. Architects of the Modern movement

rejected applied decoration in favour of more efficient and functional building

forms and designs. The uniformity of clean-shaven faces in photographs and

advertisements is similar. The overly decorative (albeit fake) facial hair of the

actors parodied the waxed moustaches and carefully trimmed goatees of the

nineteenth century. The practice of clean
shaving represented efficiency and a rejection
of non-functional decoration. Attention paid to
male appearance is 'not about "beauty" but
rather is part of the active performance of
masculinity' (Tait 2002: 196).

Figure 5.18 Facial hair as farce: decorative appliqué facial hair is applied to a Modern face in this image. Excessive attention to appearance was considered effeminate. The bushy beard belonged to an outmoded past, 'othered' by a Modern 1960s present and positioned as 'old-fashioned'.

The function of shaving, the
performance of a most masculine habit, was
represented by the clean-shaven face. Themes
of efficiency in the practice of shaving were
literally inscribed onto the masculine body. The
man who was able to shave effectively on the

way to work not only demonstrates his ability to discipline his wild and natural

body but also his proficiency in getting a 'good' shave. Indeed, the practice of

shaving is positioned as a commodity in advertisements; a shave is something one gets, rather than does. Emphasis is clearly placed on the end product of shaving: the clean shaven face with all of its imbued symbolic value. In keeping with architectural rejection of the decorative past, to 'clean shave' was to code the body as efficient and Modern.

Conclusion

By focussing on a few of the smaller details of daily life this chapter has (re)production discourse and flesh in urban space. Gendered privilege infused everyday objects and spaces to shape experience, bodies and places. These processes were powerful simply because they were 'assertively ordinary' (Garb 1998: 26). Space, power and gender were, and are, fluid and under constant (re)negotiation. Notions of Modernity, for bodies and space, are also dynamic. As the editors of *Sites of Gender* write of their case studies, 'Modernity was not exterior to people's existence, but was literally embodied in their bodies and psyches, and that embodiment was profoundly gendered' (2003: 4).

The everyday processes that (re)constructed place and people as Modern in 1960s Hamilton were profoundly gendered. In this chapter I have observed a commonality between (re)construction of the cityscape, male bodies and masculinity. Hamilton's image as a Modern City bore similarities to images of a Modern Man. I have drawn on Grosz's concept of 'citified bodies' to explain this relationship with reference to local empirical examples. In the Conclusion of this thesis I review my argument while suggesting areas for future research. In addition, I will reflect on my role as a researcher looking back to the future of Hamilton in the 1960s.

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Chapter Six: Conclusion

(Back to) The Future of Hamilton

(Re)Constructing Cities and Bodies

This chapter has a number of functions, and includes a summary of the thesis points of departure for research that will follow it. Firstly, I summarise the main argument of this project, and suggest some outcomes of my research into the mutual 'citification' of cities and bodies. Secondly, I discuss the importance of theory and method in historical and geographical research. Following that, I reflect on my position as a Man from the Future and researcher, using historical 'traces' to make conclusions about the past. Finally, I suggest future areas for research in gender, ethnicity, sexuality and Hamilton.

Images of Modern Men and the Modern City appear rigid and concrete. By focussing on the corporeality of men's bodies in the city the privileging of masculinity can be interrogated. It is interesting that at a time of flow and change, when Hamilton was being modernised, that this sense of stern inflexibility should prevail. Yet, appearances can be deceiving. This thesis has shown that gendered and civic identities were under active negotiation during the post-war period, spurred on by notions of Modernity and visions of the future. In particular, masculine identity underwent significant change. As the urban area and urban workforce grew, so too did notions of a Modern and urban Man. As such, the Businessman had something for (or from) 'everyman'. Masculinities based around traditional notions of pioneer 'bloke' manliness were modified to appear 'in place' within the cityscape. More abstract assertions of masculine power – through capital, rhetoric, and office technology – affected

the former emphasis on raw manly physicality. Within the image of the Businessman exists a plethora of gendered identities based around categories of class, ethnicity, occupation, physical characteristics, marital status and so on. It persisted as a gendered cliché simply because it had broad relevance to a wide range of masculinities. The Businessman embodied success and served as a reliable, and recognisable, benchmark for heterosexual masculinity.

The Modern City was also highly recognisable. It appeared in popular culture and lived in cultural imaginations of what a city should be like. The construction of Modernist buildings in post-war Hamilton linked this local example to a wider context of modernisation. For example, the *Waikato Times* often reported on Modernist architecture in other cities, both in New Zealand and overseas. The comments of visitors to Hamilton, such as discussed in Chapter Four, confirms this. Hamilton was (re)constructed to seal and regulate the natural landscape beneath it. Concrete was poured in vast volumes to achieve this. Yet, the symbolism of the form that it took reveals something more.

Together, Modern Men and Modern Cities convey a sense of solidity that indicates a feeling of belonging. Modern Men were 'in place' in the city, while the city itself was established within a discourse with nature and its 'natural beauty'. I have suggested throughout that this solidity was in response to war; the past was sealed over and new cities and masculinities allowed for progress beyond a destructive past. International prosperity and population growth also contributed to solidity. The capital required to construct Modernist edifices was available, and the growth of many companies and organisations demanded more (suitably urban and Modern) office space. Cultural capital, too, was available,

and the wholesale importation of European and American Modernism added symbolic value to the cityscape.

I have also noted that these were primarily Pākehā assertions of identity. Notions of belonging are especially important to understanding 'settler societies' such as New Zealand. For Hamilton, located at the centre of what was a battleground in the nineteenth century, this is especially important. The Modernist hand that flattened and dominated natural features helped to create a sense of belonging in the cityscape. Themes of possession and ownership pervade the processes of (re)construction I have described above. The post-war period could also be read as a time when locals re-asserted sovereignty over their lands and territory. The threat of world war and fascism had previously threatened the claims that many people had to particular places and spaces.

In Hamilton, one particular claim to space can be read from the corporeality of Businessmen. I have argued that there are distinct synergies between the strictly geometric forms of Modernist Cityscapes and the rigid embodiments and identities of dominant masculinities. This is no accident, as these similarities render men as 'in place', or belonging to, the cityscape. Questions of causality surrounding this relationship have not been explored in any depth here. Perhaps the issue of causality is a moot point, as it would be nearly impossible to argue that either bodies or cities predate one or the other. What remains, however, is a mode of reading everyday cityscapes and bodies to reveal examples of gendered (and other) exclusions.

This mode of reading has been the direct result of the use of poststructuralist theory. With it, I aimed to achieve something close to what Star describes as being its purpose:

> to figure out how to re-imbue everyday worlds masked with seeming 'obviousness' and 'transparency' with mystery, incredulity, humour, and a lusty, noisy, edgy, tactile sense of the political unknown (1999: 42).

With these aims in mind this research project has accessed and critiqued traces of everyday experiences in a past Hamilton. In addition, a distinctly critical methodology has been used to complement this use of theory. It was designed to push the boundaries of 'acceptable' academic scholarship to find instances of flesh in historical records. Using semiological and discourse analysis, and by using the researcher's body as method, I have been able to draw conclusions about bodily experience. The 'newness' of theory and method, as deployed in this thesis, represents a point of departure for future research.

Hamilton's cityscape, and the bodies within it, were (re)constructed during the post-war period and especially during the 1960s. A strong sense of 'newness' prevailed during this process. This relied on the maintenance of a temporal boundary that kept a recent past of war and austerity in check. The 'new start' described by Wadman in Chapter Four, ensured this, alongside the architectural language of Modernism. Change and transition came under the control of typically masculine structures and symbolism. Bodies were also disciplined through bodily performance and the presence of idealised images of Modern Man. Where ruptures in these boundaries did occur they were negotiated by discourses of Modernity. Hamilton's history, along with that of 'Man', became a benign narrative of progress. At the Centennial, the past was (re)constructed as a benign narrative of progress. The future was imagined within a similar framework, and appeared in architectural design, the rhetoric of politicians and Civic Men, editorial comment and even comics (see Figure 6.1).

This thesis can be read as a conversation between researcher and source to cross a boundary between past and present. While this is common to all historical scholarship, it was also obvious during Hamilton's (re)construction. Donald argues that:

> [p]lans for the future represent not only a programme for action, or a prediction of what tomorrow's city will look like, but another potent speech act designed to bring that perfect future into being. Put like that, it is clear that we are not dealing with a past of memory, a present of description, and a future of imagination and planning. The past, exists as the projection backwards of present concerns (1996: 184).

I have argued throughout that the past was (re)constructed at the same time that the present underwent material and discursive change. The concept of Modernity prevalent in the 1960s relied on a notion of what the future might hold. Statements like the following, written by Mayor Dr Denis Rogers for the official Centennial publication *Hamilton Hundred*, is one such example:

> This publication is one of the mediums through which we can look back and give thanks and praise to those who one hundred years ago laid the foundations of this "City of Opportunity" and worked to make both the present and future possible for us (Coumbe 1964: 3).

Figure 6.1 A time-traveller from the distant future explains his fiendish motives to his captives in a 1960s present. Historians, too, should divulge their own positionality in research.

My position as a researcher looking backwards is similar to the process that was undertaken in post-war Hamilton. Contemporary concerns often shape narratives of the past. Hamilton is currently experiencing rapid growth, and the increasing population density could well provoke changes in discourse and identity.

My account of Hamilton in the 1960s is

partial and fragmented, and is informed by my experience of the city forty years on.

A crucial part of that perspective lies in my role as a Man from the Future. Mayor Rogers' gendered comment, discussed in Chapter Four, refers to my generation of Hamiltonians. Those in post-war Hamilton that I have mentioned looked to the future through a lense of progress and Modernity. The bright optimism and faith in the future that was present in speeches, articles and buildings remain only as traces. During this project, my performance of 'looking back' has been couched in nostalgia. That is, 'the subtle pleasure of imaginatively experiencing the past from the detached standpoint of the present' (Wilson 1996: 138-9). The motives that lie behind these projects of (re)constructing the past should be clearly stated.

Future Research Directions

This gendered history of Hamilton reveals the most banal examples of how masculine thought and systems of privilege shape(d) space and lives. The dominance of masculine discourses around what it was to *be* modern tended to marginalise 'other' identities. The all-too familiar rational, economic and legal arguments contend that there was/is no symbolism in the cityscape (and certainly no gendered symbolism!). According to this argument, the proliferation of multi-storey buildings was merely an architectural response to an increased demand for office space.

I have taken this argument into account in this thesis, yet I am aware that it is one of a few that has hitherto befuddled any gendered reading of Hamilton. More specifically, it has concealed instances of gendered, ethnic and sexual inequality in the experiences of urban space. Such is the latent authority of this

rational (and overwhelmingly masculine) voice that any counter-argument can (and sometimes is) positioned as 'fanciful'. Rather than reject this established view outright, I would rather critique it as a way to complement my own reading. Poststructuralist theory, with all of its emphasis on multiple versions of reality, provides the means for discussing even contradictory readings of the cityscape in a way that is meaningful.

While the perennial themes of ethnicity/gender/sexuality have been dealt with in some depth in international literature future work would benefit from a local perspective that gives intimate detail. Firstly, women's experiences of Hamilton require more research.[1] I could certainly find no literature on the role of feminine identities in creating space in Hamilton. This thesis has been an exploration of dominant masculine identities. By investigating the relationship between people and place I have shown how masculine bodies and space

Figure 6.2 Taken in about 1962, this photograph illustrates the position of women in Hamilton at that time, and their presence in historical scholarship until recently.

(re)create each other. Further research might usefully be targeted at identities that were marginalised so as to maintain firm social and cultural boundaries.

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[1] An exhibition currently showing at the Waikato Museum of Art and History, entitled *Mrs Brown's Big Day Out* is an early exploration of feminine identities and experience in Hamilton. While it does not provide a critique of gendered experiences, and does not take issues of class or ethnicity into account, its presence in public space is encouraging. Meanwhile, Jane Fisk's PhD thesis, to be completed in late 2007 at the University of Waikato, examines the creation of space by Hamilton women involved in voluntary groups between the wars.

Figure 6.2 illustrates one such example. This curious image was found in the same archive that many of the images in this thesis were drawn from. It depicts a naked female mannequin in a rather bleak alleyway, watched over from a height by two men. While little is known about how and when this photograph was taken, it serves as a useful visualisation of power relations in 1960s Hamilton. Women were certainly present in the city, as shown in many photographs included in this thesis. Their position as consumers, however, was positioned as inferior to the role of men who produced the Modernist Cityscape. The fact that men dominated occupations that transformed the cityscape only reinforces this symbolism. The alignment of decorative natural beauty (symbolised by the nudity of the mannequin) with that which was feminine is in direct contrast to the rational, self-contained and somewhat disembodied Images of Men discussed here. The mannequin, a symbol of consumerism and 'decorative' gender, appears in the 'hard' space of an alleyway under the (masculine) gaze of the camera and the two men observing from first storey windows.

Looking back, this thesis has a distinct absence of female bodies and feminine symbolism, except where they are used to elucidate their masculine counterparts. As a conscious decision, this is not a glaring omission. Rather, it reflects my attempt to focus in on masculine identity and redress its relative absence in scholarship to date. Further research that focusses on women's experiences of the cityscape would fill out this account. In a similar vein, a wider variety of masculine identities should also be explored. The late 1960s and its distinctive counter-culture movement provides another lens with which to complicate and undermine dominant Images of Man. The appearance of

'Mod' and 'weirdie-beardie' masculinities during this time represent further research directions.

Research should focus not just on gendered identities, however, but also on 'other' ethnic identities. Speaking at Hamilton's Centennial celebrations in August 1964, the voice of the Right Reverend J. T. Holland, then Bishop of Waikato, was one of very few who seemed to be aware of marginalisation. To a crowded Founders Theatre he was reported to have said that:

> [t]here were far too many people in Hamilton who because of their nationality or colour of their skin were made to feel unwanted or rejected. (*Waikato Times* 24 August 1964: 4).

While this thesis has emphasised gendered privilege in the (re)construction of Hamilton it is also worth noting that this process was overwhelmingly Pākehā.

Figure 6.3 Progress was certainly in no danger of being hemmed in during this period. Yet Māori and 'other' identities were enclosed or marginalised in the cityscape and elsewhere.

Processes of sealing and themes of rigidity can be re-read in a post-colonial mode to understand them as instances of 'whitening' the cityscape. As illustrated by Figure 6.3 while progress was not enclosed, 'other' identities may have been. Discourses of Modernity and progress can also be re-read as exclusively Pākehā or European.

Lastly, the more recent and celebrated presence of the 'Riff Raff' statue on Hamilton's Victoria Street raises the spectre of homosexuality and transexuality that has

haunted heterosexual identities.[2] Suppressed or 'underground' queer identities exist(ed) in a strict binary with heteronormative performances of gender that appeared on the street. While research into the performance of these identities would be valuable in their own right, they would also elucidate the ways in which heteronormative identities were constructed in the city and how the city itself was (re)constructed as straight(ened) space.

The strictly rigid and geometric forms of Hamilton's cityscape, both past and present, had/has a profound effect on the (re)construction of identities that exist(ed) within it. Moreover, the fleshy bodies of Hamiltonians were implicated in this process, which had considerable impact on personal embodiments. Looking forward, this thesis hints toward a future where critical theory has a leading role to play in the interpretation and experience of everyday life.

<p style="text-align:center">⚐</p>

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[2] Riff-Raff, a character in the cult classic play *The Rocky Horror Picture Show,* was played by Hamiltonian Richard O'Brien, who also wrote the musical. First written in 1973, it has been re-staged continuously since and was made into a feature film in 1975. Themes of sexuality, especially homosexuality and transexuality, are latent in both the play and the film. A bronze life-size statue of O'Brien in full stage costume as Riff-Raff was unveiled in Hamilton's main street in 2004.

Appendices
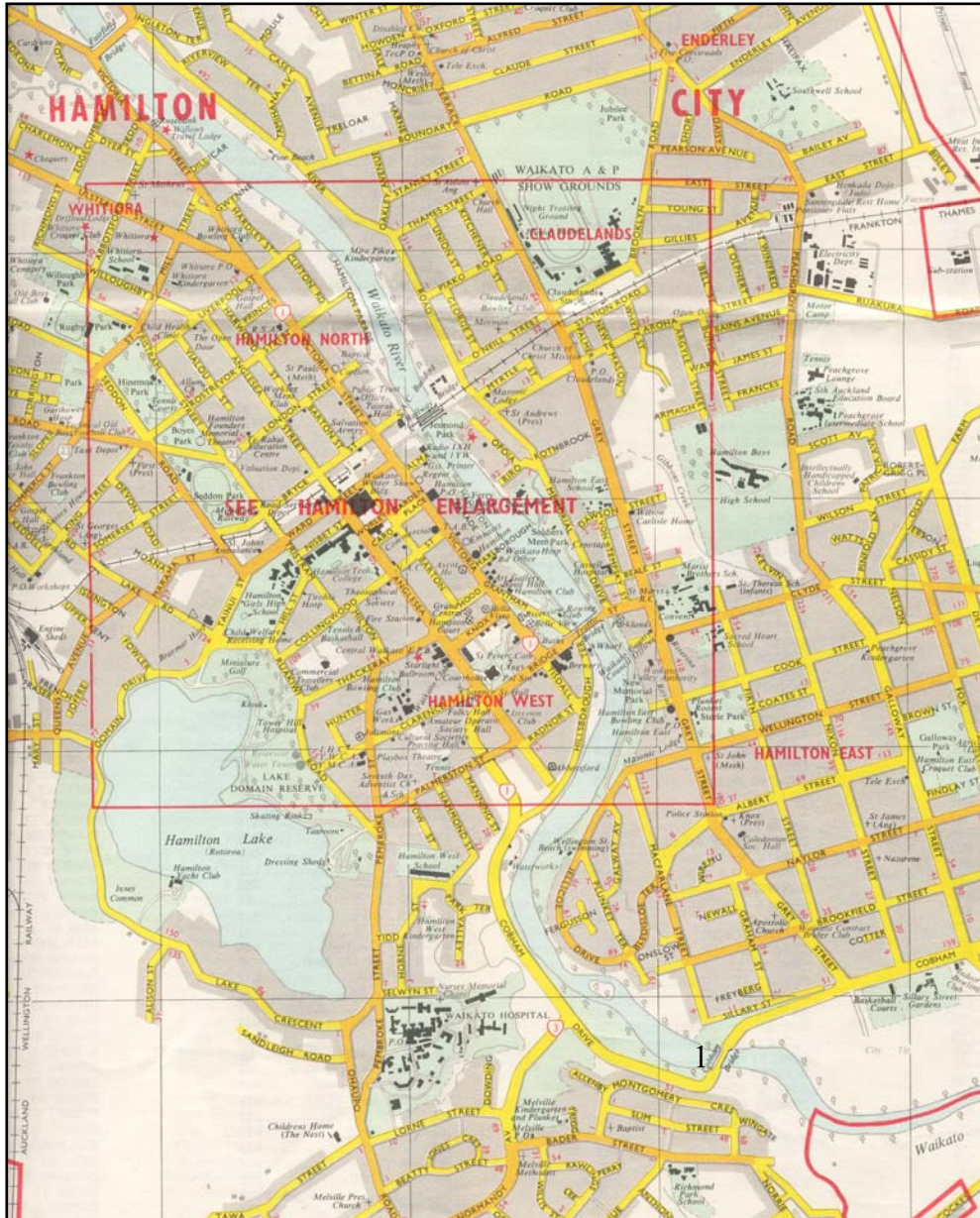
Figure A.1 Detail of Hamilton City. Cobham Drive and bridge are located in the bottom right of this map at 1.
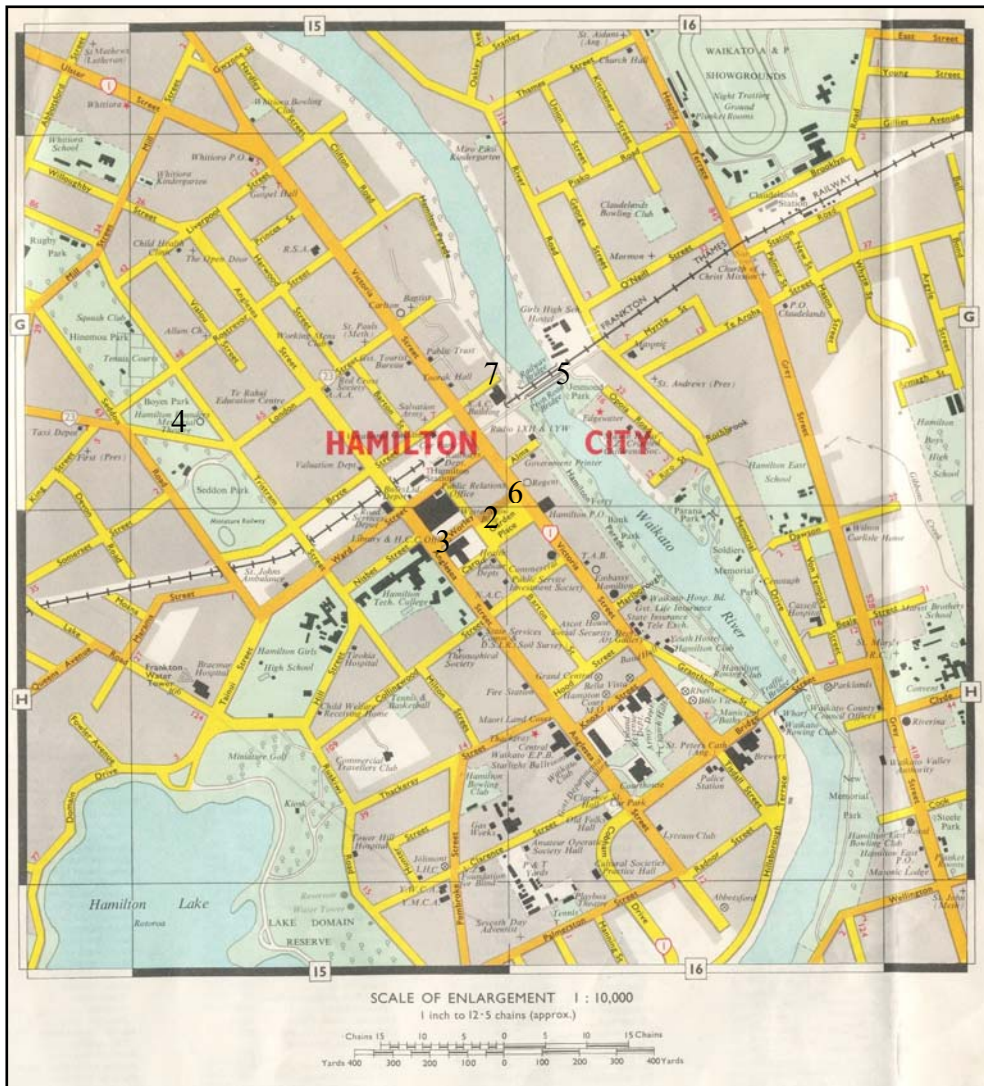
Figure A.2 Inset of Hamilton's central district. Selected buildings and sites mentioned in this thesis are:

2. Garden Place
3. Hamilton City Council chambers
4. Founders' Theatre
5. Claudelands bridges (rail and footbridge in 1965)
6. BNZ building
7. State Advances Corporation

Figure A.3 The 1960s vintage suit that was used as part of this research.

Figure A.4 Detail of the same suit emphasising features of its construction, especially padding of the shoulders and tailoring around the neck and lapels.

Figure A.5 'Progress today needs powerful tools to meet its demands'. This advertisement, while it praised the tools that had built Modern Cities to date, also recognised that even more powerful tools would be required in the future.

Figure A.6 This advertisement, originally in full-page format in the *Waikato Times*, encouraged different groups of (Pākehā) people to get fit, according to their perceived role in society. For young women, exercise contributed to beauty and an improvement of 'vital statistics'. 'Housewives', who would have 'fitness problems', could schedule exercise in with their visits to town. Businessman stood to benefit from greater energy and efficiency, while the development of muscle and toning of flesh was emphasised for 'young men'.

Figure A.7 A businessman, complete with ruler, book and maps, gestures as though an idea has come to him, or is engaged in conversation.

Figure A.8 One of All Black Dan Carter's celebrated underwear advertisements that appeared on billboards, internet websites, in Jockey outlets and in print media. Bodily bulges are not suppressed, here, but emphasised by lighting. The clear emphasis on physicality in this advertisement makes its 1960s counterparts seem conservative.

Figure A.9 The appearance of sexual availability and the emphasis of feminine curves contrast with the 'tight' corporeality depicted in men's underwear advertisements.

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