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Keeping the money under the soap : constructions of the English and English migrants in Australian nationalist texts

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Constructions of the English and English migrants in Australian Nationalist texts.

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USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

Abstract of thesis

'Where does an Englishman hide his money?'
'I don't know. Where *does* an Englishman hide his money?'
'Under the soap'.

This thesis interrogates representations of 'Englishness' and by extension, English

migrants, in a variety of Australian cultural texts, including film, television,

newspapers and academic publications. Underlying this investigation are two major

research questions: What are the factors informing the ambivalent place accorded

'Englishness' in Australian cultural texts? and What can this form of investigation

tell us about Australian culture and associated national myths? I have attempted to

reinterpret these national myths through the texts / narratives of Englishness and class.

One of my aims was to force the violence of politics and ideology back into the

seemingly natural binary opposition of Australia / England (otherwise known as the

Aussies and the poms), exploring the ramifications upon Australian nationalist myths.

Due to my emphasis here on discourse itself, *how* it constructs and shapes national

identities for example, I have elected to incorporate textual devices designed to

disrupt and interrupt the text. These interruptions include passages from English

migrant interviews and song lyrics for example. It is anticipated that these disruptions

constantly remind, to paraphrase Fredric Jameson, that history is always perforated:

'History with holes' (1990, 130). I argue that it is through these cracks in the screen

that the conservative underbelly of Australian nationalist narratives becomes

increasingly visible. I have endeavoured to reveal to what extent 'Englishness'

continues to function as an empty signifier, where often opposing stereotypes flourish.

For example, while Englishness in Australian cultural forms was at times linked with

servility, deference and a rigid class system, it was also linked with militancy and

political activism in the form of the troublesome pommie shop steward. In chapter

one I suggest where these un-deconstructed 'types' emanated from, contextualising my theory through the languages of class, going on to suggest why and how these stereotypes have remained so cogent. The cogency of these representations is revealed through the chapters on film, television, newspapers and academic publications. Finally, I argue for a complete reassessment of how the signifier 'Englishness' is functioning, both ideologically and politically, in Australian nationalist narratives.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(i)   *incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for*

        a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

(ii)   *contain any material previously published or written by another person*

        except where due reference is made in the text; or

(iii)   *contain any defamatory material.*

I also grant permission for the Library at Edith Cowan University to make duplicate copies of my thesis as required.

12 August 2005.

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Last but by no means least, the English migrants who allowed me to interview them: Fran, Mick, Dave, John, Steven, Jim, Amy, Andre, Paul, Sue, Josephine, Michaela and Jane. Your humour and honesty was greatly appreciated and influenced the form this thesis has taken.

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Keeping the Money Under the Soap: Constructions of the English and English migrants in Australian nationalist texts.

Introduction

The following dissertation has undergone substantial shifts since I began researching this topic several years ago. Originally the focus was to be English migrants themselves, but it became apparent very early on that this was only a part of the story that I argue needs telling. Firstly, as an undergraduate I became aquainted with different theoretical approaches to language, 'truth' and discourse, ideas which continue to inform and colour my perceptions, analytical approaches and readings. Secondly, it soon became transparent that the mention of 'migrant' in regards to a thesis appeared to equate with specific practices and expectations. 'Migrant studies' as paradigmatic? Perhaps this is too strong a claim, although I suggest not. Thirdly, the ambiguous place accorded English migrants in the discourse of Australian migrant studies became increasingly impossible to overlook, and – a degree of honesty is surely required on my part – my English migrant subject position only compounded my doubts and questions regarding how to proceed.   These doubts and questions have in turn led to my key research questions which are: What are the factors informing the ambivalent place accorded 'Englishness' in Australian cultural texts? What can this form of investigation tell us about Australian culture and associated national myths? I am positing a reinterpretation of these national myths through the texts / narratives of Englishness and class. But there are 'other' questions that continued to resonate for me, questions and issues requiring elaboration here as they have informed not only the mode of exploration but also the textual format.

Methodologies wrought with Ideology

A history phd thesis is about as flexible a form as a Shakespearian sonnet. Highly structured, it demands a beginning (the questions) the middle (the evidence) and the end (the conclusion where all is answered, proven and unified). I have settled on a format which attempts to expose rather than cloak these framing devices and to see how far they will bend to accommodate this exposure. There have been numerous academics and non-academics who have informed this experiment and it would appear fruitful to attempt not only some kind of self positioning, but also pay homage to key informants.

New historicism, Deconstruction and Postmodernity

If we were in the game of seeking beginnings, new historicism might be seen to have its roots in the United States of America in literary studies, where it was originally associated with scholars of the Renaissance and Romanticism. I have been informed by the questions new historicism raises, questions concerning concepts such as objectivity for example. Objectivity remains for traditional / orthodox historians (and even some who would run a mile at the tag….) an *a priori* of serious historical scholarship. New historicists argue that complete objectivity is an impossibility, an argument I contend holds water. Lois Tyson suggests: 'Traditional historians ask, 'What happened?' and 'What does the event tell us about history?' In contrast, new historians ask, 'How has the event been interpreted?' and 'What do the interpretations tell us about the interpreters?' (1999, 278) The latter two questions have informed my analysis and utilisation of texts. New historicism is informed by deconstruction, a theoretical position which Jeffrey Cox and Larry Reynolds suggests it shares an 'anxious relationship' (1993, 3). 'Anxious' being the pivotal word here for historians

when it is considered that Jacques Derrida took apart seemingly 'natural' binary oppositions so beloved of the 'scientific' (rational, objective....) structuralist enterprise, suggesting that these 'natural' binary oppositions also functioned to perpetuate positions of privilege and power (ed. Hall, 2001, 62 and Sarup, 1993, 32 – 57). The chief binary opposition which continues to hold a talismanic place in the work of *serious, rational* historians is that of primary / secondary sources. As the term infers, 'primary' sources are the magic sources, supposedly possessing a greater and / or purer form of truth and evidence than the lesser 'secondary' source. My own experiences of presentations (both my own and numerous other post graduate students) has led me to the conclusion that the questions posed to students remain far too frequently 'How many primary sources?' rather than 'How?' In this work all sources are respected as carrying truths about moments in time, however these truths are interpreted as always deeply subjective, politicised and wrought with ideological underpinnings.

Why bother?

In Keith Jenkins' stunning, intellectually stimulating and provocative 1999 publication *Why History? Ethics and Postmodernity*, he takes up an adversarial subject position which he openly says is 'designed to provoke discussion' (4), he attacks both upper case and lower case history for its refusal to actively engage with the ramifications of deconstruction and postmodernism, asking 'why bother'? with history at all if it is to be business as usual (11). He correctly points to traditional / orthodox historians (both upper and lower case) who are always presumably 'defending' real history from the barbarians. On this defensive, pull up the drawbridge mentality, Keith Jenkins has this to say:

> But I see this defence not in any way as a defence of 'history'. If it were genuinely that it would surely have to include metanarrative and 'postist' histories as interesting ways of making sense of the past which would add variety and stimulation for the adventurous historians to open up new ways of thinking and doing things. (1999, 7-8)

It is a position I endorse. However, old ways or new ways require a praxis. I required a modus operandi in order to challenge and destabilise. I looked to textual mentors for inspiration and a possible way forwards, keeping the words of history theorist Michel de Certeau near at hand, who writes: 'The operation in question is rather sly....Representation thus disguises the praxis that organises it' (*cited in* Jenkins, 1999, 92). Was it possible to fulfil the requirements of a thesis and at the same time expose the praxis?

Michael Pickering, in his publication *History, Experience and Cultural Studies* discusses these problematics, suggesting that 'historians often try to create the illusion of a full canvas of the past as they present it' going on to add:

> Yet the problems never surface in historians' texts. The fragments that remain have of course been reconstructed within discourses of their own, produced according to certain modes and conditions, certain principles of organization, certain frames of inclusion, reference and assimilation, and part of what is involved in historical analysis is developing an understanding of how their constitutive properties inform and sustain the material that is studied. (1997, 7)

Again, I argue that Pickering's argument is salient. He goes on to suggest that not only do historical discursive conventions tend to give the impression of 'completeness' but that the historian seems to be writing somewhere *outside* of history itself (Logocentric objectivity) It was my aim from the 'beginning' to find a form which would highlight not only the process of writing but to open the text up to disruption and the always incompleteness of any work however exhaustive it may

appear. Robert Hewison's 1990 publication added a further layer, specifically the
quote:

> ....the screen of the post-Modern condition has not yet become a perfect seal
> between the personal and public realms, that there are gaps in the public
> version of reality through which new ideas may escape. The fragmentation
> that is a product of post-Modern social dislocation and alienation is an
> indication that the screen is cracked. It may still be possible to reassemble the
> fragments of identity and culture in a new pattern. (16)

Now while I question the assumption that social dislocation and alienation was as
common as Hewison clearly believed, the powerful image of the cracked screen partly
informed my decision to interrupt the text. Fredric Jameson in *Signatures of the
Visible* writes about 'history with holes, perforated history' (1990, 130), an expression
taken up by Paul Giles in a chapter he contributed to the publication *Fires Were
Started. British Cinema and Thatcher.* Giles goes on to argue that the most striking
and effective (British) Channel Four films of the 1980s utilised the mode of magic
realism, which '[kept] the audience slightly off balance' and created:

> [a] disjunction between event and memory, between the object and its name,
> expanded into a broader investigation of how national mythologies are
> created, how history is reinvented and rewritten, sometimes unscrupulously.
> (ed. Friedman, 1993, 84)

Giles' chapter holds particular resonance not only because this thesis deals with the
notion of memory through the recollections of fifteen English migrants (including my
own), but also the examination of Australian national mythologies. I aimed to keep
myself as well as the reader slightly off balance, drawing attention always to the
fragile artifice of the historical text and the historical mission. American academic
Robert Rosenstone, while discussing the interface between history and film,
introduces the expression 'History as experiment' which is given an even sharper
edge when his thoughts concerning the post modern film *Walker* are taken into
account:

Walker also holds lessons for those who write the past – suggesting how we who work in words might utilize humor, anachronism, absurdity, and the interpretation of past and present to create a new kind [of] history, one suitable for the sensibility of those who live in a media-saturated world (all of us!) (1996, 132)

I take up Rosenstone's proposition.

Crooked as a ten bob bit

Hans Kellner requested historians to 'Get the story crooked!' (ed. Jenkins, 1998, 127)

While Kellner goes on to say: 'These are dangerous words…to put into a book about

historical discourse' (ed. Jenkins, 1998, 127), I have taken up the challenge. To

clarify, getting the story crooked is in Kellner's words:

….a way of *reading*. It means looking at the historical text in such a way as to make more apparent the problems and decisions that shape its strategies, however well hidden or disguised they may be. It is a way of looking honestly at the *other* sources of history, found not in archives or computer databases, but in discourses and rhetoric. (ed. Jenkins, 1998, 128)

My aim here has been to examine issues of rhetoric, established discourses,

representation and ambivalence. What will happen to the migrant script in general if

Australian representations and constructions of Englishness and English migrants are

made visible as politically informed *constructions*, rather than somehow 'traditional'

and 'natural' and 'true'?

Format: Music-Response

All of the preceding writers have in no small measure informed the textual devices

which will be utilised throughout this work, but so too has dance / D.J. music and a

variety of art forms outside of the history genre. While the work is broken up in to

conventional chapters and the two chapters on newspaper representation follows

chronological time, the historical narrative is constantly interrupted by a variety of

voices. These interruptions include song lyrics, film dialogue, migrants' memories, anecdote and current events as they were unfolding. It is envisioned that this format will function on two levels. Firstly, to destabilise both the authority of the writer and the unity of the text by encouraging the reader's own interpretation of these selections and secondly, to draw attention to the historicity of the text itself. Most historical work appears to have been written from a sealed off time capsule, what happens when we introduce events as they take place? All interruptions have been marked off in bold print and square brackets. Some of the interruptions have been left as they were originally written as events unfolded. I was not 'outside' of history.

Self positioning, Autobiography and Class

During early tentative research for this thesis I was lucky enough to meet Dr. Alistair Thomson who was on a visit to Perth Western Australia. Thomson is an Australian academic based at East Sussex University who has written extensively on (amongst other things) both the myth of the Anzac and oral history. Together with Dr. Jim Hammerton he has also worked on the compilation of an extensive archive on the Ten Pound English Migrants.[*] It is in response to his suggestion that I have utilised autobiographical material here, although I stress that Thomson is in no way responsible for the form this has taken. Again, there are ideological dynamics emanating from the inclusion of 'autobiography' requiring clarification. Earlier I referred to the binary opposition of primary / secondary sources and how this opposition in historical studies continues to hold fast, despite the intellectual questions raised by deconstruction, poststructuralism and postmodernism. Similarly the binary opposition of objective / subjective appears to have remained an *a priori* for 'serious'

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[*] J. Hammerton & A. Thomson. *'Ten Pound Poms' – The Invisible Migrants: a Life History of British Postwar Emigration to Australia.* Manchester University Press, Forthcoming in 2005.

historical investigation. I argue that this opposition operates to hide the supposed

unproblematic and neutral subject position of the 'objective' observer and by doing so

perpetuates the myth of an untheorized, depoliticised centre from which an

untrammelled view of events is possible. Keith Jenkins for example, referring to

Richard Evans' publication *In Defence of History*, writes of the way self styled

defenders of history unselfconsciously articulate history through 'bourgeois ideology'

and defend an interpretation of a discipline whose '….prefigured 'nature' of history

is bourgeoisified' (1999, 99-100). In short, the very subject position is riven with

politics and class, far from the neutrality it masquerades under. The signification does

not end there. On the 'objective' side of the binary opposition there are claims of

serious, vigorous, scientific and rational work, while the 'subjective' is assigned a

host of far less attractive propositions like emotional, sentimental, irrational and – the

term intended to embarrass historians out of these ideas – 'self indulgent'. So be it.

We all write ourselves to some extent, whether calling self consciously out of the text

or cloaking oneself in it. Valerie Walkerdine cites Phil Cohen when she contends:

> 'most theories have a strong, if disavowed, autobiographical element in them'
> and 'most of the general theories have rested on a very slender and sometimes
> non-existent, empirical base.' But what if the autobiographical element is
> made to stand in a clearer light and the general seem to be very particular
> indeed, what then? (eds. Pile & Thrift, 1995, 309)

The strategies I have taken here are an attempt to answer Walkerdine's curiosity. I

have been mindful of the possible pitfalls of this approach. Mark Peel, the author of

the insightful history of Elizabeth, a 'new town' in South Australia, elucidates the

risks astutely when he writes of his own personal involvement in his subject matter:

> There are obvious dangers in speaking of your own place: I must be wary of
> romanticising, of nostalgia and self-justification masquerading as history, or
> simply celebrating the Elizabeth I knew. I must wonder if memory is
> 'evidence' and how often and when I should use it. Certainly, I cannot speak
> for everyone. (1995, 6)

I am also well aware that the inclusion of autobiographical interruptions might leave

the work open to accusations of not being serious or vigorous enough. This is in

keeping with the binary oppositions of public / private and / or political / private, as if

never the twain do meet. I argue that not only do they 'meet' but they are

inextricably linked. It is also worth noting at this point that both Valerie Walkerdine

and Mark Peel are from working class backgrounds, something that rather than hide in

their writing, they openly state. Is it mere coincidence that both of these authors /

academics contest and disrupt the notion of bourgeois 'objective' subject position?

Stacking Plates: classy classless class

Valerie Walkerdine writes, and I suspect continues to wrestle with, English notions of

the class system. Mark Peel writes from the perspective of a child of English working

class parents living in Australia, the son of migrants.

[**I came to Australia as a young teenager with my family in 1976. Like
Walkerdine and Peel I am also from a working class background and have – at
times – seen 'red' at the ease with which class gradations are neatly applied to
particular groups. In my own experience – and I note that several of my
interviewees echoed it – even a move into middle class 'markers' of particular
work and interests for example, does not necessarily sever the class consciousness
of a historical feeling of working class-ness. After a stay in Graylands' Migrant
Hostel my family settled in the northern suburb of Craigie and half of my school
friends at the local High School were also English migrants from working class
backgrounds. It struck me from the word 'Go' that Australia was telling itself a
story about an egalitarianism that did not equate with peoples' lives. This
'feeling' remains powerful and cogent – and it drives my investigation and
arguments here, as Walkerdine correctly points out, we all write ourselves to
some extent. (Autobiographical intrusion)]**

Australia continues to think of itself as an 'egalitarian' country, a word I

automatically surround with quotation marks, stating from the outset that this thesis

takes the position that Australia is a class based society forever attempting to utilise

the egalitarian myth to silence debate concerning inequalities and injustices. To

introduce it as an underlying, contextualising factor in this study is wrought with risk,

particularly as I argue that class is, to paraphrase Joanne Bourke in her publication

Working Class Cultures in Britain 1890 – 1960. Gender, Class and Ethnicity,

'ambiguous' at best, impossible to define at worst (1994, 2). Purely economic

demarcations are, as Bourke points out 'static' silencing out changes in the structures

of class as well as the minute gradations within class groupings themselves. While

Bourke is writing from an English perspective, Craig McGregor in his excellent

publication *Class in Australia* similarly takes issue with the purely economic focus of

class analysis. Included in his study is a quote from an Australian trade unionist, John

Sutton, who says:

> Class is not just a question of the wage rate. Class is a whole lot of things.
> It's what wealth you have, what assets you can draw upon, it is your
> background, your family, it is who you mix with. It's your whole life, in a
> way. (McGregor, 1997, 31-32)

Again from an Australian perspective, Alan McKee writing in his 2001 publication

Australian Television: A Genealogy of Great Moments, suggests that: 'Traditional

moments of class identity, developed outside of Australia, do not map very well onto

the Australian situation' (248), citing the different signification emanating from the

term 'suburbia' in Britain and Australia for example. While he notes the almost

invisible Australian working class on Australian television dramas, an invisibility he

compares with the visibility of three dimensional working class characters in British

soap operas such as *Eastenders* and *Coronation Street* for example, he also includes

the findings of a 1999 Bennett, Emison and Frow survey which found Australians to

be extremely aware of their class positioning. In a similar vein is Pria

Viswallingham's excellent 2001 four part television documentary *Class*. In a

particularly revealing scene Mish Kadarchi, a waitress filmed serving drinks and

canapés at an Art Gallery 'first night' describes class in terms of how different groups

treat the catering staff, pointing out that the working class are uncomfortable being

waited on, which has necessitated her having to 'push people out of the kitchen!'

Kadarchi's comment: 'It's absolute crap that Australia's a classless society' lingers

long after the credits roll. In a similar vein, academics Robert Connell and Terence

Irving, in their publication *Class Structure in Australian History: Poverty and*

Progress contend:

> 'Class', then, is not only a group and structure. It is also a complex of
> emotions, sympathies and antagonisms; and a complex of symbols, forms of
> speech, labels, codes. (1992, 5)

Sometimes class identification might come down to whether or not you stack the

plates in a restaurant. Or whether you frequent restaurants at all.

Oral histories

Catherine Belsey writes:

> The subject is thus the site of contradiction, and is consequently perpetually in
> the process of construction, thrown into crisis by alterations in language and in
> the social formation, capable of change. And in the fact that the subject is a
> *process* lies the possibility of transformation. (1980, 65)

This thesis draws upon the interviews of fourteen English migrants who all arrived in

Perth Western Australia during the period 1968 to 1988. This period of time was

selected because 1968 was the tail end of the Ten Pound Pom period, the last British

migrants arriving as the so-called 'Ten Pound Tourists' arrived in 1971, so this

presented some overlap in the perceptions of English migrants and their

representations in cultural forms. 1988 was not only the year of Australia's

Bicentennial, but was also pivotal with regards to discussions concerning

multiculturalism. I was interested in finding a way to incorporate migrant voices

which would avoid, to some extent at least, both phallocentrism and the subject being

represented as a 'fixed' entity. I am indebted to Terrell Carver who writes: 'It is

widely appreciated that translation is interpretation. What is not so widely

understood is that all interpretation is translation' (ed. Cowling, 1998, 51). Drawing upon this quote, each interview has become a translation, a text. It has been my aim to utilise the interviews not to seek a determinist 'English migrant experience' or definitive English migrant 'character' but rather to allow the voices to disrupt, be contradictory and at times unsure or ambivalent. As will be revealed, even a small number of interviews – as texts – have the potential to disrupt Australian national myths and narratives.

England / Britain / United Kingdom

Rebecca Langlands prefaces her 1999 journal article 'Britishness or Englishness? The historical problem of national identity in Britain' with a disclaimer:

> I do not propose to offer a comprehensive survey of historical and contemporary accounts of the differences between Englishness and Britishness. Nor do I wish to propose that I have discovered a way of getting around the unconscious conflation of Britain and England on the part of the English – a habit that understandably irritates the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish. (53)

It is a disclaimer I have stolen here because it draws attention to the historical, political and ideological underpinnings of the terms 'English' and 'British'. It is a conflation I have been particularly aware of in not only English texts, but also those from the United States and Australia. So – for the purpose of this thesis, the terms England and 'the English' are used. When critiquing texts that invoke Britain or 'the British', I have made every attempt to deconstruct this term. For example, in chapter five both Reg Appleyard and Ruth Johnston refer to 'British migrants' when, with the exception of one migrant, all were English.

Neither do I wish to replace 'Britishness' with an unproblematic, homogenous 'Englishness'. England was (and remains) an entity made up of what the philosopher

Edmund Burke called the 'little platoons' (*cited in* ed. Samuel, 1989, Introduction).

The three volume series of books entitled *Patriotism* remain an excellent introduction

to the heterogeneity of England and Englishness, particularly Volume Two:

Minorities and Outsiders, which includes contributions by Hanif Kureishi: 'I was

born in London of an English mother and Pakistani father' (ed. Samuel, 1989, 270);

John Field: 'Midlanders, were then, our equivalent of the Irish; dull, slow, invariably

fat and middle – aged, and created by God to come and annoy us and be made fools

of' (ed. Samuel, 1989, 5); and Mary Chamberlain: 'My mother's family have always

been Catholic; indeed, it was part of the family folklore that we are one of the old

English Catholic families' (ed. Samuel, 1989, 23). Kureishi and Chamberlain write

with wit and poignancy of race and religion, while Field's chapter suggests the fierce

regionalism (or *tribalism* even) inherent in 'being English'. Underlying all of these

differences there is always class.

Representations and Constructions

It is my intention here to reveal just how politically charged the representations of

'Englishness' and English migrants remains. I attempt to navigate the interfaces

between the migrant subject and the host country's constructions and representations

of both England and 'the English' through six chapters:

Chapter one: This traces what I argue to be the English middle and upper class
nineteenth century origins of Australian stereotypes of 'Englishness.' I will reveal
how politically conservative constructions of the urban English 'masses' continually
find their modern day counterparts in Australian cultural texts, interrogating how
these constructions are functioning politically and ideologically.

Chapter two: I then go on to provide both a critique and an analysis of the ways in
which Englishness has been represented and made to mean in Australian films and
television. The films include: *The Overlanders, My Brilliant Career, Breaker*

Morant, Gallipoli and *The Big Steal.* The television programmes include: *Twenty Good Years, Anzacs, Shipwrecked* and *Going Home.* How are these constructions functioning along the axis of Australian national mythologies? What is being silenced and how are these constructions and silences operating ideologically?

Chapter three: Examines the construction of Englishness in the pages of the Western Australian newspaper the *Daily News* between the years 1968 to 1978.

Chapter four: Examines the construction of Englishness in the pages of the Western Australian newspaper the *Daily News* between the years 1978 to 1988. Both chapters three and four explore how Englishness and by extension English migrants were contextualised in a supposedly non-fiction format. Are there links in the modes of representation being utilised here with the non-fiction and visual texts of film and television?

Chapter five: This chapter examines and critiques academic representations of 'Englishness' and specifically English migrants, with the aim at discovering to what extent these discursive, often stereotypical constructions of Englishness have continued to hold sway. This also seeks to detect where and how the discourse is utilised to close down disruptions in the texts.

It has been my aim here to critique, engage and – with a nod to Rosenstone –

entertain.

<u>Chapter one</u>: <u>Meeting the Simulacra</u>

[West Australians nominated more than 200 ancestries in the 2001 census, 170
different languages are spoken and 100 religions are followed. It doesn't come
any more diverse. More than 11 per cent of the population speak a language
other than English at home and more than 500,000 of our residents were born
overseas. Only 30 per cent of our current population is Australian – born, 30 per
cent is English with Irish the next largest, followed by Italian and then Scottish.
(Western Australian newspaper *The Sunday Times*, 6 June 2004. Lift out to
commemorate Western Australia's 175th Anniversary, 'Images of WA'.]

Western Australia has the highest percentage of English born migrants in Australia.

The statistics come to life in the wide variety of regional accents that can be heard in

the shopping centres and offices, on the building sites, in the pubs and clubs.

Particular areas have become analogous with the English migrant presence.

Rockingham for example, a suburb thirty kilometres south of Perth, lays claim to one

of the largest English communities outside of England.

[Little England down there.
(Interview, English migrant Dave, 2001, in reference to Rockingham)]

Despite these large conglomerations, English migrants continue to occupy an

ambivalent place in Australian historical narratives. While for most of the twentieth

century they remained the most desired migrant group, they were concomitantly,

sometimes to a greater or lesser degree, maligned. This ambivalence has informed

(and continues to inform) Australian constructions of Englishness and English

migrants. The contradictory nature of these stereotypical traits has not prevented their

longevity, rather I suspect the opposite to be the case.

[We live in an age of simulacra, perfect copies of originals that never existed,
for this is the world of hyper-reality. (Baudrillard, *cited in* Hewison, 1990, 68)]

English people arriving in Perth between the years 1968 and 1988 encountered their

simulacra in a variety of Australian cultural texts including television, film,

newspapers and 'pommie jokes'. These constructions are deeply embedded in the

Australian psyche. Whether in the guise of submissive, conservative and Royalty –

loving pom *or* subversive, trade unionist and trouble making, whinging pom, both extremes have become the repository for anything deemed negative and a threat to the otherwise healthy 'body' of Australia. How can these oppositional stereotypes be functioning at the same time *and* how and why have they retained such a powerful vitality for so long?

I would suggest that the binary opposition of Australia / England is crucial for the maintenance of Australian myths of national identity, therefore it is only by deconstructing this sign system that radical reassessments are possible. Roland Barthes' seminal work *Mythologies* (1971) has influenced my approach here. It could be argued that Barthes' emphasis upon the supposed 'naturalness' of myth has important ramifications for any attempt to deconstruct the Australia / England binary opposition, particularly when we consider Barthes' contention that myth functioned by emptying the sign (in this case the binary opposition of Australia / England) of history and politics, whilst at the same time masquerading as 'natural'. All political struggle is erased, only to be replaced by essentialist 'natural' traits. In the Australia / England binary opposition meanings have accrued around each structuring centre. Around the signifier Australia gravitate presumably 'positive' traits, whilst around England presumably 'negative' traits congregate. I utilise the term 'presumably' because these traits, being somehow 'natural' are beyond political and ideological considerations. It is only when the sign is deconstructed that the deeply political and ideological function of the Australia / England binary opposition becomes apparent. What is more, I argue that this binary opposition is conducive with Australian conservative agendas, where – to paraphrase Barthes – history is transformed into nature.

[I want Australians to be comfortable with their history.
John Howard, then Leader of the Liberal opposition, ABC interview, 1996]

It is not my intention here (or anywhere for that matter) to merely swap these

oppositions around. It was always my intention to completely disrupt them. The

concept of ambivalence has assisted in preventing me from falling into binary patterns

of thought. It is not a comfortable word for historians (myself included). The yes / no

at the same time qualities it exudes both eludes and collapses all binary oppositions,

for example, quantitative / qualitative and primary / secondary. Ambivalence can not

be counted up and presented in graphs and statistics, it is far more likely to be floating

around in the rhetoric which is informing the questionnaire or the decision of how to

'interpret' the results. As the answer says 'yes' it is always threatening to slide into

being 'no'. However, this does not make ambivalence irrational or ineffective, on the

contrary it is sharp, mercurial and open ended. Dressed in its best clothes,

occasionally it almost passes as neutral or an absence in the text, but its habitat is

always the border: part of you, but not part of you. Always on the verge of change

and movement. It is the gangster of intellectual concepts.

[There aren't any arguments or curses like in the movies. So your murderers
come with smiles. (Scorsese & Pileggi, 1993, 125)]

Migrants occupy the esoteric spaces found on borders. These are volatile, ambivalent

spaces with shifting psychic landscapes of frustration, liberation, endless possibilities,

belonging, not belonging – sometimes all at the same time. The dynamism emanating

from groups navigating the spaces available both attracts and repels. Consider for

example gay cultures and the notion of 'camp' and / or working class people in the

process of 'moving on up'. Both draw attention to constructed elements at first

appearing so 'natural' and 'given'. When border people play with the markers

(adorning, dressing up, acting) the presumed neutrality and objectivity of the middle

and upper middle class 'centre' not only quakes, but is made highly visible. To refer back to Roland Barthes' work on myth, the violence implicit in history, politics and the struggle for movement, comes flooding back into the binary oppositions that maintain national mythologies.

[I sort of would class myself now as being in no man's land. Like I'm not really English. And I'm not really Australian I'm sort of like, you know. In the middle. (Interview, English migrant Jane, 2001)]

[But....I still know poms who staunchly support erm....the English cricket team and staunchly support football teams now where as they probably didn't when they lived over there, so their Englishness they've had to fortify their Englishness to feel comfortable. I've never had to do that. I think of myself as a English-Australian. It's about fifty-fifty really.
(Interview, English migrant Josephine, 2001)]

Madan Sarup writes:

> There are many sorts of travellers; some live on the borderline, the border between two states. The states could be feeling and thought, private and public, or Polish and English. One often hears the remark 'They have a foot in each camp.' These may be migrants who don't want to give up their own culture or assimilate with the new group. The border-line is always ambivalent; sometimes it is seen as an inherent part of the inside, at other times it is seen as part of the chaotic wilderness outside. (1996, 7)

Anne McClintock takes a similar perspective, citing Mary Douglas in this passage:

> ....margins are dangerous. Societies are most vulnerable at their edges, along the tattered fringes of the known world. 'Danger lies in transitional states....The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others.' (1995, 24-25)

In these contexts English migrants occupy supremely ambivalent spaces in Australian culture. On the one hand an 'inherent part of the inside' (the most desired migrant group), but on the other, representing the threat of the outsider ('part of the wilderness outside'). The images evoked by Sarup and Douglas resonate powerfully for nations which were and remain the result of invasion / colonisation. The new arrivals were fascinated / afraid of both the wilderness and the indigenous inhabitants they were displacing. The defensive, tight (and white) communities of displaced people closed

ranks, fearful of any further dynamics that might destabilise or weaken 'the

community.'

[The Norwegian vessel [MV Tampa] picked up 433 asylum-seekers from a boat
sinking in international waters between Australia and Indonesia. [29 August
2001] The Government ordered Tampa not to enter Australian waters but the
captain defied the order and moved towards Christmas Island. The SAS was
ordered to board the vessel, and naval and air force patrols of international
waters between Australia and Indonesia were stepped up and the Government
rushed in legislation to give its move certain legal backing.
(ABC on line. 2001 Year in Review. www.abc.net.au/news)]

In a neat twist, the invaders neutralised their position by reappropriating and claiming

ownership of the term 'invasion', which was realigned to signify any threat (real or

imagined) to conservative white hegemony. Together with this appropriation of the

term 'invasion' came the equally potent construction of white Australian *as victim*.

Ann Curthoys, in a journal article tellingly entitled 'Expulsion, Exodus and Exile in

White Australian Historical Mythology' discusses the preponderance in a variety of

Australian cultural forms of the (white) 'victim.' For example, she points out:

> Australian popular historical mythology stresses struggle, courage, and
> survival, amidst pain, tragedy, and loss. There is a special charge associated
> with the status of victim in Australian historical consciousness, and it is
> notable how *good* non-Aboriginal Australians are at memorialising their own
> sufferings. (1999, 2-3)

Conservatism has always had a vested interest in the maintenance of this white victim

status. The signifiers England, Britain, the Brits, the poms are all functioning to

maintain a seemingly natural binary opposition to Australia's strength, courage,

stoicism and – importantly – innocence. Again, the binary opposition, Australia /

England, maintains Australian national mythologies by eradicating not only history

and politics, but a sense of national responsibility for the negative as well as the

positive. Historic 'events' deemed negative have a way of being neutralised by

recourse to this binary opposition: the English are usually 'to blame.'

[They're a bit biased….a bit biased. There's only one team I reckon that
Australia supports. You don't get a variation….even the media….I find the
media very biased. If there's anything on television [in] Australia….they talk
about the Australian and you don't know who won or lost.
(Interview, English migrant Jim, 2001)]

Real Australians: Dinky di's

Congruent with the binary opposition of Australia / England is the no less constructed

entity of the Aussie Type. While I acknowledge this national type slips and slides in a

variety of disguises, this ability to shape shift has only strengthened its longevity.

Whether it is the bloke from the 'bush' / farm, the Anzac soldier, the surfer, the

sportsman or the conglomeration of fragments of some or all of the aforementioned,

the 'larrikin,' they all carry a blue print which was set in place in the late nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries. As with the Australian / England binary opposition, the

'type' functions so successfully because it appears to be a natural phenomena,

particularly when this typical Australian is linked so inexorably to images of nature

such as the bush, the farm and the ocean. The 'type' remains male and according to

Australian nationalisms he is a 'good bloke,' laconic, anti-authoritarian and is born

with a mystical understanding of the term 'mateship.' Where did these characteristics

come from? The explanation for the non-urban emphasis at first appears, as with all

the most powerful myths, obvious and natural. There *are* genuine differences

between Australian landscapes (note the plural) and those of England and the British

Isles. However, I contend this 'obviousness' is a red herring. I will begin by

examining which dominant ideologies and discourses were circulating during the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Who were they serving? What were and

remain the political ramifications for Australian cultural identities? I will be arguing

that the English urban working class play major contributing roles in the construction

and maintenance of the Australian type, which remains pinned like a Siamese twin to

the Australian pole of the binary opposition.

Enter histories, politics and class: 'Degenerates'

Richard White suggests two major informants active in the construction of an

idealised Australian identity. Firstly, he contends:

> Not only is the idea of 'Australia' itself a European invention, but men like
> Charles Darwin and Rudyard Kipling have contributed as much to what it
> means to be Australian as Arthur Streeton [Artist] and Henry Lawson [writer].
> (1981, 1)

Secondly, he points out the equally influential role played by the intelligentsia,

including writers, artists, journalists, historians and critics. Anne McClintock

similarly notes the appropriation of dominant ideologies by colonies, writing:

> Colonists borrowed and patched from British discourses and couched their
> complaints in the same images of degeneracy, massing animal menace and
> irrationality familiar to European descriptions of the dangerous underclasses.
> (1995, 253)

The discourse of degeneration McClintock refers to here points to the underbelly of

the familiar images of Pax Britannica, still evident in the food halls on the gift

wrapped tea and biscuit tins or the Merchant Ivory films. The handsome soldiers ('of

the Queen') in red coats, the pomp, the ceremony and the delicate ladies with small

waists and big hats contributed to a discourse of confidence. 'Degeneration' reminds,

that like most pervasive rhetoric, there was another less confident narrative at play, as

Harold Perkin points out:

> British capitalism reached its zenith in the late Victorian age in yet another
> sense. At some point between the 1870s and the 1890s the rate of economic
> growth began to slacken, first in industrial production, then in National
> Income, and Britain began to be overtaken in both by foreign competitors,
> notably the U.S. and Germany. (1989, 36)

At the same time a series of agricultural depressions resulted in redundant farm

workers heading for the cities, exacerbating an already strained labour market and

associative poverty. The epicentre of Empire was London and its predominantly casualised labour force felt the full brutish force of *laissez faire* economics. Homelessness, hunger and desperation were rife.

The workers are revolting

Gareth Stedman Jones' contention that the theory of urban degeneration can only be understood within a complex of middle class beliefs remains convincing (1971, 150), particularly when it is further contextualised within a framework of urban middle class fears, preconceptions and *power*. When Francis Galton's term 'eugenics' first appeared in the early 1880s, the professional middle class now possessed a scientific discourse that was supposedly rational, objective and 'true.' Concomitant with the new term 'eugenics' was an 1880s London increasingly beset by strikes, demonstrations and riots. London had never been a stranger to unruly 'mobs' (the Gordon Riots of 1780 for example), but the increasingly political organization underpinning these demonstrations posed a highly visible threat to the Establishment. The 'East End' marched on the Establishment's territory in what became known as the Hyde Park riot in 1887 and the Anti-Sweating (sweat shop) demonstration in 1888 to name just two. Quite apart from these 'incursions' from the poor areas to the wealthy, the poverty and distress being experienced by those on the bottom rungs of the class ladder were becoming increasingly visible in another sense. Stedman Jones illustrates this vividly when he writes:

> Unemployment encouraged vagrancy. Labourers and broken-down tradesmen tramped into London and filled the common lodging houses in search of work or charitable relief. 'Plagues of beggars' appeared on the streets. The city was full of unemployed artisans and bankrupt small traders. Furniture and tools were pawned. (1983, 191)

The poverty and distress was not in question, however, the twin complimentary theories of degeneration and eugenics provided an elision of economic causative

factors. The focus became 'the body.' Urban living was posited as the cause of the supposed mental and physical degeneration of the poor. This discourse of truth in place, social investigators set out with pens, papers and cameras to 'prove' a thesis which was already to all intents and purposes 'proven.'

Examining these findings today, it is impossible not to be struck by (to borrow John Carey's expression) 'mutually irreconcilable images' (1992, 23). The professional middle class, which included doctors, statisticians, scientists and intellectuals, constructed an image of the English urban working class which has proved remarkable resilient. This should come as no surprise when the considerable agency available to this professional class is taken into account, as David Green points out, their power was in the form of cultural, rather than economic capital, specifically through 'the power it exercised over increasingly specialised forms of knowledge' (1985, 14). If urban living was directly responsible for the degeneration of the working class inhabitants (but oddly enough this malady did not affect other classes), a correlative discourse was also at work which insisted upon the superiority of the rural or country type. The demarcation of people into 'types' was popular in late nineteenth century England, as Green's article *Veins of Resemblance: Photography and Eugenics* reveals.

An article I found particularly helpful as Green's discussion of Francis Galton's utilisation of the comparatively new technology photography, finds its distorted echo in the following chapters on film, television and newspapers. Galton used photography to scientifically 'prove' eugenics and degeneration theories by constructing composite photographs of particular types, for example, Jews, criminals

and tuberculosis sufferers in the poor hospitals. Alternatively, he also constructed composite photographs for middle class families, a comparison of the composite criminal type and the 'Ideal family likeness' [Fig.1] reveals clearly to what extent these images were constructed. The former is bathed in darkness, whereas the latter is filled with light and softly air brushed. I would argue that this compelling, dark image of the criminal type became inextricably linked with middle and upper class fears of the urban working class *per se*. Asa Briggs for example, points out that in nineteenth century London 'the worlds of crime and labour were merging in the middle class mind' (eds. Dyos & Wolff, 1973, 181). Taking this a step further, the lightness and darkness utilised in the photographic images also suggest the lightness of 'nature' (the rural, the country) and the darkness of the city and the town. Again, if we take this binary opposition (Light rural / Dark urban) and subject it to history and politics, these images become deeply political.

Stedman Jones asserts: 'In the eyes of the urban middle class, the countryside symbolised the forces of simplicity, strength, phlegm, loyalty and deference' (1971, 150), traits equally as constructed as those being applied to the urban dweller. Myth elides history, politics and struggle, hence the elision of Wat Tyler, the Levellers and the Diggers. The class with cultural capital, collating and writing at the centre of a substantial Empire had the agency to reinforce these binary oppositions as 'truth.' The myth of the simple, deferent country folk provided a stark opposition to the increasingly confident urban working class.

[Interviewer: And did you grow up with a sense of this [working class] background through either your parents or your grandparent's stories? Steven: Definitely from my parent's stories. Because they called my dad's family the London scum when they were evacuated to Maidenhead, it was hard. His dad was away at war, they didn't have any money. (Interview, English migrant Steven, 2001)]

As early as 1844 Frederich Engels described the urban working class as 'a race wholly apart' (McClintock, 1994, 43). A Poor Law Inspector, writing in 1871, was also equating class with race when he noted: 'A stunted growth is characteristic of the race' (*cited in* Stedman Jones, 1971, 129). An equation I argue assists in the further elision of economic causes of poverty by filling this vacuum with 'nature' – in this case translated as hereditary weakness. The fear of the urban working class can be detected in the paradoxical descriptions. For example, consider the response of an 1870s London brewer, who, after telling social investigators that he preferred to employ men from the country, stated: 'We are afraid of London men. They are shuffling, lazy and know too much' (*cited in* Stedman Jones, 1971, 130); together with the traits of 'mass man' offered by Ortega y Gasset, which included a lack of ambition, being 'common' while at the same time capable of brutality. (*cited in* Carey, 1992, 23). To begin with, *knowing too much* hardly suggests mental degeneration, quite the reverse of the slow wittedness inferred by 'shuffling'. Similarly, lack of ambition signifies submission while brutality suggests action. This is nothing compared to the 1890 conclusions of Dr. Freeman Williams:

> ....he goes through many stages before he is finally eliminated. Irregular labour, odd jobs, sweater's dens, prostitution, subsistence on charity, agitation, 'demonstrations,' and riot are only some of the struggles of the dying Londoner before he pays the debt of nature whose laws he has no power to obey. (*cited in* Stedman Jones, 1971, 127)

This is a revealing quote for numerous reasons, not least being the political (silenced) underpinning to Williams' final 'stages' of degeneration (dying out). The

knowingness and increasingly politicised urban working class whisper through the paradoxical text.

While the degenerating urban working class was presumably 'dying out' this did not stop proposed solutions to 'the problem', which included attempts to demarcate the mass into two groups, the respectable and the residuum. This binary opposition was no less constructed and unstable than any other. Consider: while the residuum originally consisted of criminals, drunks and prostitutes, by the end of the nineteenth century (and concomitant with growing economic insecurity – a factor which rips apart the naturalness of such demarcations) the gaze of the professional middle class was widening to incorporate the homeless, the unemployed and Jewish refugees arriving in London from eastern Europe. There are two major flaws in this binary / demarcation. Firstly, the insistence upon biological and hereditary weakness or the *natural*, completely neutralises economic and political contributors to poverty and ill health, and secondly, due to the casual job market in London an individual could (and often did) move between respectable and residuum in a matter of months. Despite these fundamental flaws, the class with cultural capital used this further demarcation of types as a working model to facilitate discussion on what now appear as chilling solutions.

Arnold White wrote charitably in 1885: 'Let them die out by leaving them alone' (*cited in* Stedman Jones, 1971, 288), while H.G. Wells in his 1901 non-fiction work *Anticipations* referring to the 'pauper masses' and the 'People of the Abyss', contended 'the nation that most resolutely picks over, educates, sterilizes, exports, or poisons its People of the Abyss' would lay claim to great power. (*cited in* Carey, 1992, 123) Forced labour colonies were suggested, as was the separation of poor

children from their families. Another strand of thought looked beyond England to the Empire. Samuel Smith spoke for many of his contemporaries when he sought to 'spread the population throughout the globe....[utilising] the wonderful safety valve we possess in our vast colonial empire', this would enable England to 'deodorize, so to speak, this foul humanity' (*cited in* Stedman Jones, 1971, 309).

[**And also not being clean quite often, years back they used to sort of try and represent....you know hiding your money under the soap and things like that. (Interview, English migrant Fran, 2001)**]

If cleanliness was next to Godliness, according to the dictum of the era at least, then equally the pure body of the nation could only be maintained by rigorous efforts at cleansing and deodorising. Anne McClintock asserts that 'soap took shape as a technology of social purification, inextricably entwined with the semiotics of imperial racism and class degeneration' (1995, 212). I am arguing here that this discourse had a major influence on the construction of the Australian type and its binary opposite, the English.

Through the considerable cultural agency of the English middle class, the colonies were constructed as the great white hope of Empire. While the constructions of the English urban working class reveal degrees of contempt for the 'masses' or tellingly, the 'great unwashed' an international correlative of the good, honest, deferential rural 'type' can be detected in the constructions of the 'colonial.' There are numerous examples one can point to which reveal this pattern, for example, the English writer E.W. Hornung visited Australia in the late nineteenth century. Upon his return to England he described the English as an 'abominable, insular nation of humbugs' who compared unfavourably to 'the typical Australian....One of the highest if not *the* highest development of our species' (*cited in* White, 1981, 79). The colonies,

including South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and Australia for example, began appearing in English literature as both rural and transformative. John Carey cites S. Bullock's novel *Robert Thorne: The story of a London Clerk* which was published in 1907. The narrative chronicles the physical degeneration of an urban clerk who is portrayed as dreaming of 'joining his brother, who has emigrated to New Zealand. He imagines himself outside a log cabin, stripped to the shirt, tucking into a big meal of bacon and beans' (1992, 62). In a similar vein Richard White notes the growth in popularity of colonial themes in boys' stories, suggesting a pervasive narrative trope which contrasted 'the effete Englishman and the manly colonial' (1981, 79). In 1893 a London publisher began producing school boy annuals which were 'chock-full of gripping tales of virile men fighting the wilds in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India and Africa' (White, 1981, 83), this new breed was called 'The Coming Man'. The construction of type did not end there, while all of the annuals contained the same stories, the cover illustration was designed to appeal to specific colonies. Richard White contends: 'It was little wonder that a new nation such as Australia, searching at the time for an identity of its own, should appropriate these popular virtues to itself' (1981, 283) and who can blame them? These images emanating from the heart of Empire were full of praise and had an immediate and lasting impact upon Australian cultural forms. I would argue that these mythic constructions remain permeated with the fears and deeply conservative agendas of the class with cultural capital. The binary opposition of Australia / England ('us' and 'the poms') is a fine example of mythic language in that it appears so 'natural' to the point where even critically minded Australians fall into the tropes. Forcing the history and politics back into the myth reveals alternative interpretations and alternative possible Australian identities.

Radical Australian literati?

On the binary opposition Australia / England, gravitating and circling around the pole 'Australia' is the (equally mythic) notion of egalitarianism, pitted against the class system of England. Again, by forcing back history and politics the 'obviousness' of this equation is revealed as hollow. As Anne McClintock contends, the discourse of degeneration was 'eagerly embraced' and appropriated by urban colonial elites (1995, 253). The supposed 'radical nationalist literati' were far less radical and far more conservative in their adherence to Empire's centre than is at first apparent. The central tenets of urban degeneration are revealed in both the glorification of the stoic rural inhabitant and the eugenically informed preoccupation with keeping the gene pool pure and 'white.' Word(s) from England were suggesting that Australia, being a 'new' nation, may be able to prevent the kind of 'contamination' occurring in the large English cities and towns.

Observers of the English urban mass were noting with trepidation the increasing presence of 'foreigners'. Mike Storry and Peter Childs point out there had been Black, Chinese and Indian communities in British cities since the early nineteenth century (1997, 259). There were also the Irish, the Italians, descendants of French Hugenots and the eastern European and Russian Jews. There had been a Jewish presence in London for centuries, but from about 1870 onwards Jewish refugees began arriving in increasing numbers, fleeing persecution. David Feldman writes that they 'congregated' in the East End of London, their population increasing from 5000 in 1871 to 63000 in 1911 (ed. Samuel, 1989, 208). If the urban environment was causing degeneration, then 'foreigners' were inextricably linked with that environment, a correlative not missed by the settlers in the colonies who had a

defensive relationship with the indigenous populations they were displacing. The threat of contamination in Australia is revealed through the treatment of Aboriginal Australians, who, like the degenerating English urban class, were presumed to be 'dying out' and the rampant xenophobia towards the Chinese. If it was an English writer (Hornung) who proposed that the typical Australian represented '*the* highest development' of the 'species' (*cited in* White, 1981, 79) then the Australian 'radical' magazine the *Bulletin* was certainly appropriating this sentiment at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, stating that the Australian was 'as much a full blown, white Britisher himself' but perhaps more so, because 'Londoners were often Poles and Jews' (*cited in* White, 1981, 71). Nearly thirty years later in 1918 Arthur Calwell would express fears that Australia could become a 'dumping ground for 'pommies' and cockney outcasts' going on to add: 'We want men who are our equals, not our inferiors' (*cited in* Appleyard, 1988, 10). An Australian sense of national pride, not to mention Australian identity, was being built upon the perceptions of the English middle classes.

Australian writers had far more in common with their English counterparts than is usually given official credit. Richard White reminds that the term 'radical', so often applied to the nationalist literati, had far more to do with the bohemian lifestyles practiced by this group than any contemporary notions of political left wing radicalism. These groups in both Australia and England were elitist, the famous Australian *Dawn and Dusk Club*, whose membership reads like a check list of the Australian Canon, wished to exclude 'the detestable Philistine' (*cited in* White, 1981, 94). Similarly, both groups transposed the science of urban degeneration into art, creating literary and artistic representations of the urban / rural binary opposition. While I recognise that representations of life in the Australian bush were far from

idyllic, one only has to consider Henry Lawson's *The Drover's Wife*, Edward Dyson's

The Conquering Bush, Barbara Baynton's *Squeaker's Mate* or Miles Franklin's *My*

Brilliant Career for example to be reminded of that, I none the less maintain that

these gritty portrayals are functioning to uphold conservative, reactionary agendas

rather than anything 'radical' and subversive. The inherent *fatalism* in these texts

cancels out the possibility for change through human agency. Graeme Turner goes so

far as to term this the dominant Australian myth, which tells us:

> [there] seems to be little that the individual can do to effect or change his
> condition. This may result in so-called national traits, a sense of defeat, a
> limited faith in social action, a respect for solitariness that also accompanies a
> suspicion of community or groups. (1989, 50-51)

He further contends that 'Motifs of acceptance and resignation are as common in our

literature as those of despair' (1989, 54). These are extremely useful political tools of

invocation when collective or 'mass' action looks at all threatening to the status quo.

These fatalistic traits are embodied in both the fixation on masculine physicality and

the 'Natural' world in which the Australian Type is firmly positioned. Yes, this type

dons many a disguise, but the informants of urban degeneration and eugenics remains

a pervasive rhetoric, for example: the bushman, the lifesaver and the sportsman.

Note the gender specific derivatives, because the typical Australian was and remains

male, stoic, a 'good mate' and silent / laconic. The 'goes without saying' naturalness

of this construction becomes ever more unstable and politically charged when these

traits are deconstructed within political and historical contexts. For example, while

the esteemed Australian artist, Streeton, was admiring 'the big brown men....toiling

all the hot day' in the rough terrain of the Blue Mountains (White, 1981, 101), the

English writer / intellectual George Gissing was casting his gaze upon another

fetishised rural inhabitant, an Italian peasant, constructions of which are only possible

from middle class sitting positions: 'his gnarled hands, his rough and scanty vesture, moved me to deep respect' (*cited in* Carey, 1992, 105). The romanticisation of 'good honest toil'.

This same class gaze underpins representations of the soldiers at Gallipoli, consider John Masefield's description: 'For physical beauty and nobility of bearing they surpassed any man I have ever seen' (*cited in* White, 1981, 129) together with Australian artist George Lambert's painting *Anzac's Bathing*. These cultural constructions have continued into the present, particularly in the fields (pardon the pun) of Australian sport and the revitalised Anzac day commemorations / celebrations that take place every year on 25 April. (Anzac day will be discussed further in chapter two with reference to the film *Gallipoli*) The longevity of these Australian types is in no short measure due to the equally pervasive rhetoric surrounding its binary opposite: the English / the pom.

Dis – ease about poms

Henry Kingsley was an English middle class migrant. Upon his arrival in nineteenth century Australia he described working class English migrants as 'lazy and independent....with exaggerated notions of their own importance' (*cited in* White, 1981, 37). This is a revealing remark for at least a couple of reasons. Firstly, he is invoking the mutually irreconcilable traits that late nineteenth century social investigators routinely 'found' in England's urban centres, to be both lazy and independent is surely paradoxical. Secondly, I argue that this is an early construction of what becomes the Australian stereotype of the 'pom' in Australian cultural forms. While Kingsley made his comment in 1853, it is remarkably similar to numerous examples I will be providing in this thesis. Running alongside the Australian type,

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this English stereotype is no less pervasive and no less politically informed, particularly when Earl Grey's letter to Charles Dickens is taken into account. Writing only one year before Kingsley, he noted the 'energy' and 'intelligence' of the English migrants settling in Australia. As White contends, these were not traits the Australian Establishment either wanted or admired in 'their' migrants (1981, 37), particularly when it is considered that the energy, intelligence and independence of this class group was strongly influencing the growing trade union movement in the 1880s and 1890s. The first Australian Labor parliamentarians were migrants from this group, not Australian born. Meanwhile back in England the urban working class, far from 'dying out', were becoming known as 'vulgar, independent, self-confident, flashily dressed' (*cited in* White, 1981, 43).

By the early twentieth century the deeply conservative underpinnings of Australian rural / 'natural' nationalism became increasingly evident. While the terms 'egalitarianism' and 'the worker's paradise' were appropriated as part of Australian nationalism, class loyalties were concomitantly represented as 'un-Australian' and divisive. This functions – and continues to function – as a silencing mechanism. If Australia is egalitarian (has no class system) then any articulation of class must therefore be an imposition from 'outside' – particularly that binary opposition signifier: England / the English. This threat from outside was always at its most dangerous during periods of economic instability.

The 1920s and 1930s in Australia were underpinned by economic and associated social instability, with unemployment figures rising with the waves of hostility towards migrant groups. Migrants from southern Europe were prime targets. In Western Australia for example the 1934 Kalgoorlie riots resulted in deaths, injuries

and the destruction of homes and businesses owned by southern Europeans.* While

the Australian government wanted settlers from the 'Mother country' above all others,

the Establishment was unimpressed by the 'class' of migrant arriving in Australia,

who they looked down on as 'unwashed and servile' (Jupp, 1991, 61). I have already

utilised an Arthur Calwell 1918 quote where he refers to 'pommies' and it is during

this period that the term enters common usage. I remain uncertain of when the first

dirty pom joke was recorded, but allowing the politics of 'degeneration' into the

'joke' certainly complicates the 'obviousness' of the 'unwashed' working class

English. Similarly the servility of this migrant group is placed under serious question

when the continued association with the trade union movement that migrants from all

over Britain were known for. In only one example amongst many, in 1925 an

Australian seaman's strike intimated at a class solidarity that went beyond the borders

of nationalism, with ships in Australian ports tied up in support of their fellow

workers embroiled in an industrial dispute in England. Two of the union leaders in

Australia, Tom Walsh and Jacob Johnson were migrants, whose status saw serious

attempts by the Australian government to have them deported. This was overturned

by a High Court ruling when the length of their residency was taken into account,

thirty two and fifteen years respectively. (*cited in* White, 1981, 141) These trade

unionists were hardly servile. James Jupp points out: 'The idealised Home Counties

of the English upper classes were very attractive to the Australian social establishment

but unknown and alien to the English immigrants' (1991, 61). Fully acknowledging

the constructed nature of middle class images of the English working class (both in

England and in Australia) forces a reassessment of the 'natural' binary opposition of

Australia / England.

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* Gerritson, R. (1969) The 1934 Kalgoorlie Riots: A Western Australian Crowd. *University Studies in Western Australian History. 3,* 42-75.

This ambivalent reputation of English migrants as unionists and servile (at the same time) was reinforced during the post World War 2 period – and again, there is an Australian conservative agenda being served. Australia's dictum to itself 'to populate or perish' was translated into one of the largest government orchestrated migration programmes in history. When insufficient numbers of migrants were forthcoming from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland migrants were sought from 'other' European nations, including people left 'displaced' by war. These non-British migrants lost considerable autonomy upon arrival in Australia, for example, they were sent wherever the government required labour and were certainly not permitted to join trade union organizations. Furthermore, they were expected to play the role of grateful and uncomplaining migrant, a role English migrants did not necessarily have to embrace. They began to earn something of a reputation, which did not include the trait servility. In 1951 for example, a well organised migrant hostel strike crossed state lines, seeking to improve living conditions. An action quickly blamed on English 'communist agitators' (Lack & Templeton, 1995, 58). This reputation was far reaching, as Lack and Templeton correctly point out: 'Known for their militancy….British workers were not usually sought for unskilled work in steel and motor manufacturing' (1995, 81), which is clearly at odds with Graeme Turner's typical Australian traits: acceptance and resignation.

These urban working class migrants had little in common with the construction of the rural inhabitant, be it an Australian bloke from the bush or a fetishised peasant from 'exotic' mainland Europe. The latter had a walk on role during the Basic Wage Case of 1953 when the Catholic Chief Judge Sir Raymond Kelly circulated a letter calling for wage cuts together with 'peasant immigration' (Sheridan, 1974, 198). Peasants, in

the Australian middle class mindset, were still supposedly happy to work for low wages and – importantly – not complain / whinge. I referred earlier to James Jupp's contention that the 'idealised Home Counties remained attractive to the Australian social establishment' (1991, 61) in the 1920s. As Elaine Thompson suggests in her 1994 publication *Fair Enough. Egalitarianism in Australia*, these simulacra were still powerful informants. For example, she writes of the Australian prime minister during this period, Robert Menzies, who she describes as being:

> ....emotionally, the ultimate colonial – he defined Australian as British. Moreover the Britishness and the Britain of Menzies had almost nothing to do with the 'real' United Kingdom; they were *imagined characteristics*, incorporating all the values of which Menzies approved and attributed to a place which he did not even visit until he was 40 years of age. (4)

The empty signifier of 'mother country' / 'England' / 'Britain' could be filled with traits both idealistically positive and unequivocally negative with ease.

In 1977 the Australian politician Ian Sinclair made a highly inflammable speech regarding the 'British disease' (alleged trade union militancy) which could only be cured by deporting migrant trade union leaders (*The Age*, 8 August 1977, 1), an event I will discuss fully in chapter three. By alluding to 'disease' Sinclair was tapping into the still lively twin discourses of degeneration / eugenics and as I stated earlier these theories must be contextualised within a framework of middle class fears, preconceptions and power. While Samuel Smith in late nineteenth century England spoke of deodorising 'this foul humanity' (*cited in* Stedman Jones, 1971, 309), in late twentieth century Australia Sinclair speaks of curing the 'disease' of trade unionism by cutting out the infected areas – in this instance working class British / English migrants. Whether we are talking about 'the body' as nation or the individualised sealed off body as human subject, both must be kept pure, unsullied and *controlled*.

With these political and historical dynamics being forced violently upon

representations of the English in Australia, the obvious, the natural binary opposition

of 'us' versus 'the poms' begins to fall apart. I will begin by focusing upon a

selection of films and television programmes to further explore the ramifications of

forcing back these dynamics.

Chapter two: The movies and the tele'

[And there's a particular film....I can't remember which one it is....one of the
Chips Rafferty ones where there was a character in it 'Sailor' and he was a sailor
who'd arrived, an English sailor....but he'd always been sea sick. And therefore
he got a job....it was this one about driving cattle across the North West just
around the time of the outbreak of the second world war....
(Interview, English migrant Paul, 2001)]

As Rosenstone asserts, we live in a media saturated world (1996, 132). Film,

television and advertising are involved in a volatile relationship with 'history'.

Historical images and narratives are utilised to sell either ideologies or goods and

services (sometimes both), therefore the media's role as a major informant on popular

memory should not be underestimated. Images from film and television lodge

themselves into the mind with the same potency and levels of pleasure and / or pain as

a pop song or a perfume. This chapter will explore how Englishness is represented in

a selection of Australian films and television programmes with the aim at further

interrogating the ambivalent place accorded Englishness in Australian cultural texts.

These particular texts have been selected because firstly, they all contain at least one

recognisably English character and secondly, all are utilising Englishness for specific

narrative purposes. Finally, with a couple of pointed exceptions, all of them were

produced during the 1968 – 1988 time frame. I have included the 1946 film *The*

Overlanders because it was so vividly described to me by one of my interviewees. I

bent the time frame to accommodate this film because it links an earlier period with

the 1970s and 1980s in ways I could not have foreseen, presenting strong evidence for

the longevity of specific discourses. I am contending that the professional middle

class discourses of late nineteenth century, early twentieth century degeneration /

eugenics continued to inform constructions of Australian identities from the post

World War 2 period onwards. I argue this form of interrogation will provide fruitful

possibilities for uncovering the almost invisible ideological narratives permeating Australian nationalist mythologies.

The Overlanders: a chip off the old block?

The Overlanders was funded by the English film company Ealing Studios in 1946, but written and directed by an Australian, Harry Watt. I referred to the schoolboy colonial annuals emanating out of England from the late nineteenth century onwards in chapter one and the same constructions can be seen informing *The Overlanders*.

The opening scene features a caricature of a Japanese soldier with his hands reaching out for the Northern Territory of Australia. There is nothing unusual in this *per se*, ugly caricature has always been used during war, however this caricature appears to have been lifted wholesale from Australian *Bulletin* cartoons fifty years previously, when it was used to represent the presumed threat of 'the Chinese'. The homogenous 'Asian' is not the only marker of the desire for a white Australia, within minutes the voice over explains that the Northern Territory is the largest undeveloped region in the world: 'With a population of only 5000 whites'. The film then reveals some of that population burning their homes and emptying water tanks, while workers at the meat export port are told there is a 'scorched earth policy' in place, necessitating their evacuation and the killing of 968 head of cattle. Dan McAlpine (played by Chips Rafferty, who specialised in these Aussie bloke characters in much the same way as Bryan Brown would in the 1970s and 1980s) refuses to accept the destruction of a valuable food source and makes plans to drive the cattle across inhospitable country.

[Have a think back, you came out when you were thirteen, but when I went to school....from Australia we got lamb and wool and we got all of those things....Australian fruit was the best. Everything that came from Australia we always thought was the best. And I mean it was a place where everybody was

healthy and....promoted a good standard of living, so it was everything that you wanted it to be....or to have in your life, was in Australia. (Interview, English migrant Rose, 2001)]

Australia, in common with many colonial settlements, was a major producer of primary products for the 'mother' country. Given the context of war time rationing McAlpine's stand becomes heroic, particularly when the terrain and distances the cattle drive he is suggesting is visually and verbally explained early in the film, with a specific northern hemisphere analogy. McAlpine's boss pulls down a map and points out the trajectory, attempting to dissuade him by saying: 'the distance from London to Moscow in a bad season and at the wrong time of the year' a line of dialogue which not only deftly provides a European point of reference for the distance, but also directly alludes to the then recent defeat of Hitler's army by both the determined Russians and the debilitating Eastern European winter.

McAlpine goes to the wharf where the meat workers are about to be evacuated and calls for volunteers, only to be met by disinterest as the men opt to board the waiting boat. I would suggest this is a telling moment as the workers least in touch with 'nature', the closest to factory workers, are shown to be 'running away'. The first volunteer is the generically named 'Jackie', an Aboriginal, who upon being told the journey might take up to two years to complete, responds with 'Okay I'll come with ya. Wait until I tell the Missus, I'll be back in five minutes'. The Aboriginal presence in this film is always threatening to destabilise the narrative, for example, while Jackie as 'first volunteer' suggests not only that he is part of the landscape / 'nature' but also possesses none of the familial attachments of 'white civilisation': requiring only five minutes to leave his family who are certainly not included in the population figures referred to earlier in the film.

The second volunteer provides a stark opposition to the Australian type embodied in McAlpine's character. In chapter one I referred to Richard White's detection of the binary opposition of 'the effete Englishman and the manly colonial' in late nineteenth century schoolboy annuals (1981, 79) together with the same thematic appearing in adult fiction. Almost half a century later we find a filmic descendant in *The Overlanders*. This second volunteer is an English sailor who is nicknamed 'Sinbad' an allusion to the stories of Sinbad the Sailor, an ambiguous choice of nickname which might denote untrustworthiness and cunning. He is certainly feminised in the film, speaking in what might be described as the 'Queen's English' his voice alone sounds affected when placed against the earthy tone and speech of McAlpine, whose response to Sinbad's volunteering is: 'Nothing dramatic about us you know. We're just plain cattlemen. Hard yakka and hard tucker. Best you stay by your ship', which, when layered with the image of Sinbad's soft, wavy, light brown hair and white t-shirt speaks volumes. Particularly when the apparent bravery of the English volunteer is seriously destabilised by the information intimated by Sinbad that he has suffered a nervous breakdown brought on by the death of his mother in the Blitz and recent bombing has 'brought it all on again'. As he tells McAlpine, he 'hates the sea'. Regardless that Sinbad's mental state is not criticised openly in the film, he none the less provides a blank canvass for supposedly 'non-Australian' traits to be painted. Consider, Sinbad has 'lost his nerve' and the colonial rural environment just might 'cure' or make a man of him. (And yes, the text calls out for a 'camp' re-reading) Why else would McAlpine take the risk of taking a character like Sinbad along?

[**It's quite a seminal film because….I sort of look back on this and I realise this is kind of the source of some of the racism towards the English from dinky di Aussies or the Skippys. It was about the English arriving here, not being up to the job in terms of physical labour, not knowing the bush….you know….being uninitiated, generally useless. And it even transferred to the love interest in that film where even the girl thought this guy was absolutely piss weak and it was like**

A family joins McAlpine's cattle drive, comprising of husband, wife and two daughters, the eldest of which, Mary, is represented as Sinbad's love interest. It is never a match of equals, Mary is stronger and more capable than Sinbad, a brilliant horse woman and adept at bush skills, in McAlpine's words: '....she seemed to shape up alright'. Unlike Sinbad, who cannot seem to 'shape up' at all.

He is berated by McAlpine when he is caught whipping cattle that have become trapped in a bog: 'Didn't I tell you to keep them out of there?' The laziness (sneaky 'Sinbad the Sailor') responsible for the cattle's predicament is also suggested when the audience are told that Sinbad would not get off his horse to do the job properly. The Englishman's efforts at being a 'bush man' are destined to fail, evidenced during a suitably chaste Mary and Sinbad 'romantic moment' when Mary passes comment on his stirrups: 'Wearing them long like a bushman now?' (I am convinced the double entendres that pepper this film were unintentional, but none the less hilarious to a contemporary audience). The English representative might play 'dress ups' with the images available, but this is as close as he can get to the 'Aussie Type'. As if to illustrate this point, moments later the cattle break away and during the desperate struggle to control them, Sinbad is thrown from his horse and trampled by the cattle, symbolically he is beaten by 'nature'. He spends the remainder of the film propped up on the back of a wagon, Camille like, not a hair out of place, where he tells Mary: 'I'm not much of a cattleman'. I defy anyone to watch this scene without belly laughing, this 'bloke' could not cut firewood without mishap.

The representation of the English in the film *The Overlanders*, through the character of Sinbad, is clearly informed by the theory of degeneration, particularly as it was utilised to construct the colonies and the 'Coming Man'. Sinbad is weak and degenerating from too many years spent in a city (presumably London, as his mother was killed in the 'blitz') both mentally (nervous breakdown) and physically. He is diametrically opposed to the tough, *rural* Australian. Injustices occurring within Australia are almost successfully air brushed out of the picture as indigenous Australians and women are represented as comrades in arms against a common enemy. There is no evidence of Australian assimilation policies, which might well have been lifted from some of the ideas suggested for dealing with England's 'degenerate' urban dwellers. Aboriginal families and communities were already being devastated as children were forcibly removed from their mothers and families. White Australians took the theories of urban degeneration together with eugenics, which positioned them as the finest of the 'species', very seriously indeed. However, *The Overlanders* represents all Australians on an equal *egalitarian* footing, the binary oppositional 'other' is the English.

To paraphrase Robert Hewison, there are always cracks in the screen and there is a major fault line in this film (1990, 16). In a short scene, which continues to surprise me, Sinbad and Mary sit at the campfire one evening. Off screen, therefore almost but not quite invisible, Aboriginal workers sing in their own language. Sinbad wonders: 'I wonder what Jackie's singing about?' (the one character representing all), to which Mary responds: 'When his people owned this land I expect. When they were happy'. A chilling disruption in an Australian nationalist text which otherwise masquerades a consensus, which I would suggest is revealing, because ownership (of

capital, symbols, mythologies, histories) is an underlying thematic in the 'New Wave'

of Australian films in the 1970s and early 1980s.

[**European invaders who swore by sedentary cultivation and private property
long rejected such claims; in their view, lands held in common or by nomadic
tribes were unappropriated, empty, *terra nullius* in legal terms. Indigenous
property claims nowadays meet more receptive ears. An imprimatur of
rectitude attaches to ancient occupance; tribal peoples regain more and more
land usurped from their forebears. Australia's repudiation of *terra nullius* in
1992 heralds extensive reversion of Crown Lands to Aborigines; ancestral rights
of Maoris, Native Americans, Inuits, Hawaiians, and other 'First Nation' peoples
are increasingly endorsed. (Lowenthal, 1997, 181)**

Nationalist cinema: Selling the sizzle

Susan Dermody and Elizabeth Jacka in their 1987 publication *The Screening of*

Australia Volume1 point out:

> Circuits of money and circuits of meaning are deeply involved with each other
> in film production. Notions of money, business, and industry interplay
> rhetorically with notions of art, quality, and the 'genuinely Australian'. (16)

It is a contention I remain convinced of particularly when the binary opposition of Art

(Culture) / Business (Economics) is deconstructed. The 'selling' of a national identity

arguably necessitates the same skills and tools of construction as the selling of any

other commodity, be it biscuits or petrol. The supposedly natural separation of the

worlds of Art and Business is placed under further stress when the Australian

government's restriction of non-Australian advertisements during the 1970s and

1980s is taken into account. Graeme Turner points out that this government

intervention resulted in a vibrant mini-film (advertising) industry which provided

work for up-and-coming Australian film directors, including Fred Schepisi and Peter

Weir, who were still working in this field in the early 1980s (eds. Moran & O'Regan,

1989, 101). By the final decades of the late twentieth century advertising was a

juggernaut. From an English perspective, Robert Hewison described it as the 'motor

of the information industry', illustrating his argument by pointing out that by the end

of the 1980s in the United Kingdom alone, it was worth forty seven billion pounds

(1990, 58). The nexus of nationalism and healthy financial returns was arguably first

fully realised in mid nineteenth century England.

Anne McClintock argues that the Great Exhibition, held in London in 1851, was a

major catalyst for the revolutionary changes that took place in the field of advertising

throughout the nineteenth century. (1995, 210) The new railway lines brought people

from all over the country and from different classes to a secular cathedral. The awe

inspiring 'Crystal Palace' was packed with exhibits and consumer goods from all over

the British Empire. I would argue that it is here that the link between advertising and

nationalism or national identity is firmly sealed. The 'wonders' of the British Empire

were there to behold whether you had travelled from Yorkshire or Kent, were rich or

poor. This was a 'national' endeavour that over rode regional loyalties. The mixture

of fair ground, museum, shop and theatre was seductive and dazzling. What better

way to sell consumer goods?

Advertisers billed themselves as 'empire builders' and 'flattered themselves with the

historic imperial mission' (McClintock, 1995, 211). The pervasive discourse of

degeneration was a powerful informant in the field of late nineteenth century

advertising and the resultant advertisements were equally as paradoxical as the

supposedly 'serious' texts of professional middle class social investigators. Anne

McClintock points out that soap advertising was in the vanguard of this revolution in

advertising, not only visually linked with the 'civilising' mission of Empire, but also

featuring fetishised images of 'Nature': 'a purified nature magically cleansed of

polluting industry' (1995, 211). Which I suggest is interesting, because firstly, the language of 'cleansing' was regularly utilised in the solutions put forward to deal with the 'degenerate urban masses' and secondly, the polluting industry was being maintained by the very same companies paying for the advertising. The imagery used by advertising companies owed a considerable debt to the theory of degeneration and later in the century, eugenicist theory. The images from these successful advertising campaigns were so pervasive that their ghosts continued to linger. In many ways, advertising was the theory of degeneration in pictures.

By the final decades of the twentieth century, Australian 'Period' films were re-constructing the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by utilising imagery which was wrought with ideology, politics and class. Selling an Australian identity and the requisite nationalism, required considerable soft soaping of historical narratives. Negative events and / or traits would be displaced onto the 'natural' binary opposition: the English.

The Australian Film Development Commission was established in 1969, a government initiative which provided funding for Australian film makers. Two years later it was renamed the Australian Film Industry. The success of the 'Bazza' Barry Mckenzie films in both Australia and England, which were early recipients of A.F.I. funding, was met with a degree of embarrassment and discomfort by the keepers of Australian Culture. The films were contemporary, featuring an Ocker Australian ('Bazza') on the loose in London. Crude knockabout humour celebrated and sent up everything Australian with brash confidence. It was not an image middle and upper class Australians (those with cultural as well as economic capital) had in mind, quite

the reverse. The 'Period Film' would convince the world that Australia was Cultural, serious, Artistic and *just like Europe*, had a History.

Graeme Turner describes films from this genre as 'Beautiful, untroubling films' which were also 'politically conservative' (eds. Moran & Regan, 1989, 104). In his seminal text *National Fictions* he argues that these films constructed 'a view of our history which sees the *land* as our enemy, rather than the authoritarian social and political structures initiated in the penal colony'(1989, 61). These are all claims I agree with, but would like to add a further 'enemy': the English. The inherent contradictions of a nationalist discourse which speaks of 'egalitarianism' while attempting to represent a country which was and remains socially and economically stratified are repeatedly neutralised by recourse to an English character or characters.

Raphael Samuel contends:

> We are in fact constantly reinterpreting the past in the light of the present, and indeed, like conservationists and restorationists in other spheres, reinventing it. The angle of vision is inescapably contemporary, however remote the object of view. (1994, 430)

A contention which has particular resonance for three period films made during the 1970s in Australia: *Picnic at Hanging Rock*, *The Getting of Wisdom* and *My Brilliant Career*, which all feature female protagonists who are attempting to navigate a repressive patriarchal moral and social order. All three film texts are adaptations from novels written by women, *The Getting of Wisdom* by Henry Handel Richardson (the male pseudonym was adopted in order to be taken 'seriously'), *My Brilliant Career* by Miles Franklin and *Picnic at Hanging Rock* by Joan Lindsay. The 'literary' origins of these film texts lending an authenticity and Cultural value supposedly lacking in the Bazza McKenzie films.

The repression of young women in these texts provided fruitful opportunities for 1970s feminist readings and constructions. At a time when Australian singer Helen Reddy was belting out 'I am woman here me roar', Germaine Greer published *The Female Eunoch* and Anne Summers forcibly and brilliantly acknowledged women in the Australian 'his' – torical narrative with her publication *Damned Whores and God's Police* (originally published 1970 and 1975 respectively), it is hardly surprising that the feminist sensibilities of the era permeate these film texts. However, these are not the only discursive strands running through these films, after all these are also 'Birth of a Nation' films. All three are historically placed at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Australia was federated as a Nation in 1901, prior to this 'Australia' was a group of separate colonies. In the decades surrounding Federation, Australia 'the Coming Nation', was embodied in the image of a young, corseted, fresh faced (white) girl in a white dress. A pervasive representation which featured in nationalistic *Bulletin* cartoons together with the advertising of Australian owned and made products, the link between advertising and nationalism in Australia was already firmly established. Feminist or not, Australia in the 1970s was still being sold by the recourse to young women in corsets and frocks.

My Brilliant Career: a little Aussie battler in a dress

Margaret Fink, the producer of *My Brilliant Career*, told an interviewer in the March / April edition of *Cinema Papers* that she had been thinking of making films since she was a young woman, going on to say: 'when I read Miles Franklin's book, it just clicked. Obviously, Miles is a proto-typical feminist, and I think I've always been one; that's probably why I responded to the book' (288). Margaret Fink, together with Eleanor Witcombe who wrote the film script and Gillian Armstrong, the director,

all contributed, together with the remarkable acting debut of the Western Australian actress Judy Davis, to a vibrant portrayal of Franklin's protagonist Sybylla. I would argue that so successfully translated was the dynamism of 1970s feminist sensibilities in the film text, that the ambiguities and contradictions in this nationalist text are almost, but not quite, buried.

Anthony Smith points out that visual representations of national identities are 'foreshadowed by the art of the nineteenth century' (eds. Hjort & Mackenzie, 2000, 45), the Australian Period Film was no different in its allusions to High Art. For example, preparing to film *Picnic at Hanging Rock* Russel Boyd referred to the paintings of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Australian artist Tom Roberts in order to capture 'the light of the Australian countryside' (cited in Turner, 1989, 114), while Gillian Armstrong preparing for *My Brilliant Career* referred to both Roberts and his contemporary McCubbin (Turner, 1989, 114). This is not intended as a criticism because the films are visually stunning, however the intertextuality being undertaken here should not be read unproblematically. The allusion to nationalist texts from an earlier period is not bereft of ideological implications. As I stated in chapter one, class loyalties in Australia were already being seen as un-Australian by the early twentieth century and in the film *My Brilliant Career* our gaze is directed at one individual bathed (therefore contextualised) in the colours and light of nationalist artists. Any attention we might be paying to the inequalities and class structure in the text is constantly interrupted by reference to an English character, Frank Hawden.

Being Frank

An English actor was originally cast to play Frank Hawden, but Australian equity refused the actor an equity card. In 1979, the year *My Brilliant Career* was first screened in Australia, Gillian Armstrong told *Cinema Papers'* interviewers Peter Bielby and Scott Murray, that they then approached N.I.D.A. (National Institute of Dramatic Art) to audition some final year students. They discovered and cast Robert Grubb who 'added a whole extra level to the film' (1979, 290), which is surely an understatement. While Hawden's character in the novel is not particularly likeable or heroic, the filmic construction is a buffoon, comic book, two dimensional character in a film which is otherwise firmly anchored in the realist mode. I would also suggest there is substantial intertextuality at play, with Frank Hawden's more slap stick moments alluding to the popular comedy character Frank Spencer in the English made television comedy series *Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em*. In the striking binary opposition the character (or caricature) of Frank provides to the Australian 'Coming Man' Harry Beacham, we have the effete Englishman and the manly colonial of the old school boy annuals dusted off for late twentieth century consumption.

As previously acknowledged in chapter one, life in the Australian bush or outback has not as a rule been glamourised. *My Brilliant Career* follows in this tradition by opening the film with scenes revealing the poverty and drought ridden conditions that Sybylla's family life entails, including a depressed embittered mother who has married 'beneath her status' and is now suffering the consequences of being married to a bad provider and drinker. Sybylla is invited to live with her mother's wealthy family (consisting of grandmother, aunt and uncle) and embarks on the journey. Upon arrival she is met by Frank Hawden, whose character is set in concrete within

minutes of screen time. Not only is the character overly 'hammed up' but in the first of several slap stick moments, Frank has trouble even lifting Sybylla's suitcase. Physically weak and arrogant he is instantly positioned as inferior to the amused knowingness of the Australian character Sybylla, who says: 'You're a New Chum aren't you' to which Frank responds: 'Certainly not. I've been here three months' to which Sybylla again responds: 'Still wet behind the ears'. While I acknowledge that filmic adaptations of novels should be 'read' as separate texts, I none the less maintain that changes to a character or story line are revealing. In this case, in the novel Frank Hawden has travelled and worked overseas extensively, background information omitted in the film in order for the English representative to appear so naïve and stupid.

In direct opposition to the powerfully evoked images of poverty at Sybylla's home, the buggy pulls into the green, lush, beautifully manicured gardens of the Caddogat homestead, the class divide completed by the appearance of a maid in pristine black and white uniform. I rewound this scene several times and was continually struck to what extent the opposition of Australia (Sybylla) and England (Frank) was directing the audience's gaze away from the equally extreme oppositions of Rich and Poor, oppositions which are marginalised throughout the film.

At Sybylla's first dinner at Caddogat, in an age where carving duties were traditionally bequeathed to any adult male seated at the table, Grandmother assumes not only the Head of the table, but also carves and serves the meat. Frank, similar to Sinbad in *The Overlanders*, is frequently emasculated by the stronger, more capable Australian women. Quite apart from being positioned with 'the girls' he is also

revealed as sly, manipulative and prone to gossip, traits traditionally associated with female characters, as the feminist contributors to this film would be only too aware. In *My Brilliant Career* the binary oppositions are never deconstructed and these negative traits are merely displaced upon the empty signifier of Frank / Englishness.

Frank is also revealed as the maintainer of class divisions, again reinforcing the myth that it is only 'the English' who enforce such distinctions. One evening in the absence of the matriarchal Grandmother, who, jolly good sorts that the Australian upper classes are, has gone off to assist one of the servants to give birth the remaining group, comprising of Sybylla's uncle, Harry Beacham, aunt and Frank, join in with a spirited dance and sing-a-long session. Sybylla sings an Irish song learnt at her father's local pub. The next morning at breakfast, Grandmother makes it clear that someone has 'informed' on the group's revelries and this is where the actor playing Frank goes into Pantomime territory, with the camera focusing upon the overt shifty expression he is wearing. It is the English character who is not only the 'stuffy' killjoy but also clearly in cahoots with the older matriarchal keeper of morality (Grandmother) and appropriate 'class' behaviour. The message is clear: without Frank (read: the English) Australians were not interested in class and social divisions. According to this displacement, Irish catholic working class pub songs (read: Irish catholics, the working class) would have been warmly welcomed in the front rooms of upper class and usually Anglican or Protestant homesteads like Caddogat. In this nationalist text, Australians are egalitarian minded, casual and like to 'let their hair down', alternative narratives of staunchly maintained Australian sectarianism and class divisions are deftly omitted.

Frank goes on to gossip and manipulate his way through the film. Stereotypically dressed in white boater and face net his proposal of marriage to Sybylla is represented as ludicrous, taking place in the sheep run. With shades of *The Overlanders*' Sinbad, Frank is pushed in amongst the sheep (trampled by *sheep*) and has trouble climbing out. Similar again to Sinbad, he has degenerated in the built up degenerative environment of England, placed as a binary opposition to Harry Beacham (as Sinbad is to Dan McAlpine) and therefore he is physically and mentally (sly, gossipy) not capable of being a real (Australian) male.

During the period *My Brilliant Career* is set, Australia was suffering a crippling economic depression exacerbated by drought. It is not that inequalities are invisible in the film text, but the resolute displacement and marginalisation of those inequalities requires acknowledgement. The stark opposition of 'men on the wallaby' (unemployed men who tramped the country looking for odd jobs and a 'feed'), and Sybylla's own poverty stricken home in comparison with Caddogat might have provoked a more critical, class aware filmic eye. The determined focus on the battling individual, feminist gaze though it is, maintains an older nationalistic and conservative gaze.

The 1970s and early 1980s Australian nationalist films are full of likeable Australian characters, who, despite their considerable wealth and the power that engenders, are repeatedly represented as 'down to earth', contemptuous of snobbery and class distinctions and all round 'good sorts'. This myth remains cogent, emptied as it is of histories, politics and class struggle, it's ideological function is to silence.

Breaker Morant: Straight shooting bastards?

[I went to see this film when it was first released during the summer of 1980 /
1981 at a Perth cinema. Towards the end of the film a male Australian voice
shouted from the darkness 'Pommy bastards!' The clear cut nationalism of
'hating the English' was certainly pressing someone's buttons that afternoon.
(Autobiographical intrusion)]

Breaker Morant (1980) was directed by Bruce Beresford. It is a notable Australian

nationalist text and extremely revealing for several reasons. Firstly, it powerfully

brings together what I would term the Holy Trinity of Australian nationalism together:

war, Federation and the easy binary opposition of downtrodden, *white*, likeable

Australians being abused by the nasty old Brits. Secondly, it is to my knowledge the

only Australian film focusing on the Boer war. Finally, it's success ushered in a mini-

genre of Australian war films and mini-series, although the Boer War was superseded

by later wars, particularly World War 1. This is hardly surprising when it is

considered that the Boer War was a 'messy' war, by which I mean that the style of

fighting (closer to guerrilla warfare) and the first recorded use of concentration camps

by the British makes clear cut good guys / bad guys oppositions difficult to sustain.

Clearly not a modus operandi suited to nationalistic discourses of heroism.

Considering these issues, I would argue it was sheer genius to take the story of

Breaker Morant and transform the narrative into a text of Australian nationalism with

an 'Australian' folk hero as the central protagonist.

Stephen Crofts, writing in *Cinema Papers* shortly after the film's release, noted how

the marginalisation of the Boers in *Breaker Morant* 'facilitates the rewriting of history

in terms of a morality play' (1981, 420). It is a contention which remains valid,

considering to what extent the complex and ambiguous issues arising from the Boer

War were bent into neat binary oppositions such as good guys / bad guys, Australians / English and innocent / guilty and corrupt.

[Chief Justice David Malcolm will be among a distinguished panel debating the legalities of Harry 'Breaker' Morant's execution. The notorious Boer War case will be debated at a black-tie dinner at the Sheraton Hotel [Perth] on March 25. Morant, considered by some an Australian folk hero, was sentenced to death in 1902 after being convicted of shooting prisoners of war. Mr. Ross (Organiser and also marketing manager of Alf Barbagallo motor dealer's) said members of the panel would even consider the option of posthumously overturning the conviction. Bookings for the $150 a head dinner can be made through SAS Resources Trust. (The Western Australian newspaper *The Sunday Times*, 8 February, 2004)]

The strategies utilised to mask contradictions in this filmic text are well worth re-examining. I am thinking here of Morant's upper class Englishness together with the Australian establishment's collusion with not only the war itself, but specifically the firing squad deaths of Morant and Handcock and the imprisoning of the young soldier, Whitton. Where exactly are they represented in this narrative? Are they represented at all? Australian collusion and responsibility is neatly side stepped with recourse to the 'common sense' and 'obvious' binary of Englishness.

The British characters in the film are all English, with the exception of Donald Robertson who is a Scot. All are represented as either corrupt, sly, snobbish, servile or a mixture of all four. These negative traits are placed in opposition to 'typical' Australian traits: larrikinism, anti-authoritarianism and lack of pretension. The characters are contextualised within these frames of reference, with the Australians' typical characteristics being given added 'truth' by being listed off by suitably disdainful (and shocked) upper class English characters. This narrative device is established early in the film at a dinner party where the Australian defence lawyer, Thomas, is a guest. The Court Marshall is referred to when an English upper class accent says: 'Discipline and tradition. Do you think this could have happened with

any contingent other than the Australians?' In the morality tale that is *Breaker Morant* it is a purely rhetorical question, which through being voiced by a stereotypical English caricature lends the myth greater credibility. The irony of representing the Australians as anti-authoritarian, whilst concomitantly having them claim they were 'obeying orders' is as clear as it is unacknowledged by the film text.

The supposed anti-authoritarianism of Australians is reinforced in the Courtroom. The first witness is Scottish Donald Robertson who was the Captain of the Bushveldt Carbineers, which Stephen Crofts describes as a 'counter terrorist and largely Australian fragment of the British Army' (1981, 420). In response to the question: 'How was discipline?' Robertson says: 'Impossible. Especially with the Australians'. I suggested in my introduction that Australian texts were also guilty of what Rebecca Langlands termed 'the unconscious conflation of Britain and England' (1999, 53) and the Scottish character in *Breaker Morant* appears to illustrate this conflation. In fact, this representation could be taken even a step further, while 'other' colonials collude with the English as 'British', in this film text the Australians are represented as uniquely anti – authoritarian which only strengthens the Australian mythic nationalism on offer in *Breaker Morant*. Now while Robertson is clearly Scottish (his accent for example), he is portrayed as being 'in cahoots' with the English and as such his unsympathetic screen persona must be taken into account to fully gauge the war crimes on trial here. For example, Robertson tells the court he reprimanded Handcock for putting prisoners of war in open wagons in front of train engines to prevent the lines being blown up by the Boers. In current war parlance this is referred to as using 'human shields' and condemned, because now as then, as Robertson correctly states, they could have 'been shot by their own side'. Thomas,

the defence lawyer, then cross examines the witness. The potent blend of a fiery, angry performance by actor Jack Thompson together with the already established negative traits of Englishness, threatens to completely destroy the gist of what is said. For example, the film represents Thomas' berating of Robertson into admitting Handcock's actions were successful as a victory for the defence, an extremely manipulative filmic moment, rather like arguing that if torturing prisoners 'works' or 'gets results' then it is not a war crime if 'our' side is perpetrating the deed.

The second witness is the English Sargeant Drummond, who relays the story of an attack on a Boer camp which occurred shortly after the mutilated body of Morant's close friend Captain Hunt has been discovered. When one of the Boers is discovered wearing Hunt's uniform, Morant orders an immediate execution, an action Drummond tells the court he strongly disagreed with, going on to describe Morant's emotional state as being: 'Like a madman sir'. Again, the actual evidence being given here is undercut by Drummond's caricature English persona in the film, appearing untrustworthy, sly and servile. Not unlike Sinbad in *The Overlanders* and Frank Hawden in *My Brilliant Career*, 'Englishness' is held up in stark relief against the 'typical' and 'good' Australians.

So how does Morant, an upper class Englishman by birth and upbringing, fit into the discourse? After all, his character is pivotal to the success or otherwise of *Breaker Morant* as a pursuasive Australian nationalist text. Jack Clancy points out that he was a man 'divided between the horsemanship, male camaraderie and hard drinking of the Australian bush, and a yearning for the 'trim petticoat we leave behind in Devon' (1981, 29). He goes on to cite Australian historian Russel Ward, who described

Morant as considerably more complex than the eccentric, gentlemanly character portrayed by Edward Woodward, consider: '[he was] a confidence man, a cheat, a barefaced liar, possibly the greatest male chauvinist pig of all time, a sponger, an exhibitionist, a racist and a sadist' (1981, 30). The film not only constructs Morant in a thoroughly positive light, but through osmosis places him firmly in the Australian 'camp'.

At the same dinner party I referred to earlier, the small problem of Morant's Englishness is textually sealed over, when, rather like a voice from the chorus (or the audience), a nameless guest remarks that Morant is 'actually English' to which another character responds that he is 'just the same' as the Australians. Later in the film, and in keeping with the kind of stereotypical binary oppositions unproblematically on offer here, Morant describes *himself* as 'impetuous, most un-British', which together with his likeable larrikin persona places him firmly with his Australian mates. I would point out the considerable irony at work here, for example, Morant has been living in Australia due to an unspecified misdemeanour, therefore in some regards he is an English migrant. At the time of this film's release working class English migrants still had a reputation – and were routinely vilified - for being trade union militants, but an English upper class war criminal was somehow an Australian folk hero? This alone should merit further investigation. English migrant trade unionists were un-Australian, but Morant was 'just the same' as 'us'.

Speaking of the much maligned English working class in Australian nationalist texts, *Breaker Morant* offers a revealing representation in the character / caricature of Corporal Sharp, who possesses traits remarkably similar and unchanged from those

chronicled by the professional middle classes in London during the late nineteenth

century. When the London brewer told an investigator in the 1870s that 'We are

afraid of London men. They are shuffling, lazy and know too much' (Stedman Jones,

1971, 130), the investigator might have envisioned a character like Corporal Sharp.

Sharp as a diamond or a knife, he is none the less represented as ignorant due to a lack

of conventional education. Like Frank Hawden in the film *My Brilliant Career*,

Sharp's slyness is revealed with all the subtlety of a pantomime villain, which

together with a 'Cockernee' accent directly lifted from a Monty Python sketch, results

in a major disruption in the film which (again) otherwise embraces the mode of

realism. His inability to understand the term 'deceased' seals the message: this is not

a witness (or 'type') to be taken seriously. The construction of Sharp severely

detracts from his evidence, which includes a flash back scene where he is positioned

as a 'nosey onlooker' watching Morant and Handcock plotting to murder a German

missionary who they suspect to be a spy. Once again, the construction of

Englishness, this time working class Englishness, clouds what is taking place. Sharp

was on sentry duty and was surely expected to be alert to what was taking place

around him, but the camera's focus on Sharp's sly and calculating expression

undercuts his evidence considerably.

Any question of class empathy between Sharp and the Australian working class

characters Handcock and Whitton is glossed over by both the unsympathetic

representation of Sharp together with his supposed collusion with the upper class

English establishment. It is implied he has been 'coached' in his evidence for

example, plus he over exaggeratedly salutes his superiors, which makes him servile in

comparison to the anti authoritarianism of the Australians. Furthermore Sharp is

revealed to be a petty thief, Handcock had transferred him out of his unit when he discovered him stealing from a Boer's property. Take away the pantomimic Cockney 'tea leaf' (Cockney rhyming slang for 'thief') and Sharp's evidence is powerful. The ease with which *Breaker Morant* falls into late nineteenth century discourses of the supposedly degenerating working class urban dweller should alert us to the underlying conservatism of this text.

Australian collusion in the Court Marshall, the firing squad deaths of Morant and Handcock and the imprisoning of the young soldier Whitton are neutralised by the myth. When it *is* intimated, the words come from (the already established) untrustworthy and corrupt mouths of the English characters, for example, when the upper class Englishman Major Bolton (the prosecution) says: 'I've been wondering if you realise how anxious your own government is for a conviction?' he has already been contextualised as untrustworthy and therefore his words are not automatically believable. Re-reading this Australian nationalist text through the languages of class and Englishness reveals the displacement of the gaze away from both Australian culpability and by extension, the Australian class system.

Gallipoli: sitting on the beach drinking tea?

I would argue that the film *Gallipoli* took the Australian nationalist film to previously unknown heights of achievement. Directed by the Australian director Peter Weir, scripted by Australian playwright David Williamson and sourced from the official World War One Australian war correspondent and later the official war historian, Charles (C.E.W.) Bean, it was a popular and critical success after its release in 1981.

I contend with Graeme Turner that 'the discourses of nationalism are drawn almost exclusively from the mythologised past' (1989, 108), and *Gallipoli* is a point in kind. Again, the cinematography is stunning, contributing to a deeply moving filmic experience. However, when the mythology is made to carry the weight of the politically charged theories of degeneration and eugenics, theories which permeate this film, the text as a major Australian cultural signifier becomes unstable to say the least.

Forcing history and politics back into myths of nationality is far from unproblematic in itself. I have already outlined in my introduction that the terms 'history' and 'histories' are far from untainted signifiers. For my purposes here however, 'going back', is imperative to gauge some idea of how these images of the Anzac came to be.

World War 1, specifically the landing on the beach at what has become known as 'Anzac Cove', has assumed a powerful 'birth of a nation' moment in Australia. The 'n' and the 'z' stand for New Zealand, not that this is immediately obvious in Australia, as the term has been appropriated and embraced by Australia to signify national pride and identity. It is impossible to live anywhere in Australian and ignore the myth (aka 'the legend'). The history sections in the local libraries and book shops are filled with an assortment of World War 1 publications. 25 April is Anzac Day, a public holiday commemorating the landing of Australian forces on a rocky outcrop on the coast of Turkey. Newspapers run articles on war veterans together with parallel stories on just how Australian troops 'today' are maintaining 'the legend'. Newsreaders, television personalities and politicians wear sprigs of rosemary for remembrance. From the late 1980s onwards, after decades of decline, the dawn

services and marches began to attract large numbers of people. It was only when I began tutoring a first year Australian history unit at university that the pervasive link between the growing cult of the Anzac and the film *Gallipoli* really presented itself. Young students straight from High School (in Australia, aged 17 or 18) regularly handed in World War 1 themed papers, which jarred, reading more like army recruitment advertisements than critical essays. The film *Gallipoli* was frequently utilised as common sense fact in these papers despite a considerable list of suggested secondary sources. With this in mind, how did this become so set in concrete?

It is 'common sense' that the Anzac was born out of Anzac day, or so the myth repeatedly tells us. However, as Richard White points out, the image of the Australian soldier was under construction long before Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo (1981,126). Part of the discourse of degeneration included a firm belief in the power of war to 'purge' the body of the nation of weak links. Rather than being the argument of a few eccentric scientists, this belief system permeated all cultural forms. For example, Henry Lawson, a canonical nationalist Australian writer attested: 'It was only in that supreme conflict that nations were born' (*cited in* White, 1981, 126) suggesting that war gave a nation legitimacy. On the other side of the globe the German philosopher Nietzsche stated: 'The warrior is a type of the fittest man. War and courage have achieved greater things than charity' (*cited in* White, 1981, 72). When the Australian prime minister Billy Hughes utilised the discourse in 1916, claiming that war had prevented Australia 'from slipping into the abyss of degeneracy and from becoming flabby....War has purged us, war has saved us from physical and moral degeneracy and decay' (*cited in* White, 1981, 127), he clearly reveals the 'buzz' words of an era: 'abyss', 'degeneracy', 'purged',

'decay'. What is more, as a politician renowned for his fiery, populist speeches, he also knew people would *understand* his message. Charles Bean in his capacity as official war correspondent had a well established discourse at his disposal, it could be argued with some validity that he had little else. As John Williams in his excellent 1999 publication *Anzacs, the Media and the Great War* points out, Bean, in common with all war time journalists, was writing within the strictly enforced boundaries of war time censorship and when he *did* write less than glowing reports of the Australian soldier he was strongly censured and criticised for being un-patriotic. (58-60) As White suggests: 'With the landing at Gallipoli in April 1915, the ready-made myth was given a name, a time and a place' (1981, 128).

Gallipoli is routinely used as a teaching aide in primary and high schools in Australia and while Anzac Day in the current school year falls in the holidays, the last day of term includes Anzac Day commemorative assemblies.

[**Anzac Day ceremonies in public schools look certain to become compulsory after the State Opposition yesterday reversed its decision to oppose the Government plan.** (*The West Australian*, 15 May 2004, 9)]

[**The central ISA (Ideological State Apparatus) in contemporary capitalism is the educational system, which prepares children to act consistently with the values of society by inculcating in them the dominant versions of appropriate behaviour as well as history, social studies and, of course, literature. (Belsey, 1980, 58)**]

As I write the legend has become untouchable, almost but not quite beyond critique. All the more reason to force the violence of history and politics back into the myth, the 'common sense'.

I am arguing here the conceit that the film *Gallipoli* is an anti war text has assisted the conservative appropriation of the discourse of war to take place. Alistair Thomson,

who has written extensively on the myth of the Anzac, suggests that while *Gallipoli*

and the 1980s Australian mini series *Anzacs* (which I will focus on shortly) 'attempt

to portray the horrors and disillusionment of the First World War' they concomitantly:

> ....dwell on the national character of the diggers and not enough on the
> degradation of war. Just as Bean's eulogy for the Anzacs transcended the
> grim realities of the war, in the new wave of Anzac films, war is still an
> adventure. (eds. Samuel & Thomson, 1990, 74)

Thomson's thesis is certainly supported by the 'blurb' on the cover of the video copy

I borrowed, which states:

> GALLIPOLI IS
> The most loved, the most honoured Australian film of all time. Roadshow
> Home Video is proud to bring you this triumphant, dramatic, joyful, moving
> and entertaining adventure story, a legend that shaped a nation.

Together with:

> The Australian film of the Eighties that has made all the headlines all around
> the world! Gallipoli is not a war movie, but rather a movie celebrating youth,
> life, friendships and courage. When you see this Great Australian Adventure
> you'll laugh; you'll be moved and most of all you'll be proud.

Not only is this 'not a war film' but it is about 'life' rather than death and injury. The

textual transformation of the carnage that occurred at Gallipoli into positive signifiers

is both problematical and political. The focus upon one campaign always obscures

not only the broader canvas of World War 1 but the ramifications of the signifier

'war'. I argue here that *Gallipoli*'s conservative message is reliant upon the

construction of Englishness as a binary opposition to an equally mythic

Australianness.

[**The men coming forward from the country are particularly of the class
desired. They do not want to pick their positions. They go cheerfully to the
ranks, believing that the officers know best where their service will assist the
Empire. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 September 1914)]**

Archie – Types

The first character the audience is introduced to in *Gallipoli* is Archie. As his name might suggest he is an archetypal Australian: rural, an excellent athlete, a good horseman, bronzed, blonde and blue eyed. The opening scenes reveal Archie training for a race and on horseback rounding up the cattle. The rural myth remained (and remains as I write in 2004) potent in the 1980s, despite statistics revealing that the vast majority of Australians have always lived in or near cities or towns. With specific reference to World War 1, only seventeen per cent of A.I.F. men in the 1914-1918 war were from rural backgrounds for example. (Chamberlain, 1982, 50) These opening scenes establish Archie as a filmic reincarnation of all those school boy annuals constructed by middle and upper class Englishmen in the late nineteenth century.

[We did go to see a film in London at The Lyceum on life in Australia….[starts laughing]….the baker had horse and cart! (Interview, English migrant Amy, remembering an Australian information film for prospective migrants in the 1970s, 2001)]

[I do remember my uncle Michael who's my dad's brother saying 'Oh it's bound to be rough out there'….now at the time I thought he meant from a ….like a survival point of view, so he probably had the same vision as me with the rugged terrain and the outback and all that kind of thing, he probably thought we'd be there with swags and corks on our hats and what not you know. [with humour] And a….yeah I think a lot of people had that vision I mean it was all the stuff that you got from Australia was erm historical drama you know, if we got anything. *Or* it was *Skippy*, it was set in the outback. (Interview, English migrant Andre, 2001)]

While Archie represents the typical (rural) Australian, then Frank represents the urban equivalent: the larrikin. He is, quite literally, the dark to Archie's light, possessing urban savvy in opposition to Archie's innocence. Frank is working class in opposition to the almost unspoken landowning middle class of Archie's family, but

perhaps most importantly of all, Frank is a Catholic of Irish parents. What is revealed as magically overcoming these differences? Australian mateship.

[I did find erm....the males actually....when I say quite soft here I don't mean soft as in soppy I mean they're quite....they're quite reticent to sort of have a go or do anything in case they look out of place or....because I think the young male Australians find it very very difficult when they're out to relax. Very very difficult, very difficult because they're so....I think they're very much under pressure you know....if you go out anywhere....being English like you know how you used to have a very mixed crowd in a pub....have you actually noticed the sort of segregation still between the males and females?
(Interview, English migrant Jane, 2001)]

Archie's influence on Frank is represented as wholly positive and civilising. For example: when Frank's Irish father learns of his son's enlistment he is angry, reminding his son: 'The English killed your grandfather'. Frank's denial of his family's first hand experience of imperialism is supposed to be resolved by his response: 'I'm not fighting for the British Empire. I might come back an officer'.

[Yeah people instantly assume....you know because you are English....they assume you are pro-royal family. [small pause] They get mixed up with the political side of things. I mean, you mentioned the miners' strike and what the English government did to the miners. A lot of us have been fighting the monarchy....I go back to you know being proud of my Irish ancestry. I support the struggle of the people in Northern Ireland as well....I went to see Gerry Adams a year or so ago and yeah....I strongly believe the English should get the fuck out of there. (Interview, English migrant Mick, 2001)]

Frank wants to be Archie and who can blame him? Australian society in 1915 was strictly stratified according to class and religion. The referenda for compulsory service (both of which failed) during World War 1 were, to some extent, fought along sectarian lines, the Catholic Archbishop Mannix arguing the 'No' case for example (Day, 1999, 212 – 252). *Gallipoli* reveals a unified Australian nation at odds with these bitterly fought referendums. Similar to *The Overlanders*, *Gallipoli* portrays an egalitarian Australia where the concept of mateship amongst Australian soldiers over rides all religious and class differences, Chamberlain's figures suggest another narrative. For example, Protestants made up *eighty per cent* of the A.I.F. (1981, 50).

The considerable healthy political dissent within Australia during World War 1 has

been omitted in official commemorations / celebrations of Anzac Day, replaced by an

easy displacement along the Australia / England axis.

[**A large proportion of these wasters are not Australians, but Emmigrants from
England. There are some very bad Australians I admit, but their badness is of a
different type. The Australians' chief weakness has been drink and violence but
the Englishman is a dirty sneak and in some cases a deserter from the Imperial
Service. When I say dirty I mean slovenly and filthy....
(Digger Carl Jannsen, Mena Camp, Egypt 1914. www.australianbeers.com)**]

When the new Australian recruits arrive in Cairo the audience has its first and only

glimpse of Englishmen. Two crudely caricatured officers ride through the crowd on

donkeys, one even wears a monocle for further comic effect. Similar to the upper

class English in *Breaker Morant* they are vessels for stressing the supposed anti-

authoritarianism of the Australian soldier. When Frank refuses to salute them, he is

met with a disgusted 'Rabble!' from one of the shocked officers. This is also the only

time the audience sees the English 'Tommy', who similar to Sharp's characterisation

in *Morant*, are saluting madly and behaving in a servile manner ('Sorry sir!') towards

their 'betters'.

World War 1 scholar John Laffin writes in his 1998 publication *British Butchers and*

Bunglers of World War One:

> The Australians have always felt that they were overused in comparison with
> what they called 'Imperial troops' – those from the British Isles. There is no
> proof of this, as C.E.W. Bean conceded. When it came to bungling, therefore
> butchery, the British generals who form the core of this book were impartial.
> They fed divisions into the meat grinder without favouritism. (166-167)

The film text *Gallipoli* builds on this perception, constantly reminding the audience

that the Australians *in particular* were expendable. For example, the Australian

character Major Barton tells his superior Colonel Robinson that the Australians are

being used as 'just diversions'. The two characterisations are equally revealing.

While both Barton and Robinson are Australian, it is the decent Barton who audiences

are positioned to recognise as Australian, in direct opposition to Robinson whose

upper class English accent and snobbish demeanour clouds his nationality. The first

few times I saw this film Robinson appeared to be 'English' rather than an Australian

superior officer. Barton on the other hand, quite apart from sharing the surname of

the first Australian prime minister after Federation, suggesting he represents the 'new'

Australia rather than Robinson's old style Colonial, but despite his middle class

attributes (he listens to classical music for example) he is none the less 'class-less',

speaking in an Australian accent and 'down to earth'. (A similar narrative class

conceit to *My Brilliant Career*: both Archie and Barton are 'good sorts') It is Barton

who questions orders: 'I'm not sending any more men out'. Collusion by the

Australian establishment in the Gallipoli debacle is displaced onto 'Englishness'.

When Frank overhears the dialogue:

> Excuse me sir. The British are ashore at Suvla Beach sir.
> Are they meeting any opposition?
> None sir. Apparently they're sitting on the beach drinking cups of tea.

The message is sealed. The 'drinking cups of tea' dialogue is powerfully

manipulative, positioning Australian forces as the only victims of the offensive, while

'others', specifically the 'English', lazed on the beach.

The final scene of *Gallipoli* undermines any claims of an anti war message. The

opening scene of Archie training for a local race is paralleled here. The final frozen

scene of Archie being shot alludes to an athlete crossing the finish line and as such is

an allusion to Victorian artists' representations of war as glorious, noble and heroic.

The sporting analogy should not be underestimated either, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the terminology of sport was inexorably linked to war. When Archie and Frank race each other at the beginning of the film, Archie, the embodiment of the Australian Type, wins. It is due to Frank's inability to run fast enough that the order to attack (which results in Archie's death) is not prevented. Consider, the urban, degenerative (Irish and Catholic) Frank is no match for the physical and moral 'fitness' of the Australian Archie – Type. Secondly, the framing of the dying soldier means the construction of the Anzac is neutralised of uncomfortable historical / political / class material, such as the treatment of returned soldiers during the 1920s and 1930s by Establishment Australia. Important questions relating to Australian involvement in imperial wars are relegated to the easy binary opposition of Australia (victim) / England (master). Without this conservative discourse the nationalistic narrative of *Gallipoli* begins to disintegrate. With Australian troops once more in the 'Middle East' arguably fighting for another Empire, it is a discourse desperately in need of reappraisal. I would begin with the open question: What is the Anzac Legend encouraging?

[**One 17 year old just two weeks out from the birthday which would enable him to be deployed overseas was so worried he would miss the Timor deployment he had his mother write a note, saying it was alright by her that he went with the first wave of soldiers. 'Please excuse young John from the fact that he is not yet 18 years of age', the letter might have read. 'We are proud to have a serving soldier in the family and give permission for him to be deployed whilst he is still under aged'. This entreaty did not work, but two weeks later – after his 18th birthday celebrations – the young soldier had his wish granted and set sail for Timor. Such enthusiasm mirrors that of the old Diggers who enlisted when they were 15 or 16 and went off for their big adventure after duping superiors with fake moustaches and birth certificates.**
(*The West Australian*, 13 May 2000, from *The Big Weekend* supplement)]

[I think erm….they could [small pause] yeah the government could be a little less orientated towards America. I get really angry with the fact….because everyone keeps going on about how 'Oooh Australia, always having to kow tow to England' and all of this and 'We've sent *all* these people off to die in wars for England' and ner ner ner and 'We're not ever do that again' and 'England doesn't give a damn about us'….and I sort of think: 'Yeah! You're right!' [claps hands] 'You're absolutely right! And then they go and do it….! And I sort of think: 'Why are you doing this guys?'
(Interview, English migrant Michaela, 2001, referring to the Australian government's 'special relationship' with the U.S.A.]

The Big Steal: English migrants on film

The Big Steal was first released in 1990 and has been included here for several reasons. Firstly, while it provides a striking juxtaposition to the three previously discussed film texts, in common with those films it reveals (to quote Samuel) 'inescapably contemporary' (1994, 430) Australian issues of identity. Allowing for the production time required for the actual making of a film, I would suggest that the debates and discussions which accompanied 1988's Bicentennial year permeate this text. Secondly, unlike the previous films *The Big Steal* has a contemporary and urban / suburban setting. Thirdly, whereas Englishness in *My Brilliant Career*, *Breaker Morant* and *Gallipoli* is displaced somewhere 'outside' of Australia, in *The Big Steal* Englishness is represented through English migrant characters living in Australia. I would suggest this was unusual, particularly when the ambiguous position English migrants found themselves allotted in late 1980s Australian multiculturalism is taken into account. In keeping with Hans Kellner's dictum to 'Get the story crooked!' I will begin by contextualising my reading of *The Big Steal* with a brief discussion on Australian multiculturalism (ed. Jenkins, 1988, 127). What was it signifying by the late 1980s? What were the possible ramifications of that signification for English migrants?

In the 1988 journal article 'The Bicentenary and the failure of Australian nationalism' the writers Castles, Cope, Kalantzis and Morrissey construct a cogent argument for what they perceived to be the conservative appropriation of the term 'multiculturalism', a conservatism at odds with brave and radical beginnings. In the early 1970s Labor leader Gough Whitlam was the first Australian Prime Minister to appoint an ethnic affairs minister, Al Grassby. I would argue there are two major reasons why this was so radical. Firstly, this was an official acknowledgement that Australia was composed of *difference*, a heterogenous nation rather than the homogeneity that previous assimilative policies both demanded and assumed. Secondly, ethnic affairs was unabashedly politically driven, accompanied by a programme of *reform*. Within this reformist context 'difference' was made to carry the weight of bread and butter issues, for example, efforts were made to investigate the special welfare and educational requirements of migrant groups. The reformist zeal of early 1970s ethnic affairs is also evident in attempts to involve migrants in grass roots politics and trade union affairs, particularly migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds who had been previously marginalised. However, by the late 1970s and several years of Liberal government, the politically reformist zeal underpinning ethnic affairs had been considerably watered down, replaced by the (seemingly) depoliticised 'cultural pluralism', which, to quote Castles et al, celebrated 'diversity by describing society as it was' (1988, 62), coming to the conclusion that by 1988: 'Our image of multicultural Australia is meant to be at the level of Trivial Pursuit: song and dance, food and folklore' (1988, 55).

Correspondent with the waning of a resolutely political zeal came the sweeping of the languages of class under a suitably hand embroidered rug. I argue that the 'ethnicity'

of migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds was transformed into an object for consumption. For example, as the 1970s became the 1980s an ability to pronounce the exotic 'foreign' foods appearing on menus became as salient a marker of middle and upper class membership as the label on the suit or the wine bottle and the talk of stocks and shares, suggesting an added layer to the 1980s expression 'doing lunch'. I am also arguing here that constructions of the noble peasant or rural inhabitant found their simulacra in multiculturalism's cultural pluralism discourse. Australia's 'ethnic' migrants were positioned in an unenviable pre-industrial idyll, providers of 'peasant food', folk dancing, costumes and tradition. While those with cultural and economic capital constructed the noble rural dweller a century previously, their 1980s contemporaries constructed, gazed and purchased the ethnic other. Migrants who had spent their pre-Australian lives in modern urban centres were strangely invisible.

[**Well it's funny because when you rung up and said 'I'm doing this stuff....' I thought you said migrant women at first....and I thought 'Oh yeah! I'm a migrant woman aren't I?' [with humour, laughter] I never really thought of myself in those terms before because I still come from a privileged part....even though I'm a migrant, I'm white and I'm....I suppose I'm middle class now, I don't know, but....you know so that's a certain amount of privilege involved there. But I am a migrant woman just 'cos I'm not black and because my first language is English doesn't mean to say I'm not a migrant, you know? (Interview, English migrant Josephine, 2001)]**

This late twentieth century rediscovery of the exoticism of the noble peasant has other parallels with the previous century. I contend it is no mere coincidence that both periods were underpinned by forms of *laissez faire* capitalism. While those with cultural and economic capital celebrated the freedom to be socially and economically ambitious, while consuming conspicuously, the under belly was the growing numbers of redundancies, the reappearance of privatisation and cuts to welfare programmes. Whereas the activism informing early 1970s ethnic affairs was directly linked to

demands for government services for migrants, cultural pluralism was no less a

political by-product of privatisation, providing *spectacle* rather than a space for

change.

Urban working class cultures were certainly not recognised in Australian cultural

pluralism, so it should come as no surprise that the predominantly urban origins of the

majority of English migrants positioned them in the 'too hard basket'. James Jupp

points out that in the Western Australian suburbs of Rockingham and Kwinana (both

suburbs with large numbers of English migrants) the culture is 'the England of

housing estates and industrial workers, not of country lanes and farmers' (1991, 66).

Remarkably similar to the late nineteenth century middle and upper classes (both in

Australia and England) this culture was certainly not deemed exotic enough for

consumption. As a result, English migrants fell under the radar of 1980s multicultural

Australia, which makes *The Big Steal* all the more important.

[**Rosie O'Grady's pub in Northbridge, Western Australia. The late 1990s.
Saturday night. The evening had been a riot of drinking, smoking, singing and
dancing to an Irish folk band. The crowd was mixed but consisted of a
noticeably large number of English migrants in particular. All the classic folk
songs that you might expect were played. '*Whisky in the Jar*' and '*Bound for
South Australia*' from the Irish canon and Scottish songs like '*I belong to
Glasgow*'. Towards the end of the night, England was represented not by a folk
song, but a then recent Oasis song, '*Wonderwall*'. Glasses of beer, Guiness and
wine were held aloft and the singing was note and word perfect. A secular
prayer. It struck me then that English urban / working class culture is perhaps
impossible to bottle and 'sell' because the song never remains the same. The
song is always in process. (Autobiographical intrusion)]**

The ambivalent place accorded English migrants in Australian culture is revealed in

the film text *The Big Steal* through the languages of Englishness and class, both of

which are subverted. For example, the supposedly distinctive Australian ethos of

mateship is utilised through the friendship of the three young male protagonists in the

film, all of whom are encoded through either their surnames (Jorgensen and Petrakis)

or in Danny Clark's case, the English accents of his parents. This is a heterogenous Australia and it is modern and urban.

The script of the film describes the location as 'working class Melbourne' (Parker, 1991, 1), information which is visually represented by the camera panning to reveal a weatherboard house which backs on to the railway line. Significantly, Australia is represented as a class based society, the film makers were clearly confident that the markers of class such as the weatherboard house and the railway line (stereotypical though they are) would be recognisable to an Australian audience. David Callaghan, in a reference to the film *Strictly Ballroom*, suggests railway lines are symbolic of 'living in a marked off zone with little connection to the rest of society, on the edges of the iconic badlands' (1999, 99). A symbolism which I would suggest is certainly at play in *The Big Steal*, 'marking off' the Clark's eccentric English migrant home. While this could so easily have become a negative representation, the Clarks are so likeable that the English migrant marked off zone resounds with positive signifiers of 'home'. Philip Butterss in his 1999 article 'Becoming a Man in Australian Film in the Early 1990s' picks up on the positive traits ascribed to Mr. Clark in particular, stating that while he is certainly revealed as eccentric: 'spending much of the film in a dressing gown, playing Scrabble, and prone to having what he describes as 'visions'', Butterss also stresses:

> His deep love for his son and his wife, his wisdom, his ability to state his opinions of Danny's actions and yet offer him support even when disagreeing with him, are portrayed as positive and endearing attributes. (86)

While Mr. Clark is revealed as a trade unionist, which alludes to the stereotypical militant pommie shop steward, the negativity usually ascribed to this 'type' of Englishness is undercut by Mr. Clark's gentle persona. It is certainly a construction at

odds with the trade unionist representations discussed in chapters three and four for example. He is introduced in the script of the film text in the following:

> Danny Clark's father stands at the doorway of his son's bedroom. Mr. Clark is a fifty-year-old factory worker with shades of a North Country accent still obvious after thirty years in Australia. Danny's bedroom is a Jaguar memorabilia museum – posters, cuttings, advertisements, hubcaps, even a grille from a Mark 2 Jaguar. Danny lies on the bed, a scale model Jaguar XJ-6 in his hand. (Parker, 1991, 1)

This scene pre-empts Mr. Clark's first piece of dialogue, which is:

> Son, there's no doubt that a Jaguar is a beautiful motor, but it's not for us. We're working class. We always will be. Stop all this nonsense about a Jaguar. What would Grant Bickley say if he saw Desmond Clark's son driving a Jaguar? He'd probably throw me out of the union.
> (Parker, 1991, 1)

Reading this scene through the languages of class and Englishness a couple of factors are worth emphasising. Firstly, the signifier 'museum' suggests the sealed off, controlled and static 'past' revealing Danny's bedroom as a further inner sanctum of the English migrant marked off zone. Taking this interpretation a step further, Danny's preoccupation with the (English) Jaguar car is represented, together with Mr. Clark's trade unionism and class consciousness, as anachronistic and out of 'time' in 1980s Australia. Secondly, Mr. Clark's 'not for the likes of us' spiel positions class consciousness as a preventative for the change, growth and movement signified by the Jaguar car. However, these signifiers are only set up in order to destablise them, as the narrative consistently reveals Mr. and Mrs. Clark's English migrant marked off zone (and associated class consciousness) as a site for providing valuable lessons for the navigation of late twentieth century Australian capitalism.

Mr. and Mrs. Clark's birthday present to their son Danny is their old Nissan Cedric car. The car's value is sentimental rather than economic, the audience learn it brought

Danny home from the hospital after he was born for example. Danny's desire to impress a young woman (the 'beautiful Joanna') as well as his two mates, leads him to trade in the Nissan Cedric for a 'dud' Jaguar car through the 'dodgy' car dealership of the wonderfully named Gordon Farkas. On a symbolic level Danny is attempting to trade in his past, his history, a point not lost on his parents: 'Mr. Clark stumbles into the middle of the yard. He lets out a primal scream' (Parker, 1991, 17).

Despite the loss of the precious Nissan Cedric, Mr. and Mrs. Clark rally behind their son, revealing what was first represented as anachronistic and quaint as a source of power, support and loyalty. I would argue that the climactic car chase towards the end of the film is powerfully revealing as well as deeply moving and very funny. Consider that Danny and Joanna are being chased by Gordon Farkas and his 'henchmen', who are extreme examples of the free 'market' economy. Danny and Joanna, in the old Nissan Cedric, appear to have no chance of out driving Farkas and his men who are ensconced in an American Cadillac, their fears increase when they realise they also have the ancient Clark family caravan hooked up to the Nissan Cedric. Joanna says to Danny: 'We've got a handicap' to which he replies: 'Maybe not' (Parker, 1991, 61). Minutes later the old car, together with the equally 'antiquated' caravan, wipe the Cadillac off the road, suggesting that what at first appeared old archaic baggage (Danny's family and his family's history) to be embarrassedly discarded, is still 'on the road' (*in process*) and powerfully effective.

The Big Steal is a revealing Australian film text for numerous reasons, not least its subversive and ambiguous humour which may well be a result of attempting to place urban English working class migrants into the genre of Australian multicultural films.

Mr. Clark's class consciousness and trade unionism can never appear completely

archaic when the society he is positioned in remains stratified through class.

[They're [family] the first people I go to if I want to out and have a really
relaxed drink and conversation. They're the first people I go to if I need help
and they're the first people I go to if *they* need help as well.
(Interview, English migrant Mick, 2001)]

The tele'

[An exhaustive search of the National Collection of Screen and Sound
(www.screensound.gov.au) has been unsuccessful in tracing any reference to an
Australian television series which screened on the ABC in 1979 called *Twenty
Good Years*. The only mention of this programme I could find to prove it had not
all been a delusion can be found in Albert Moran's 1985 publication *Images and
Industry*, where it is mentioned cursorily on page 61 and listed under the year of
appearance on page 224. Each episode focused on the lives of an Australian
couple as they got pregnant, got married, had kids etc. within the context of the
changing face of Australia. For whatever reason one episode in particular stuck
in my memory, so this is an autobiographical intrusion. Sometime in the mid-
1960s the tradesman husband sets up his own business, already established as the
archetypal Aussie battler, this was represented as the zenith of achievement for a
working class person. An English migrant character was introduced into this
episode, given employment by the major male protagonist of the programme.
He was quickly established as a 'trouble maker' unreasonably bringing the trade
union into the work place, I remember thinking at the time that some effort had
clearly been made to establish his concerns as petty and ridiculous, thus
positioning the 'good' Australian worker against the 'bad' English migrant
worker. Just two years before this programme was aired (1977) Ian Sinclair
made his highly inflammable 'British disease' speech which will be discussed
fully in chapter three. (Autobiographical intrusion)]

Anzacs: the small screen goes large

The Australian television mini-series *Anzacs*, which first went to air on Australian

television in 1985, is invariably linked as a nationalist text with the film *Gallipoli*. I

have already mentioned Alistair Thomson's contention that *Anzacs*, similar to

Gallipoli, is guilty of transforming the horrors of war into an adventure yarn (eds.

Samuel & Thomson, 1990, 74). In a similar vein Anne Curthoys cites *Anzacs*,

together with *Gallipoli*, as texts revealing growing anti-British sentiments in late

twentieth century Australian nationalism (1999, 13). While I appreciate and

thoroughly support the arguments put forward by Thomson and Curthoys I would none the less like to suggest there may well be readings of *Anzacs* which destabilise and threaten the chauvinist anti-English (or British) sentiments so crudely constructed in *Gallipoli*. Re-watching this mini-series recently I was genuinely shocked at how frequently *Anzacs* as a nationalist text, was subverted and undercut by the pluralism its running time allowed for. For example, English working class ('Tommies') soldiers are several times represented together with Australian troops, as equally victims of a powerful and arrogant Establishment. While Australian collusion in this Establishment is ignored, *Anzacs* is still deeply ambivalent in ways that *Gallipoli* is not.

Anzacs was constructed to be 'important' to the national cultural archive. It is still available to buy or borrow. As part of the boxed collection I borrowed from a local video outlet, was a 'making of' documentary, common practice now with the rise of DVDs, but unusual in the mid 1980s, particularly for a television series. The documentary states it was 'A first' in Australia, a reference to the money it cost (eight and a half million dollars) and the time it took (three years) to complete. The documentary also tells us that the story is 'uniquely relevant' and that it is 'the story of Everyman'. The narrator alludes to the Anzac Legend when he reminds: 'Other armies were just as courageous, but none had the degree of confidence and cohesion that comes from knowing that you can count on your mates', thus establishing the discourse of 'mateship' as something only Australian males can truly understand. So far, so similar to *Gallpoli*. However, the series itself, while it certainly represents a group of Australian soldiers and their experiences of World War 1, *how* mateship is represented through the structure of the text suggests possibilities for a re-examination

of *Anzacs*. For example, there are certainly numerous scenes revolving around the 'shenanigans' of the group, particularly the larrikinism of the character played by Paul Hogan, but these scenes are 'marked' by the repetition of a track of jingly (and yes, from the perspective of 2004, irritating) backing music which resembles an advertising jingle. Watching this mini-series on video without the advertisement breaks (it was originally screened on commercial television), these scenes are completely disparate from the serious business of war, which is at times unflinchingly revealed.

Similar to *Gallipoli*, *Anzacs* begins in the rural environment and the audience is introduced to a character who becomes a key protagonist in the narrative, Marty Barrington. Marty is Sir Rupert Barrington's son (the Squatter or Landowner), who has prematurely left university and the opening scenes reveal him meeting up with his childhood best mate Dick Baker, who is from a family who live and work on the Barrington's property. While the close friendship between Marty and Dick can be read as functioning to suggest 'mateship' overcomes differences of class in Australia, class demarcations are never completely air brushed out. For example, Sir Rupert Barrington's Englishness is utilised as representing and maintaining a class society, while Marty's Australianness is utilised as representing a more egalitarian attitude, this is constantly problematised. Very early on Dick refers half jokingly to Marty as 'the Squire', while Dick's sister Kate (who is Marty's love interest) recognises how shocked the Barrington family and townsfolk will be when they learn of their marriage plans. It is also made clear that Dick and Kate's father has been killed in an accident on the Barrington property, so while Marty is a 'good bloke' he is also revealed as colluding with this class based rural economy.

While Marty's parents are English-born and upper class, they are three dimensional

characters, revealed as 'subjects in process' as the grim realities of war hit the home

front, particularly Marty's mother who becomes increasingly politicised and a

pacifist. When the audience is introduced to caricatured upper class Englishmen, in

positions of authority on the European 'front', the clear binary of Australia / England

is consistently disrupted by the presence of sympathetic portrayals of working class

English 'Tommies' who are represented as every bit as cynical and brutalised as the

Australians. What appears to be a forgotten narrative trope in *Anzacs* is the repetition

of upper class English representatives of power arrogantly giving orders, followed by

representations of the working class regional accented soldier, who is similarly

frustrated by the Establishment. For example, not long after the Australian group

arrive in France (1916), an upper class English 'buffoon' character teaches them the

'importance' of the bayonet, this is followed by a Newcastle accented English soldier

who tells the Australians with world weary cynicism (and not a little 'laconic'

humour) that the Germans are utilising technologically advanced machine guns. I

would argue that these sympathetic portrayals of the English working class are a

world away from the servile and / or shifty representations in filmic texts such as

Breaker Morant and *Gallipoli*.

There is a plurality in *Anzacs* which refuses the homogenous, consensual view of

World War 1 Australia. For example, the conscription debate is brought to the fore;

the pacifist (Anglican) Reverend Lonsdale is shown reading a quote from *The*

Australian Worker to Marty's father, stating: 'A man cannot hate to order', opinions

increasingly held by Marty's mother. The viewer is left in no doubt as to where their

sympathies should lie. Australia is represented in *Anzacs* as a nation divided and brutalised by war and class divisions.

The group of Australian soldiers who are the central protagonists of the narrative are not all Australian born. There is recognition of English migrants for example in the character Private Bill Harris who has a South East English regional accent. At first *Anzacs* appears to be contextualising Harris in the shifty, sly, English working class mode, however, this construction is dismantled towards the end of the narrative. Harris is 'on the run' and wanted by British forces for the murder of a superior officer whilst serving in the British Army in Afghanistan in 1907. When this is discovered he explains to a fellow Australian soldier that if he had not killed the inept officer all of the soldiers would have been killed. In the context of the suicidal orders the audience sees so vividly in *Anzacs*, this is far from heinous. While the binary opposition of Australia / England positions Australia as 'anti-authoritarian' as opposed to English working class 'servility', here it is the English working class Harris who has *acted* out an extreme form of anti-authoritarianism.

[I think it all stems from the first world war where the working class in Wigan hated the upper class because they sent the boys out and didn't really care about them, so that's never changed....that will never change. I think talking to the old blokes who were there....who were there in the Somme, you know I used to talk to the old fellas. I found it interesting. [pause] I was going to say middle management for companies nowadays....I class them as the same type of person that would do that to the blokes and just say 'Over the top boys' and not worry about it....and just get killed. Yeah I think the top notches like Howard and his mob are really just sort of frightened to death of America they'll do anything....you know? (Interview, English migrant Dave, 2001)]

Throughout the text nationalist 'natural' narratives are set up only to be undermined and problematised. I would argue this is a result of the complication of the clear cut

binary opposition of Australia / England. What could have been informing this ambivalence?

I put forward two suggestions. Firstly, the plurality associated with post structuralism and post modernism underpins the narrative. Australia's recognition of itself as a nation of migrants is evident in the English migrant character Harris and the German migrant character Schmidt. Similarly, there are three dimensional female characters in *Anzacs* from different generations and classes. The angry clash of class when Marty's mother visits Dick and Kate's widowed mother remains powerful. I have already mentioned the representation of pacificism, which brings me to suggestion two.

The early 1980s saw a growing peace movement around the world. People for Nuclear Disarmament (P.N.D.) in Australia and Case for Nuclear Disarmament (C.N.D.) in Britain, for example, successfully mobilised thousands of people in a variety of campaigns, not least being the enormous rallies and marches which ensured the case for peace was aired in newspapers, on television and in the community. *Anzacs*, with its positive portrayal of World War 1 peace 'activists' appears to be capturing the the early 1980s peace movement's zeitgeist, which was less about the 'national' and more about the 'international'.

Compare and contrast the noble heroism implicit in the frozen image of Archie's death in *Gallipoli* with the melancholy and down beat denouement of *Anzacs*. Archie's equivalent protagonist in *Anzacs*, Marty Barrington, dies in the final weeks before the ceasefire. He is shot down by a sniper's bullet and falls like a sack of

potatoes (sorry, but sometimes only the colloquial comes close....), it remains a shocking moment, revealing death in war as unglamorous and pointless. Shortly before the Australian group leave Europe, Kate and the young Australian soldier Rolly stand at a recently erected Memorial for the dead. When Kate says angrily: 'Was it worth all this?' gesturing to the gravestones, the camera's focus on the misery on Rolly's face speaks volumes. Significantly, Kate is represented as intelligent, consistently questioning just how 'mateship' is functioning in the Australian nationalist myth. For example, her warnings to Marty that his sense of mateship will get him killed are validated in his death.

[I can remember the guys at the Wembley factory once....somebody bought a trail bike in....and it was who could ride that trail bike around the factory the wildest, you know, the most dangerously and we failed that because these Aussies....I thought they were absolutely crazy you know....risking life and limb just to show off to the lads. .... It's a brittle masculinity. It shatters quite....as soon as they come up against a real emotional significant problem that masculinity tends to shatter....whereas the migrants tend to be just a bit more sensitive and a bit more vulnerable....and more accepting of their own vulnerability in the context of identity and masculinity.
(Interview, English migrant Paul, 2001, Wembley is a suburb of Perth, Western Australia)]

When the violence of politics and history is forced back into the binary opposition of Australia / England, as it is in *Anzacs*, we begin to see not only an Australia stratified by class, but also just how this myth is functioning to maintain the status quo, rather than any desires for anti-authoritarian contestation. If nothing else, *Anzacs* is a deeply ambivalent text and deserves a reappraisal. The English working class are represented here as Brothers in Arms rather than the stereotypes first sketched in by degeneration theory. As I will reveal in chapter four, degeneration theory continued to feed into Australian newspaper representations of the English urban working class, which makes the 'Tommies' in *Anzacs* all the more remarkable.

More recently

While writing this thesis there have been numerous television 'moments' which have struck me as supporting my overall thesis. Englishness continues to be utilised as an empty signifier, invariably and 'naturally' the negative opposite to Australian nationalism. I would suggest there are fruitful research opportunities here, in particular, the English funded reality television programme *Shipwrecked* (screened on Australian television 2001) is well worth a look, with it's group of black, white, gay and lesbian English people held up as 'useless' as opposed to the virile young Australian male or males. Australia, by playing along with these binary oppositions (in this case constructed in England) continues to play the role of the wild 'colonial' type. Finally, I began in my introduction with some examples of late nineteenth century descriptions of the degenerative urban English working class. So it appears appropriate to close this chapter with reference to an Australian television programme, aired in 2001, which manages to combine most, if not all, of the strands of filmic Australian nationalism discussed in this chapter.

The English Yob: *Going Home* in a red and white ambulance

In the years 2000 and 2001 SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) television produced a television series called *Going Home*. It aired four nights a week, its cast working with a script which was written from that morning's news, which resulted in a lively, immediate form of television. Subjectively I loved it, the acting was uniformly excellent and the setting (regular commuters on a train carriage going home from work) allowed for a plurality of characters and voices. For anyone not familiar with SBS, this is Australia's multicultural television station. Quite apart from screening news from all over the world (Indonesia, Russia and China for example), it airs

documentaries and films from non-English speaking countries with sub titles, plus it continues to provide unparalleled support for soccer. In short, this is no mainstream, right wing television station, so it was with considerable disquiet that I watched the 'pommie' episode of *Going Home*.

The core group of commuters on *Going Home* was made up of Australians from a variety of cultural and racial backgrounds. The scripts often had a strong relevance for migrants, for example, the Russian ticket collector turns out to be a Doctor unable to practice in Australia. Included in the group were representatives from the Lebanese, Greek and Chinese migrant communities. On 8 June 2001 the group are chatting amicably when an English (London) accent interjects: 'Oh my God!' Going on to say:

> You people don't half talk don't you? Oh I'm not complaining. It's just not what we do in England. We favour the shut up and mind your own business mode of transport. I was just wondering, if anyone can join in? (www.sbs.com.au.goinghome)*

The behaviour of Ashley's character is a clear answer as to why not just 'anyone' can join in the Australian community of multiculturalism, as he proceeds to behave belligerently, offending every individual that makes up the regular group, including Mike, who says: 'Excuse me, just one tiny moment. This is an Australian train and you're eavesdropping on private conversations'. Ashley responds with:

> Oh right eavesdropping. Do me a favour mate. Look just a word of wisdom here okay. If you want your private conversations to remain private, try being private about them. (TO OTHER COMMUTERS) Am I right or am I wrong?

Consider how this scene is functioning. Ashley ('Englishness' or English representation) is textually constructed as threatening the otherwise cosy community

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* All direct quotes were accessed from the *Going Home* SBS Television web site. Please note that this web site is no longer operational (November 2004).

of multicultural Australia. The whingeing pom stereotype is alluded to with the 'Oh I'm not complaining' (when he clearly is) dialogue, followed by his aggressive 'taking over' of the discourse when he is permitted to 'join in'. Ashley's attempt at rallying the other commuters on the train has shades of the militant shop steward calling to the otherwise dormant mass or mob, a moment which is followed by uncomfortable glances between the core group and the following dialogue:

MIKE: What about the attitude of that bloody Pom back there.

COLIN: Mate stay away from him. He's obviously deranged you know. He might have a gun or something.

MIKE: You're joking.

NAJETTE: Maybe not. Have you ever been on the tube in London?

MIKE: No.

NAJETTE: Nobody talks to anybody. They all sit separately and no one says a word. It's really insidious, it's awful.

MIKE: Yeah but that attitude was like the bloody movie *Breaker Morant*. I was so bloody angry, I couldn't believe it.

NAJETTE: Yeah walking around telling everybody what to do, but I'm scared.

COLIN: Yeah it's like a teacher. I mean where does he get off telling us what to do? I mean we don't talk that loud do we?

MIKE: But it's this whole thing about born to rule crap isn't it? It's a hangover from the old days. It's like the Indian question. It's shocking.

COLIN: Just keep an eye on him.

MIKE: He keeps looking up here all the time.

In the year 2001 it took a couple of minutes of television time to evoke a variety of Australian tropes of Englishness, all of which have been discussed in this thesis. Consider:

Degeneration: 'He's obviously deranged you know'.

Violent threat: 'He might have a gun or something'.

The People of the Abyss: The invocation of the London tube and by extension the London 'underground' with further signification of the faceless, silent mass which resides there, reinforced by Najette's comment: 'It's really insidious'.

The ruling class English / victim Australian: Together with Ashley's thuggery, Mike makes a reference to *Breaker Morant*! Colin (the white, ex-private school boy no less) likens Ashley to a 'teacher'. Mike's analogy between the Indian independence movement and Australia in 2001 seals the Australia as 'victim' trope.

The middle class gaze: With a direct link to the surveillance the professional middle class English maintained of the late nineteenth century working class for signs of 'transgression', so the group on the train are directed to 'Just keep an eye on him'.

Fear: Re-reading the script, Ashley has done very little to cause such discernment, but he creates feelings of fear. Najette says: 'But I'm scared'.

That a television station of the calibre of SBS could rely upon stereotypical traits of 'Englishness' with such apparent ease suggests how powerfully these tropes remain embedded in recent (multicultural) Australian nationalisms. At no point in the episode are these traits problematised or questioned. So 'natural' are they presumed to be that the contradictions in these, to borrow John Carey's expression 'mutually irreconcilable images' are artificially and ideologically resolved (1992, 23).

[Interviewer: And how have you felt over the years in Australia, like with Australian movies and television shows, the way that they represent 'Englishness'?
John: Yeah used to bother me I mean it was always very negative but....it used to bother me, but now I just think well, yeah....it shows a bit of insecurity on their part so....doesn't....yeah just water off a duck's back now. But they do like to give a negative image. Of any migrants really.
(Interview, English migrant John, 2001)]

This chapter has attempted to map some of the traces of late nineteenth century degeneration theory and how it continues to inform Australian nationalisms. I do not claim it is exhaustive, but it is hoped that the refusal of the naturalness of the Australian / English binary opposition will encourage reappraisals of numerous other Australian films and television programmes. From the closing years of World War 2 up until 2001 the empty signifier of Englishness continued to be filled with often disparate stereotypes, which I suggest reveals the conservatism of Australian nationalism. The *language* paints a picture of an egalitarian nation, juxtaposed with the class stratifications of the 'old country', but language is a slippery entity and its brush strokes cannot quite cover the entire canvas. It is in these spaces on the canvas that the language of Australian nationalist mythologies begins to lose its 'obvious' ebb and flow. With the exceptions of *Anzacs* and *The Big Steal* (*Anzacs* because of its plurality and *The Big Steal* because of its English migrant class consciousness) the texts discussed here reveal a myriad of hair line fractures, which, when made to take the weight of politics and history, become cracks. To paraphrase Robert Hewison, the screens of Australian nationalism are well and truly cracked (1990, 16).

Chapter three: telling it in black and white?

Newspapers are a revealing popular cultural source. If, as I have argued, film and television are always politically and ideologically informed, then newspapers are overtly political. 'Politics' is news.

Chapters three and four focus upon the now defunct Western Australian newspaper the *Daily News*, although other newspapers will be referred to where applicable. The *Daily News* ran punchy, succinct stories suggestive of a tabloid, a form highly conducive for cogent critical readings and analysis. This chapter begins with the period 1968 to 1978 while chapter four focuses upon the years 1979-1988. Yes, this was a local Western Australian newspaper publication, but as will be revealed, the national and the international were inextricably linked by a common underlying discourse.

The Paper Chase: Ownership, Power and Influence

West Australian Newspapers owned both the *Daily News* and the *West Australian* until 1969, when it was bought by the Herald and Weekly Times of Melbourne, although still retaining the name West Australian Newspapers. The group Herald and Weekly Times of Melbourne was owned by John Fairfax Limited, who also controlled the *Sydney Morning Herald, Australian Financial Review, Canberra Times* and the Melbourne *Age* (McQueen, 1977, 69). I would like to draw attention here to the extent with which particular Australian newspaper publications marketed their product to specific class demographics and the ramifications for contextualising the *Daily News*. For example, Humphrey McQueen points out the illusory nature of

conservative moderation in supposedly more 'high brow' newspapers in the following comments regarding the then (1977) editor of the *Age* newspaper, Graham Perkin:

> Far from representing a new wave of journalist – editors, Perkin's *Age* captured all the flotsam and jetsam of capitalist ideology – not even the packaging was new. Apart from Perkin's personal similarity to 'a wild Mallee bull', the *Age* was and is a case of the bland leading the bland. In the absence of even a pro – ALP newspaper, some Fairfax journals have been able to pick up readers by dangling the promise of intelligent and informed criticism before the noses of the reformers who consider themselves too sophisticated to read papers like the Melbourne *Sun*. (1977, 72)

The Melbourne *Sun*, like the *Sydney Morning Herald* and Perth's *Daily News* were the newspapers constructed with the working class in mind. In Perth, the *Daily News'* 'better' was the *West Australian*, although I would argue, similarly to McQueen's example of the *Age* and Melbourne *Sun*, both newspapers were informed by the same right wing ideological perspectives. The link between the perceived demographics of the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily News* was illustrated clearly in the 1982 Perth *Daily News* Centenary edition, when an un – credited journalist wrote:

> In Sydney, it's the *Sydney Morning Herald* (151 years). In Perth, it's the *Daily News* (100 years). As both newspapers will testify, fostering generations of loyal readers actually means giving their readers the very best. (Anything less just isn't possible) (26 July 1982, 22)

Wheeling and Dealing

By the mid 1980s newspaper ownership in Australia was fiercely contested by some of the most wealthy and powerful men in the country. The 'wheeling and dealing' that accompanied those battles, while I would suggest a fascinating thesis in the making, is too complex to fully outline here. Instead, I will briefly outline the ownership changes which illustrate only too starkly just how important ownership of information was (and is) perceived to be – and these changes took place with remarkable speed in the year 1987.

In January 1987 Rupert Murdoch took control of the Herald and Weekly Times, which was quickly followed by an 'alleged deal' between Murdoch and West Australian millionaire Robert Holmes a Court (*Scoop*, May 1987, 4), which enabled Holmes a Court to buy West Australian Newspapers for two hundred million dollars. One month later Holmes a Court was instructed by the Trade Practices Commission to sell the *Daily News* as a condition of buying West Australian Newspapers, which he did, to a group calling itself United Media on 3 March 1987 (*Scoop*, March 1988, 7). On 24 December 1987 the *Daily News* was again sold, this time to Community Newspapers. However, United Media still retained fifty point one per cent holdings, while Community Newspapers held forty nine point nine per cent. As the un – named writer of a *Scoop* article entitled '1987 – a year of turmoil' concluded: 'The last sale was simply a matter of paper shuffling because Holmes a Court and United each own half of Community [Newspapers]' (March 1988, 7).

What becomes increasingly clear was the lengths these individuals and their companies were prepared to go in order to secure ownership of information. After all, as successful capitalist activists / ideologists they understood incontrovertibly that the 'event', or the object itself, could be cut, pasted and moulded to create meaning. Capitalist activists involved in the jousts for newspaper ownership understood the concept of 'representation' as well as any academic theorist.

I selected the *Daily News* as a foci for these chapters because the languages of class permeate their pages. Bob Cronin, Editor in Chief of the *West Australian*, told *Scoop* journalist Michael Sinclair Jones in May 1987, that he saw his newspaper's strength to be readers over the age of fifty, together with 'the more affluent segment of the

market where people earn over $40,000 a year or more' (May 1987, 4), while the

September 1987 edition of *Campaign Brief*, a publication aimed at the advertising

industry (and of all groups, this one might be relied on to know precisely who holds

the money in the community) referred to the working class readership of Perth's *Daily

News* (September 1987, 9). The veneer of gentility and supposed objectivity in the

West Australian crashes down in the *Daily News*, making this a newspaper, in lieu

with so many cultural artefacts once constructed with a working class audience in

mind, a revealing and overtly political source. The *Daily News* said what the *West

Australian* dared not to: one screamed its ideology, while the other whispered.

A strategy

I began by spending numerous hours in Perth's Battye reference library, looking for

any mention at all of English migrants in the *Daily News*. My gaze widened when the

ramifications of not just how many stories from England filled the pages, but *how*

these stories were represented and contextualised in a Western Australian newspaper.[*]

To return briefly to the World War One period, John Williams writes:

> Australian papers paraphrased or lifted articles from the newspapers of the
> mother-country – in particular the *Times* – and added editorial comment
> pertinent to the dominion perspective. (1999, 41)

This is a pattern I found repeatedly in the *Daily News* during the 1968-1988 period. I

contend there is ample evidence to suggest that specific world views were not only

promulgated by constant referencing to English stories, but the right wing positioning

of those ideologies were overlaid and reinforced by reference to local and national

Australian stories. The Australian narrative tropes I have already discussed with

reference to film and television, were dipped into repeatedly, adding weight to the

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[*] The majority of articles in the *Daily News* were penned by unnamed journalists, all named journalists
are referred to in-text.

'truth' on offer. In keeping with the binary opposition of Australia / England, if Australia aspired to be unlike England, then how did this position the Australian based reader when images of the mother or 'old country' were invariably constructions of English right wing conservatism? How did this impact on the construction of English migrants? No other migrant group saw their country of origin written about as frequently as the English did. These stories were frequently negative, functioning as a 'warning' to Australia.

Cutting the apron strings?

David Carter writes:

> What is surprising, I think, is how suddenly and completely this 'Anglocentric' mode of cultural modelling became irrelevant to the contemporary Australian sense of contemporary Australia (thereby also affecting how we understand the past). So thorough and sudden was the shift that I suspect we, in Australia and Australian studies, are yet to take full account of it. In the space of a decade, between the early 1960s and early 1970s, the British connection ceased being a source of anxiety, envy or interest to writers, artists and intellectuals. Of course, in Raymond Williams' terms, residual, dominant and emergent forces co-exist at any one time. But, from the early 1970s, the relationship to Britain was scarcely the issue around which cultural policies would be fought out; it would no longer produce manifestos or movements. (ed. Wimmer, 1999, 72-73)

While I acknowledge that Carter is referring here to a very specific interpretation of Culture (writers, artists and intellectuals), I none the less contend that the connection remained far from residual in numerous cultural forms, such as film, television and newspapers, all routinely drawing upon the Australia / England binary opposition. As for manifestoes, in the *Daily News* 'political culture' was being fought around consistent references to England. Reading the 'papers' through the languages of class and Englishness offers an alternative form of engagement with Australian nationalisms. Taking the crooked path, I will preface my findings with a brief overview of what was happening in England (and at times Britain) in the late 1960s.

The good, the bad and the ugly

By the early 1960s, Britain's post-war boom was well and truly over, despite Harold Wilson's best intentions in 1964, when he promised the white hot heat of technical revolution, the 1960s in Britain were notable for not only The Beatles, The Rolling Stones and 'Swinging London', but also a series of recessions, followed by short lived recoveries. By 1968 a full scale recession gripped the country, Western Australia's *Daily News* ran a page three story with the sub-heading 'Britain is no longer great' (17 January 1968). The article describes the scene in the House of Commons as Roy Jenkins (Labour Finance Minister) announced drastic cuts to both military and domestic expenditure. According to Stuart Hall, it was also the late 1960s which witnessed the resurgence of right wing politics, which he deftly describes in the title of his chapter 'The Great Moving Right Show'(eds. Hall & Jacques, 1987, 19). As the economic crisis deepened the right wing mobilised with efficiency, tapping into traditional fears and prejudices. Enoch Powell broke with Conservative party convention and spoke directly to 'the people' with his infamous 'Rivers of Blood' speech, where, utilising the language of an old Testament prophet, he 'foresaw' violence erupting in England as a direct result of allowing 'black' migrants into the country. Ian Gilmour, a Conservative MP for thirty years and the author of the superb publication *Whatever Happened to the Tories. The Conservatives since 1945*, points out that Powell had previously been a notable moderate on issues of race and immigration (1998, 228-244). Something had clearly caused Powell to change 'tack', that 'something' may be deduced from the response to his stance, as Gilmour points out:

> The Birmingham [Rivers of Blood] speech evoked an unparalleled public
> response. Powell received over 100,000 letters, nearly all of them favourable.
> Eight hundred dockers marched to Westminster in his support; so did some

Smithfield porters, and the Kenyan High Commissioner was insulted because he was black. (1998, 235)

Quite apart from the comparatively tiny numbers of trade unionists marching in support of Powell, elsewhere trade unions were increasingly being described and denounced in the media as 'militant'. Together with economic insecurity, the late 1960s saw a sharp increase in strikes, often 'unofficial' strikes emanating directly from the shop floor. This is the beginning of the 1970s 'bogey man' in the form of the 'shop steward'. While Powell's 'enemy within' was black, the net of the right wing would quickly grow to encompass all trade unionists, regardless of colour.

[**Interviewer: Do you think the unions were being more militant or were they pushed in a position….**
Dave [interjects]: They had to be! They had to come in! Because they were doing time and motion you know….you spend five minutes on that and you've got to do this, ten minute breaks….all of that stuff and really….that buggered it for me, you know, that was it.
Interviewer: So you felt that people weren't happy in the workplace where they had been before?
Dave: They were yeah! Yeah, I mean the striking and the unions it was just a natural progression. Once they start getting on you….the unions come in to protect you. That was it.
(A subjective account of changes in a factory, Wigan, late 1960s) (Interview, English migrant Dave, 2001)]

The forces of the right began a sustained attack on the collectivism underpinning the post-war consensus, which, until this point had been adhered to by both the Labour and Conservative political parties. The terms 'individual' and 'freedom' were appropriated and evoked as being under threat by an overbearing bureaucratic state. If an earlier generation of working class people were constructed as degenerative and lazy due to urban living, those ghosts were now resurrected as the 'masses' were now positioned as not only lazy, but lacking 'grit' and 'get up and go', as a direct result of the welfare state. Margaret Thatcher's later sneering about the 'Nanny state' built on this discourse to powerful effect. I would also argue that the appropriation of the terms individual and freedom deftly tapped into the simplistic notions of freedom

expounded by youth culture's spokesmen. The Beatles were only one group amongst

many who routinely whined about paying tax, penning the song *Taxman* ('you'll tax

my life'), while the Rolling Stones appropriated an old American blues song *I'm Free*

('to do what I want any old time'), while similarly bemoaning the amount of tax they

paid. This zeitgeist language of individuality and freedom found its right wing zenith

in the National Association of Freedom in 1975. The growing attack on collectivism

was given hearty support by the English popular press, as Stuart Hall contends,

translating economic theory into 'a populist idiom was a major political achievement',

a populist idiom which alluded to the British Bulldog spirit:

> The essence of the British people was identified with self-reliance and
> personal responsibility, as against the image of the over taxed individual,
> enervated by welfare state 'coddling', his or her moral fibre irrevocably
> sapped by 'state handouts'. This assault, not just on welfare over-spending,
> but on the very principle and essence of collective social welfare was
> mounted, not through an analysis of which class of the deserving made most
> of the welfare state, but through the emotive image of the 'scrounger': the
> new folk devil. (eds. Hall & Jacques, 1987, 29)

So to what extent – and *how* – was the great moving right show revealing itself on the

other side of the world? Was the cultural / political and social manifesto of individual

freedom being given any credit in Australia?

Five pretty girls

On 1 January 1968 a story from London was published in the Western Australian

newspaper the *Daily News*. Five young women decided that if everyone in England

worked an extra half an hour a day for no pay, the economic crisis would be solved.

It was a seemingly small story, but one that was gleefully pounced upon by the media

in England and Australia. On the East coast of Australia, the New South Wales

newspaper the *Sydney Morning Herald*, gave the story front page coverage with the

heading: 'Five pretty girls set U.K. an example' going on to suggest they had set in

motion a new 'industrial revolution' (again, the term 'revolution' being neatly

usurped). Despite the fact that it was still one year before the *Sydney Morning Herald*

and the *Daily News* were stable mates in John Fairfax Limited, the ideology

underpinning both publications was already established and would remain unchanged

after the Herald and Weekly Times of Melbourne takeover of West Australian

Newspapers in 1969. It should also be pointed out that this story shared the front

page of the *Sydney Morning Herald* with details of the Queen's New Year Honours

List, further evidence that rumours of a complete break with the mother country might

be overstated. (2 January 1968)

In keeping with the Royal theme, Prince Philip sent the young women a telegram,

which read: 'If we all go into 1968 with that spirit we shall certainly lick all our

problems and put this country well on its feet again' (*Daily News*, 1 January 1968, 3),

whether Prince Philip was prepared to forego a proportion of his income is unclear.

On 3 January the story was kept alive, this time with a press photograph of the five

young women together with an article which went to some lengths stressing just how

normal and average these young people were, for example, they are linked with 'pop'

music and their then fashionable mini skirts and long, parted in the middle hair are

very much in evidence (1968, 3). Perhaps most importantly of all, they are resolutely

depoliticised, their action contextualised by the right wing media as 'common sense'.

Perth's *Daily News* was clearly taken with this story, it appeared yet again on 4

January 1968, this time re-written by their man 'IN LONDON'. This young Western

Australian was John Cornell, who would go on to a successful career writing,

performing and producing, perhaps the best known of his achievements is his long

time collaboration with *Anzacs*' actor, Paul Hogan, which resulted in the 1970s comedy series *The Paul Hogan Show* and the *Crocodile Dundee* films in the 1980s. So how does this Australian, who is to become intrinsically linked with representations of the typical Aussie bloke, represent the 'work for nothing' idea? The heading gives a clue of what is to follow: 'Work for nothing? Not likely, say most of Britain's unions' (4). In comparison to the faceless entity of 'Britain's unions' the article goes on to individualise those who support the idea, for example:

> One woman who worked at a factory where the workers had decided to start earlier turned up at 7 a.m. on New Year's Day in a gold lamè dress. She had been to an Eve party and wore the dress because she would have been late if she'd gone home to change. (*Daily News*, 4 January 1968, 4)

Just in case any one missed the point that this is the type of worker the establishment prefers, Prince Philip's telegram is reiterated again. Guess who is spoiling the party?

> Against the plan: surprise, surprise, are most of the unions. Frank Cousins leader of the giant Transport and General Workers' Union, says: 'You can't expect people to work for nothing. In most industry, people are not working to capacity. They cannot work extra time. This idea has no relevance. (*Daily News*, 4 January 1968, 4)

Another T.U.C. official argues that when people start 'making arrangements of their own' hard won conditions are in danger of being lost. Both trade unionists are making perfectly valid statements, but the Australian John Cornell contextualises their words so efficiently that they sound like a couple of out of date old men. For example, the five women's actions led to the 'I'm Backing Britain' campaign, which Cornell likens to flower power. The attempt at injecting youthfulness, not to mention the clear gendering at work here (five pretty girls and a woman in a gold frock) is revelatory in itself, particularly when John Hartley's incisive discussion of how news of the Bolshevic revolution was reported in the English newspaper the *Daily Sketch* is taken into account. Half a century before the 'Five pretty girls' story, along with descriptions of the Bolshevics as 'boatmen, tramps, hooligans, gangsters, pacifists,

Jews, Germans, Apaches' (1992, 189) (Yes – apaches), two portraits appeared of the ex-Tsar's second daughter Tatiana, with articles suggesting she was romantically linked with the Prince of Wales. Hartley writes:

> Tatiana's personal, bodily qualities are politicised in *opposition* to Leninism; look at her youth, beauty (etc.) and the assertion that 'every day makes it more evident that the Bolshevic regime is nearing its end' begins to sound quite normal. And her body is politicised in *favour* of British constitutional monarchy. (1992, 197)

In precisely the same way, the five pretty girls appear so 'normal' and 'natural' that their politicisation in the newspapers referred to here, is hidden. Similar to Hartley's example, they are politicised in opposition to an image of ageing, male trade unionists. As Tatiana's portrait was utilised to link her to a male member of the Royal family (not once but twice), the five young women are linked with Prince Philip twice. The young, the 'modern' and the female – almost seamlessly linked to the British constitutional monarchy and by extension, the Establishment.

Make it local

The five pretty girls story was localised for a Western Australian audience by being retold and therefore validated by a 'local boy' in London. Quite apart from this authentication (he's *there*, therefore he *knows*) Cornell clinches the story with a closing 'PERSONAL FOOTNOTE', which states: 'At the risk of being burnt in effigy at Point Walter, my strong view is that the average Briton does not work nearly as hard as the average Aussie' (*Daily News*, 4 January 1968, 4), which economically unites the threat to freedom ('burnt in effigy'), with the supposed laziness of the English working class and whingeing poms. Point Walter was the location of a Migration Reception Centre, which housed British State and Industry nominated migrants. It ran as a migrant hostel from 1947 to 1969 and is the focus of the 1996

publication *Point Walter Migrant Reception Centre. A Heritage Study*, compiled by

Nonja Peters, Fiona Bush and Jenny Gregory, who refer to complaints concerning the

quality of food and living conditions. Complaints that appear to have been justified, if

the unnamed journalist cited in the study is any indication. Writing in September

1966, only eighteen months prior to Cornell's comments, he described: 'a peeling

depressing collection of decrepit huts that should have been fed to the bulldozer 15

years earlier' (1996, 30).* The fact that Cornell cites Point Walter, suggests that he

was well aware that his readership would recognise the allusion to 'whingeing poms'.

By extension, the enemies of hard work and freedom were arriving in Perth and on

your doorstep.

[We stayed at Noalimba Hostel....it was a really nice one [hostel] it was quite new and....it was really nice, we were surprised, we were expecting to stay somewhere a lot worse....I think we had two bedrooms and a bathroom and....it was nice, there was a communal dining room where you could go and get your food...and the food was quite nice there as well....it was good.
(Interview, English migrant Fran, 2001, who arrived in Western Australia in 1970)]

The following day the story continued, with the heading: 'They're backing Britain –

and proudly too' (*Daily News*, 5 January 1968, 5). Trade unionist concerns about this

campaign are again given short shrift, with an 'unnamed' worker quoted as saying:

'The men are furious. They feel the union has no right to tell them what to do with

their spare time' which again alludes to the supposed curtailing of 'freedom'. At no

point in the translation of this story for a Western Australian readership is there

anything even approaching a critique.

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* Point Walter Migrant Reception Centre closed in 1971. A brand new hostel, 'Noalimba' opened in 1968.

Directly adjoining the 5 January 'instalment' was a story, functioning on one level at least, to support and validate the ideology on offer here:

> Liverpool watersiders decided to return to work yesterday after a half a day stoppage which started on a ship unloading Australian lead. More than 30 ships were left idle because of the dispute. (1968, 5)

Consider, while thousands were apparently willing to work for nothing, 'others' were disruptive, downing tools. The two stories collude to reinforce what would soon become 'common sense': the unions *caused* economic crisis. Secondly, the Australian link is clear; English trade unionists are preventing Australian primary products from reaching their destination, therefore English trade unionists are also a threat to YOU. One might imagine, given the supposed 'anti-authoritarian' streak of the typical Australian, together with a belief in egalitarianism, that some editorial questioning of these anti-trade union stories would be evident. Quite the reverse was the case. The flag waving patriotism of the 'I'm Backing Britain' campaign was constructed for Australian readers as wholly positive. The 'good' worker is uncomplaining, individualised and willing to sacrifice. Does this sound familiar? I would argue this is perilously close to late nineteenth century constructions of the idealised rural worker and the typical colonial. The 'ideal' migrant in Australia, perhaps unsurprisingly, also encapsulates these conservative constructions. Examining the juxtaposition of stories from England with local Australian material provides fruitful opportunities to further detect ideologically informed dynamics in the Australia / England binary opposition.

The residuum and the respectable

Letters to the Editor are not necessarily representative of the community at large, however, they do provide an important source material. For example, what has been

chosen for publication? How are these selections functioning to support or contest the ideological views of the newspaper?

On 3 January 1968, one day before John Cornell's article, a reply to a previous letter is printed:

> The opinion writer of December 20....compares 16,000 Australians in Britain who are not moaning with migrants from Britain who are. For one reason only. The Australians pay their full fare to Britain, then look for a job if none is awaiting them. They have never been brought up in this progressive country of ours to rely on the dole as in Britain. I read in an English newspaper recently that some Englishmen live on the dole in preference to a job because they said the income from the dole was nearly as much as a job paid. W.E. Owen, Fremantle. (8)

Numerous strands of the great moving right show are evident in this published letter. For example, the first sentence alludes to the 'whingeing pom' stereotype, and secondly, an English newspaper is cited as 'evidence' that English workers are lazy due to the welfare state. Similar to the late nineteenth century constructions of the urban working class, this group is still 'lazy' and 'knowing too much' ie. abusing the system. (The question of why wages are as *low* as unemployment benefits is never posed in this discourse) Finally, in keeping with right wing appropriations of language ('individual', 'freedom', 'revolution') the term 'progressive' is utilised to mean anti-collective and anti-welfare state. It is a letter selected to compliment and preface what is to come in the Cornell article the next day.

The following day (the same day as John Cornell's article) on 4 January 1968, a total of five letters to the editor were published, three related to English migrants. All were critical. One, signed 'Satisfied Irish migrant', was in response to a previous letter from an English migrant who was finding life in Australia economically difficult. The Irish migrant states he is a small business man and that any financial difficulties

experienced by migrants is their own fault. The 'individual responsibility' mantra of

the nineteenth century 'self help' writer Samuel Smiles together with the same era's

'undeserving' degenerate poor, are resurrected. The writer says: 'Well, my hard

earned money is not spent in hotels, though I enjoy life to the full' together with: 'I

still say it is only the Poms who ask for credit' evoking an always lurking stereotype

that the English poor were and *are* poor because they either drink, gamble and / or

cannot manage money. Any individual questioning the myth of Australia as an

egalitarian workers' paradise is positioned as a drinker and spendthrift. Keeping with

the degeneration stereotypes, there is a suggestion that this 'type' of English migrant

is also mentally degenerative: 'Satisfied Irish Migrant' would give credit to

customers, but only to people 'who have the money or at least a head on their

shoulders. We do not want those who have neither'. The letter goes on to stress the

importance of individual economic achievement:

> I am not the only one who has done well. I know Greeks and Italians who
> have two and three houses. One man who came here as a painter seven years
> ago has 24 houses and two shops and still does painting – but as a boss, not a
> worker. As for flats and houses, at this moment I have a house to let to some
> good tenant. (*Daily News*, 4 January 1968, 8)

The 'good' tenant, like the 'good' migrant and the 'good' worker, does not complain.

Furthermore, there is the expectation that everyone should aim to be self employed ('a

boss') and own as much property as possible. Pointedly, English migrants are

excluded from 'good' migrant groups: the Greeks and the Italians for example. The

importance placed on economic achievement (and specifically private ownership) by

the letter writer is, I would suggest, revelatory when James Jupp's conclusions

regarding British migrants in general, are taken into account:

> In contrast to Italian and Greek immigrants, who were very impressed by full
> employment and high wages, the British respondents attached little
> significance to economic benefits. (1991, 63)

In a similar vein, Jupp also contends that social mobility of the children of this migrant group (including entry into higher education) was slow in comparison to other migrant groups, suggesting that: 'The lack of strong economic motivation might be a factor in this easy acceptance of a modest social pattern' (1991, 64). Jupp points out that most English male migrants held trade qualifications, trades that their sons invariably followed. However, even these trade qualifications were the cause of umbrage in the second letter:

> A fault I find with many migrants, *English in particular*, is that they tend to upgrade themselves: The electrician calls himself an electrical engineer, the motor mechanic a mechanical engineer and the builder's labourer a master builder. (my emphasis)

When the English migrant was not being a spendthrift, a whinger or just plain lazy, they also had, to quote Henry Kingsley's 1853 description of working class English migrants to Australia: 'exaggerated notions of their own importance' (*cited in* White, 1981, 37). An even cursory investigation into the claims of this letter suggest an alternative interpretation. For example, in Tom Sheridan's 1975 publication *Mindful Militants. The Amalgamated Engineering Union of Australia*, he states that terms for specific trades were invariably different between England and Australia, due to the time lag between new technological techniques being introduced to Australia. (3)

The third letter refers to whingeing poms, or is this just migrants who talk about the place they come from?

> If these dissatisfied English people would pack up and go back to 'dear old England' Australia would be a better place and I would be a happier person. I am sick to death of hearing about 'good old England'. Why come here if England is so great? Australia, My Country Fair, Scarborough.

[I also find that if I talk about our *old* life there's a cut off....I mean this person is a lovely person and I get on well with my daughters in law, all three of them, don't get me wrong I'm not....it's just that I sense that. Maybe it's because it's something they can't perceive. She'd like to go the U.K. now she's heard us all talk about it and I can see that some....some softening in that....what I felt was an inflexible attitude, but I can see there's some softening in that.
(Interview, English migrant, Rose, 2001)]

English migrants arriving in Perth, Western Australia between the years 1968 to 1988, arrived in a country which advertised its supposed commitment to egalitarianism and 'the fair go' and yet in the cultural texts around them were Australian appropriations of right wing English rhetoric which was anti-collective, anti-trade union, anti-welfare state, together with a very particular anti-Englishness. The 'complaints' directed at this migrant group were not only numerous (ironically, considering the whingeing pom tag) and 'common sense' but couched in a discourse which had been informing Australian nationalisms since the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. England's troublesome working class 'mass' were still being evoked as a threat to harmonious Australia and the typical or 'real' Australian was still individualistic, a battler, stoic and uncomplaining. With this in mind Ian Sinclair's 1977 'British disease' speech has plenty of well established stereotypes to draw upon.

The British disease infecting Australia

I must also decry the fact that so many British migrants seem to be bent on importing the 'British disease' into the Australian trade union movement. These people have obviously sapped much of the strength of British industry, leaving the British economy one of the weakest in Europe. They are seemingly adopting the same attitudes and views towards the Australian trade union movement. Their interests are not Australian, their origins are not Australian, and one wonders whether action should not be taken against them. (*The Age*, 8 August 1977, 1)

The above is an excerpt from a speech made on 5 August 1977 by National Country Party politician Ian Sinclair. It was only after the Eastern States' newspaper the *Age* ran the story on Monday 8 August that vigorous debate broke out concerning the

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accuracy or appropriateness of Sinclair's statements. Naomi Rosh White and Peter White, writing in 1983, provide what remains a cogent assessment of Sinclair's speech and its aftermath, pointing out for example that not one single British trade union official was ever named and by extension, individualised. They also recognise an underlying ambiguity in the Australian media's 'discussion' of the claims, for example, while Sinclair might be guilty of prejudice, British trade unionists *were* 'trouble makers' (1983, 110-111).

Ian Sinclair's speech did not magically spring out of the ether. As mentioned in chapter one, British migrants *per se* already had a reputation in Australia for trade union militancy. The numerous stories from England printed and appropriated in Australian newspapers precipitate the gist of Sinclair's speech. 'News' from England and Australia was permeated with right wing ideological world views. Australian stories appearing in Australian newspapers, such as the Western Australian *Daily News*, were juxtaposed together with English stories to suggest a seamless statement of common sense.

In 1977 Australia was experiencing growing unemployment and rising inflation together with an increase in industrial disputes. Australian newspaper readers began to see a mirror image of the economic and industrial problems they had read about occurring in England since the late 1960s, amounting to a series of warning signs. As early as 1970, a story from England carried the sub-heading 'Warning on inflation' with the following causative explanation:

> The [British] Government is alarmed at the growing scale of wage demands, which have been averaging 20 per cent in the past few months. Stoppages have increased by 45 per cent last summer. (12 August, 1970, 22)

Inflation being *caused* by trade unionists was a narrative trope so pervasive that by

Sinclair's 1977 speech, it appeared 'natural' or 'common sense'. I would suggest it

was neither. Furthermore, I would argue that to further understand Sinclair's speech,

as a cultural and economic fragment of the great moving right show, it is necessary to

re-visit the International Monetary Fund's activities in the northern summer of 1976.

[**We shall not throw men into unemployment merely because the balance sheet
relating to the particular factory in which they work does not reveal a cash
profit. .....** *There can be no circumstances in which we cannot offer a man
something to do.* **(Acland, 1942, 22 and 185)]**

The I.M.F. 1976 and the End of Consensus

> Denis had arrived....with a terrific flurry of cameras. There were hisses and
> boos when he came forward to speak and said, 'I have come from the
> battlefront'. He then went on to shout and bully and rule out all alternative
> policies, saying this was the only way forward. The Conference was pretty
> hostile but when he finished, it having been such a bold and vigorous speech,
> parts of the Conference cheered him. (ed. Winstone, 1989, 616)

The above is taken from Tony Benn's published diaries. The 'Denis' referred to was

Denis Healey, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in James Callaghan's Labour

government. Britain desperately required a loan from the I.M.F., of which the U.S.A.

was the largest contributor and therefore, as Kathleen Burk points out: 'retained a

veto over most important I.M.F. decisions' (1994, 354) and the U.S.A.'s finger prints

cover the 'deal' brokered allowing Britain access to this loan. In short, Britain could

borrow the money, but only if it tightened up public spending, the ramifications of

such an 'agreement' should not be underestimated, as Burk argues convincingly:

> ....it was a watershed, when the control of inflation took precedence over the
> control of unemployment, and the post war consensus on how the economy
> should be managed broke down. (1994, 352)

She goes on to contend that well placed American officials held fears that Britain

would fall under the power of a left wing government, already perceiving the union

movement as wielding too much power. Burk asks the salient question of just why it was that the political climate in Britain, rather than Portugal or Italy for example, was such a U.S.A. preoccupation, suggesting that despite the reality of the two countries having very different political and social cultures, the U.S.A. still believed in the 'special relationship', believing the two countries retained traits in common. Therefore, 'there was fear of infection if the British disease was not cured at source' (Burk, 1994, 353), positioning Ian Sinclair's speech as an Australian manifestation of an already established right wing discourse.

[**England 1976: It was cold and miserable. No one had a job. Everyone was on the dole. If you weren't born into money then you might as well kiss your fucking life goodbye. (Steve Jones. Ex-Sex Pistol. 'Remembering' in the documentary *The Filth and the Fury*)**]

[**Interviewer: In the beginning what prompted you to emigrate?**
Jim: For a better life....and for the children....I was losing my job....didn't have much prospects....that's about it I suppose.
(Interview, English migrant Jim, 2001. Arrived in Perth, Western Australia 1976)]

The U.S.A. link is alluded to in the Western Australian *Daily News* on the same day as Sinclair's speech was first reported in the *Age*. Consider, as I pointed out in the prefatory paragraphs concerning ownership of Perth's *Daily News*, that the *Age* was one of the more 'up market' publications in the Herald and Weekly Times' newspaper group. On 8 August 1977, the heading read: 'U.S. eye on Australian unrest', the story going on to cite the views of U.S. Ambassador, Philip Alston, who claimed industrial unrest in Australia was handicapping the country's chances of attracting American capital (3). The two stories compliment and support each other as arguments in an essay might. It was a relatively small step to draw upon Australian and English right wing constructions of British / English trade unionists in order to apportion blame.

The Great Anti-Pom debate

Juxtaposing the supposed 'serious objectivity' of Sinclair's political speech on the front page of the *Age*, the following day (9 August 1977) Perth's *Daily News* ran a front page heading 'Great Anti-Pom Debate', going on to suggest there might be a live television debate between Ian Sinclair and Britain's High Commissioner Sir Donald Tebbit, who while being called upon to defend English / British migrants in general, was not about to mount a case for trade unionists, clearly demarcating between the good and bad migrant:

> Sir Donald said there were all sorts of Brits in Australia. Those who came here in the beginning and those who have come since are the people who have made Australia the marvellous place that it is, he said. Therefore I feel it is unfair to pick out a particular segment and say that's all the fault of the Pommies, whereas pommies who are engineers, who are doctors, who are dentists and who are helping Australia in all sorts of ways don't get a mention.

Sir Donald's 'good' migrants who 'don't get a mention' are professionals, there is no mention here of tradesmen and labourers for example, who made up the vast majority of the English migrant population. According to this demarcation, the English migrant group most commonly aligned with the middle or upper middle class, are the group who are 'helping Australia'.

It is tempting to deduce that the large numbers of English migrants in Perth resulted in the story being given so much coverage, but this was not the case. Both the *Age* (Melbourne) and the *Sydney Morning Herald* followed the story up for several days, the latter dedicating their 10 August daily cartoon to 'witty' comment on the 'disease'. [Fig. 2] The cartoon reveals a queue of presumably British migrants arriving in Australia, being walked through a 'British disease detector' and then sprayed by custom's officers. The detector has the words 'MADE IN BRITAIN' stamped on the side. Quite apart from the easy recourse to stereotypes (the cloth cap-

wearing 'pom' for example), the stamp on the side of the detector is revealing.

Consider, as Stuart Hall pointed out, that detecting militants had become a major

ideological tool in the battle against the left in Britain, therefore it would appear to me

highly appropriate that the Detector in the cartoon is imported, as Australia continued

to import anti-left wing apparatus in the form of discourse. Australian keepers of law

and order (in this case custom's officers) spray for the 'disease'.

On 10 August 1977, a story on page four, titled 'Perth union heads lash Sinclair jibe'

includes the response of the secretary of the Water Supply, Sewerage and Drainage

Union in Western Australia, Gordon Bennett, who said: 'It is childish and immature

to blame any one section of the economy', while Malcolm Hollingsworth, secretary of

the Australian Journalists' Association of W.A. concurred with: 'He [Sinclair] is

talking arrant nonsense about this myth'. The president of the Trades and Labor

Council, Bill Latter said:

> It is my belief that this attack is diversionary and dishonest. For a Minister to
> talk about the loss of job opportunities allegedly caused by British unionists is
> sheer hypocrisy when it is considered that his government is responsible for
> more unemployment than any other except the Lyons [Australian 1930s
> depression era Prime Minister] government.

What I would argue is genuinely humorous however, is the way the article then goes

on to state that all three trade union spokesmen are English migrants. Allowing for

intelligent critique, whilst on the other hand, reinforcing the stereotype of English

trade union officials. On the right side of the political divide, W.J. Brown, the Labour

Relations Director of the Confederation of W.A. Industry had the final say:

> It has been said that most English migrants would agree with Mr. Sinclair and
> they too were concerned that some Englishmen were transplanting their
> notions of class warfare to Australia.

Arguably Brown's comments are the most revealing, alluding to the binary opposition

of good (anti trade union) and bad (trade unionist supporter) migrant, while at the

same time reinforcing mythic notions of Australian classlessness. Not only were

'bad' English migrants transplanting a class system, but they were utilising the

discourse of class to articulate work place grievances, at least according to Brown,

whose use of the term 'class warfare' positions trade union activism as negative in the

extreme. I would also argue that the Australian narrative trope of militant 'pommie'

trade unionists has been so remarkably successful in signifying negative traits that

English migrants with trade union sympathies have been reticent in volunteering for

oral history collections. This possibility will be discussed further in chapter five.

[….and I've also been conscious of a north of England accent and the 'Andy Capp' image and er….that's how, not always, but some people view….that's the perception that they have of people that come from the north of England, working class background and so on. I'm not ashamed of that but I *know* I can see it, I'm aware of that.
(Interview, English migrant Rose, 2001, referring to experiences in Australia)]

I previously mentioned the 'British disease detector' cartoon in *The Sydney Morning*

Herald and Perth's *Daily News* similarly ran a cartoon with the same theme on 9

August 1977. [Fig. 3] This one shows three stereotypical trade unionists walking

away from Ian Sinclair's office, one holding a placard which reads: 'Sinclair unfair to

British workers' with the caption: 'Ee, lad, that were champion turn of phrase when

the 'e (*sic.*) told him any more remarks and we'd BOYCOTT him', revealing both an

effort at writing a Northern English dialect together with an allusion to the English

cricketer Geoff Boycott. Again, the ubiquitous cloth caps are in evidence and the

(presumably) trade union official looks suspiciously like Harold Wilson, lighting up

his pipe. In keeping with the stereotypical image of trade unionists, which I have

already detected in the 'five pretty girls' stories from 1968, these are unattractive

representations of English working men, all are overweight and one is unshaven. The

daily cartoon in the *Daily News* was on the back page, together with an article entitled 'Our Town'. The following day (10 August), the same day as the English trade unionists were given a voice on page 4, 'Our Town' ran with a rather different 'take' on trade unionism.

Fred Haggar, the acting secretary of the Building Workers Industrial Union as well as a self proclaimed Marxist was the focus of this story. In direct opposition to the faceless and nameless trade unionists in Sinclair's speech, Haggar was not merely individualised, but allowed a living historical consciousness:

> Although Fred Haggar has been in Australia for 22 years he retains his strong Midland accent. Fred comes from Northampton and from a tough Depression -scarred background that left him with an acute awareness of social injustice.

The interviewer (Brett Christian) asks Haggar about the notion that workers are *forced* to go out on strike. He replied:

> 'For one thing I was elected by the rank and file of the union' he said. 'Is Mr. Sinclair saying that these people are not intelligent people? That they are fools being led by so-called stirrers from Britain?'

I would suggest Haggar's comments here cut to the heart of the politically conservative informants so vitally active in the Australia / England binary opposition, which is resolutely critiqued with Haggar's final comments:

> People forget that without unions children would still be working in the coal mines. If you visit any building site around Perth you will find that our campaign to get proper toilet and lunch facilities for our members has been successful. What is evil or subversive about that?

Haggar's voice in the *Daily News* might alert all of us to just why trade unionists were not generally given a voice in mainstream media outlets, as this was clearly an articulate, intelligent individual at odds with the stereotypical trade unionist. While there is ambiguity here, for example, Haggar *is* an English migrant and his early experiences *in England* inform his commitment to the trade union movement in

Australia, he none the less provides an alternative understanding of what it meant to be 'union' and an English working class migrant in 1970s Australia.

[In certain unions that I've had dealings with or had experience of...erm....most of them have been Australian blokes running them....and some of them were *very very* extreme unionists. Yeah so for him [Sinclair] to say that was just a political stunt I think, a political statement.
(Interview, English migrant John, 2001)]
[So anybody who fitted that mould or had any left wing sympathies or any involvement in the unions....their British accent was basically stigmatised by that. But that was in the press and amongst the middle class people it might have discussions with....but amongst the workers there was a general view there that these trade union leaders could get their act together wherever they came from. They were impressed by the effectiveness of the union leaders at the time rather than comments or any kind of stigma by the British disease.
(Interview, English migrant Paul, 2001)]

A week later, on 17 August 1977, the results of a *Daily News* telephone poll were published. Twenty four responses were published, eleven of which disagreed with Sinclair's comments. For example, Mrs. Male said:

> It has been said that union picketing was something unknown in this State until recent years. I'm in my 60s and I can recall that more than 50 years ago picketing was necessary to stop scab labouring, for unionists to protect their own jobs. This is nothing new. I think it is time for women of my age, who do remember so much, to come forward and speak out in favour of unionists. It will be a sorry day for us when there are none.

Mrs. Male's contribution is subversive for several reasons. Firstly, there is the salient reminder that Australian industrial relations have never been harmonious. Secondly, by doing this she suggests an alternative construction of the Western Australian historical narrative, and thirdly, as an elderly female she disrupts the construction of trade union affairs being the sole bastion and concern of men. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, she positions trade union activity as an unequivocally positive contribution to Western Australian society, a tradition that should inspire pride. When this reading of Western Australian – indeed by extension all Australian – history, as being one of class struggle, then the 'pommie' trade unionists were contributing to a proud Australian tradition.

Mrs. Cumpsty of Padbury (a suburb north of Perth with large numbers of English migrants) contributed the following:

> Forget about unions for a moment and talk to the ordinary working man fresh out from Britain. He or she will say that working conditions in Australia (particularly with regards to health and safety) are years behind the times. If a Briton airs his views on this subject, he is immediately labelled a militant unionist, a communist or a whinger.

Mrs. Cumpsty's comments reveal the conservative agenda behind both the 'whingeing' and 'militant' pommie stereotypes, both functioning to silence critique and dissent. To 'speak out' in this discourse is 'un-Australian'.

Anti-trade union 'rebels': an Aussie battler in bathers

Ideology continued to be crossed over from England to Australia, as English stories were intertextualised with Australian content to reinforce the 'common sense' of the right wing manifesto. On the 18 August 1977, the *Daily News*' front page headline was: 'Government Plan to Sack Strikers', a reference to a mail strike in Sydney. In this same edition are stories from both England and Australia, which were all grist for the conservative mill. Consider the story printed on page seven:

> Sydney: Kerry Ferguson the controversial coach, who refused to join a union, is back in the swim. She will launch her own coaching school at Granville next month and unionists are excluded. Miss Ferguson was the subject of a prolonged strike by the Municipal Employees Union at Holroyd Council in March. She has the backing of an unnamed Granville businessman. Last night she stressed that no teacher who worked for her would ever belong to a union. 'I want people around me with similar ideas. You can't be governed by union regulations and be a good swimming coach'.

Kerry Ferguson is individualised in comparison to the faceless strikers (the masses) down the road in the mail exchange. Similar to the feminisation of the 'five pretty girls' and 'I'm Backing Britain' campaign, 'Miss' Ferguson is positioned as vulnerable (but determined), under attack from 'militants'. Finally, in comparison to

the faceless 'factory' workers in the mail exchange, Ferguson is an allusion to the Australian myth of the sporting, in touch with nature, individual. Her right wing, conservative beliefs are neutralised through recourse to the Australian 'individual battler' trope.

According to the *Daily News* 'freedom' was under attack from left wing militants both at Miss Ferguson's swimming school and in the streets of South East London, England. On the next page, a story from Garry Barker, reporting 'in London', covered the Lewisham riot. Lewisham was home to considerable numbers of West Indian migrants and their English born children, so when permission was given to the fascist National Front party to march through these streets on a Saturday, psychic ability was unnecessary in gauging the outcome.

Jon Savage includes an eye witness account of the Lewisham riots in his publication *England's Dreaming: Sex Pistols and Punk Rock* (392-395). Savage concludes:

> Lewisham was an immediate propaganda success for the National Front. As a camerawork survey showed later that year, the message given in the media coverage was of the police valiantly attempting to mediate between extremists backed by an artillery of bottles, bricks, tins. The recurring image was that of a young policeman with blood streaming from a head wound: as planned, the Front were upheld as fighter for the right to free speech and free assembly. (1992, 395)

As John Cornell had reinforced the right wing ideological line in his article ('in London') from 1968, so Garry Barker followed suit, providing Perth's *Daily News*' readers not previously aware of the National Front party, with a sympathetic assessment of British fascism. Consider:

> Though the National Front gets its knocks today, its members did not go to the meeting armed. Thus most ire is reserved for those who took knuckle dusters, plastic squirter bottles of ammonia (to fire into policeman's eyes), sheath

knives, carving knives, and lengths of pipe fitted with sharpened bolts like medieval skull crushers. (18 August 1977, 8)

Quite apart from the delicious detail of the weaponry allegedly used, what I would suggest is equally fascinating is that they were presumably all in the hands of the National Front's nemesis: a faceless mass loosely associated with 'the Left'. Keeping with these right wing constructions, John Tyndall, the National Front's leader is domesticated:

> In his calm back garden, the National Front leader, John Tyndall, defended his organisation's right to peacefully demonstrate. He was not a Hitlerite nazi, he said, 'Now we are doing it the British way'.

The Australian correspondent Garry Barker, finishes his story with a reference to George Gale, the political columnist for English newspaper the *Daily Express*:

> What we have seen growing in this country in recent years, and what we saw reaching a horrible climax in the streets of London on Saturday, is red fascism, he said. Fascism and communism had far more in common than people knew. Both competed for the allegiance of working people. But in Britain today, Gale said, it was not the National Front but the red fascists who deliberately attacked the police and sought to destroy all that Britain stood for.

George Gale was an 'interesting' and revealing choice for Australian journalist Garry Barker to cite, because Gale's right wing perspective would continue unabated in the *Daily Express* into the following decade. In his 1986 publication *The Press and Political Dissent*, Mark Hollingsworth claims the *Daily Express* was the most 'fawning' newspaper towards Margaret Thatcher in the lead up to the 1983 General Election (up against some tight competition it might be added), with George Gale particularly noteworthy for his sycophantic columns in praise of all things 'Thatcher' (237).

This story reveals Australian collusion in the emanation of right wing ideology. While the term 'freedom' was appropriated to signify a quality under threat from left wing forces, specifically trade unions, here even the term 'fascism' is textually

positioned to mean 'left wing' rather then 'National Front'. On the media coverage of the Lewisham riot, Jon Savage's eye witness said: 'I read about it the next day and was made incredibly angry' (1992, 394), while another contributor, Graham Lewis, commenting on the English press in the late 1970s in general, told Savage: 'We were struck by the quality and distortion of information' (1992, 329). That there was 'distortion' in the sympathetic portrayal of a political party as racist as the National Front is suggested by Ian Walker, who spent time interviewing N.F. members shortly after the Lewisham riot: 'The recent National Front march in Lewisham was 80 per cent skinhead' (ed. Barker, 1982, 14), a sub-culture hardly synonymous with peaceful behaviour.

Immediately below this story is a letter to the editor supporting the National Front and denouncing the 'Left'. In the context of the scapegoating of English migrants as posing a militant threat to Australia, the ideological threads running through Australian and English stories cannot be ignored: red 'fascists' in Lewisham preventing 'freedom' of movement and 'reds' in Sydney, bullying a female swimming coach. The construction of these stories arguably paved the way for the Australian government to 'get tough', which they did. The following day the front page headline read: 'Strike law goes through'. The story including:

> The Federal Government today steamrolled its tough new industrial legislation through the Senate. The Government used its majority to declare the Commonwealth Employees Employment Provisions Act 1977 and set a four hour limit to debate. Senator Reg. Bishop: 'You will cause a general industrial tie – up. There will be dispute after dispute. This Bill sets back industrial relations 100 years'. (*Daily News*, 19 August 1977)

I would argue that industrial relations were being set back to the same period from whence images of the English working class were continually being drawn in the Australian media, including the Western Australian *Daily News*.

I conclude this chapter with a question: What if English migrants who were active in the trade union movement were couched in a positive light? Perhaps by turning on its head the official Australian interpretation and 'common sense' utilisation of the terms 'whingeing poms' and 'pommie militants' the opportunity to explore the positive contributions made to an alternative 'Vision Splendid' by English migrants who, entranced by the dream of an egalitarian country, continued to fight for it when they realised it did not exist might be rewarding.

[Interviewer: Would you say that....like Australia always sells itself as being a classless country....would say that's true?
Rose: No. It's not true. It's definitely not true. It's a very very class conscious country. *More* class conscious than England is. [pause] At least we know where we are! [pause] But here....goodness sakes....no no....and I think probably as we know the haves are getting more and the not haves are having less. .... You have opulence right next to poverty. (Interview, English migrant Rose, 2001)]

The last words from this period are from 'Builder's Labourer of Rockingham'. In a letter to the editor, 19 August 1977, he was clearly having fun with the discourse:

> An honour to be of assistance.
> The discovery of Mr. Ian Sinclair that British migrants play a dominant role in union affairs in Australia is commendable – but for very different reasons than those he puts forwards. What he is witnessing is an effect to a previous cause. For two hundred years we were taught in Britain that good old popular song: Britons, never never shall be slaves. We consider it a great honour to be of assistance in banishing that same dread scourge from Australia's fair land forever.

There would be subtle shifts in the representation of Englishness in the next decade, which I discuss in chapter four.

Chapter four: telling it in black and white part 2

I prefaced my discussion of *The Big Steal* in chapter three with a brief overview of Australian multiculturalism, suggesting what the term was signifying by the 1980s. This included the claim that English migrants were increasingly ignored or marginalised in the bourgeoning field of migrant studies which tended to focus on non -English speaking background migrants and their *ethnicity*. Within the signifying practices of the discourse 'migrant' or 'multicultural' studies, English migrants were either not 'ethnic' (or interestingly exotic) enough, or were deemed too privileged to be of much interest. While I argue that English migrants incrementally almost disappeared from the signifier 'migrant', as Australia's attempts to embrace and promote a multicultural society grew, I also suggest that this gap was filled by a seemingly endless procession of right wing representations of the English 'mass' in England. For my purposes here I have selected three major English events to focus upon: the election of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative party in 1979; the Falklands' War of 1982; and the Miners' Strike of 1984-5. It is my aim to reassess the resurgent Australian nationalism during this period through the languages of class and Englishness. I will foreground these foci by suggesting to what extent – and why – history became such a valuable commodity to both the right and the left of the political sphere.

Up for grabs: appropriation, collage, theft and murder

As I argue in chapter three, concerning specifically the television mini-series *Anzacs*, the philosophies of post structuralism and post modernism were slowly beginning to inform popular cultural productions. Similarly, I would point out that post modernism's emphasis upon artifice was conducive for a period underpinned by

economic change. While the English I.M.F. crisis in 1976 heralded the beginning of the end of the post war consensus, by the 1980s the late 1960s great moving right show gathered momentum. For example, the appropriation of terms such as 'revolution' and 'freedom' became central in the discourses of the right wing warriors of economic rationalism, who in a similar vein saw themselves as 'radical'. According to this discourse, the implementation of economic rationalism was an 'economic revolution' while providing 'freedom of the market place' and 'freedom' to move on up and out of supposedly dated notions of class identification. For example, historical interpretations and imagery, previously deemed 'untouchable', were suddenly being hacked at and realigned. Illustrating this freedom was the appropriation of the misery of the Great Depression by the powerful advertising company Saatchi and Saatchi, who developed a poster for the Conservative party appearing nine months before the 1979 General Election, featuring the imagery of the 'dole queue'. Alison Fendley, in her publication *Saatchi and Saatchi. The Inside Story*, writes:

> Andrew Rutherford, a member of the Saatchi creative team, came up with the idea for what turned out to be one of the most devastating political posters in British history. It featured a long and winding line of unemployed workers under the copyline 'Labour isn't working'. Until then, negative political advertising had always been considered undignified, but Mrs. Thatcher loved the poster and the party went on the attack with it in August. (1996, 55)

It would be fair to say this was a risky undertaking, the horrors of the 'dole queue' and associated poverty were powerful informants in the creation of the Welfare State, which had been supported by all political parties as early as 1944 (Stevenson, 1990, 462). Therefore the appropriation of this particular image was as precocious as it was ironic, rearranging imagery to make it mean. Thomas Elsaesser uses the term 'the Saatchi effect' to describe this clever and successful mode of playing with images, an 'effect' he contends 'blurred the lines between the different kinds of self-awareness:

that which probes and that which promotes' (ed. Friedman, 1993, 57). Self promotion

and image became increasingly pivotal as the 1980s wore on, from politicians to pop

stars, real estate agents to stockbrokers, 'looking the part' was essential for 'playing

the game'. The political underpinning to this 'game' is pointed out by Susan Sontag

who contends: 'Social change is replaced by a change in images. The freedom to

consume a plurality of images and goods is equated with freedom itself' (*cited in*

Hewison, 1990, 63).

On the other hand, the fragmentation associated with postmodern influences was not

just a tool for the right wing of the political divide. The gaps and spaces created by

this fragmentation saw previously unheard voices making their presence felt. While

'history' was 'made to mean' by Saatchi and Saatchi, so voices of dissent utilised

alternative histories as a weapon in the war against economic rationalism. These

voices of dissent appeared in popular cultural forms, for example, in the English

Channel Four mini-series *A Very British Coup* (1988) the character of Harold Perkins

(working class Labour prime minister) tells a member of the Establishment: 'I have a

history too'. While in 1985 Billy Bragg recorded the seventeenth century Diggers'

song 'The World Turned Upside Down' which included the lyric: 'We will not

worship the God you serve, the God of greed who feeds the rich while poor men

starve'.

The Diggers were founded in the wake of the English Revolution on 1 April 1649,

they were active for only one year before they were duly suppressed, but as the song

lyrics go on to remind 'They were dispersed but still the vision lingers on'. The

'vision' included communal cultivation of the common and waste lands, an equation

between private ownership of land and property with 'murder and theft' and a

commitment to peace (*Diggers Tracts*, 1989, Introduction). The Diggers were

perceived as a genuine threat to Oliver Cromwell's newly established Parliamentary

Britain, not least because the leaders and their followers had recent first hand

experience in Cromwell's efficient 'New Model Army'. The civil war / revolution

had not only created communities of people able to fight and kill cohesively as a

group, but was also the catalyst for political discussion. As Christopher Hill, who has

written extensively on this period and the various radical groups (including the

Levellers), points out:

> In these years the most unheard of speculations were put forward, verbally and
> in print – demands for social and political equality, for a wide extension of the
> franchise, for abolition of a state church, for far – reaching social and legal
> reforms, for communism. All traditional institutions were called in question,
> including the Bible, private property, marriage and the family, male
> superiority. (1997, 7)

In Australia, the term 'Digger' signifies World War 1 soldiers. I would suggest there

are links between the Diggers of 1649 and the Diggers of the 1914 – 1918 War. Both

groups were seen as a potential threat to the Establishment, having acquired the self

discipline, organization skills and comradeship (or in the Australian mythic term

'mateship') required of effective soldiers. Similarly, official History has not been an

enthusiastic chronicler of either group. In Australia the left wing politics and

radicalism of at least some of the returning soldiers rarely, if ever, make an

appearance in annual Anzac Day commemorations. Historian Alistair Thomson's

work on the returned radical soldiers is an excellent exception to the rule (eds. White

& Russell, 1997, 60 – 73). The 1649 Diggers were virtually forgotten until the late

nineteenth century when their tracts were rediscovered, inspiring new generations of

fellow travellers – myself included. As I go on to discuss later in this chapter, with

reference to the Miners' strike of 1984 – 5, there were alternative ancestral memories

destabilising official national myths and stereotypes.

I would argue that history was a major player during this period. Margaret Thatcher

called for a return to a mythical Victorian past, bereft of malnutrition, sweat shops and

the work house, reconstructed, in Elsaesser's words as:

> 'British themes' and the 'sinews of authenticity' pummelled out of flabby
> jingoist nostalgia, or more humbly put, she constructed national myths out of
> the bric-a-brac of history, xenophobia, and paranoia.
> (ed. Friedman, 1993, 57)

Tony Williams' *Jump Cut* article focuses on the 1983 English film *The Ploughman's*

Lunch, where the political manipulation of history is a key theme. Williams also

points out the direct interference of 'right wing interests' upon the history curriculum

in all British schools (1991, 13), an argument which drives Bernard Porter's insightful

1994 journal article, ''Though not an historian myself....' Margaret Thatcher and the

historians', in which he makes the convincing contention: 'No British Prime Minister

has ever joined battle quite so fiercely with our profession' (246).

**[Maggie Thatcher was getting going, you know all the anti-union stuff....that
was pretty awful. I remember a lot of people were being made redundant and
that was pretty sad....because the place I worked there were people being made
redundant. It was during that whole recession time and it was all pretty
disturbing and....erm....[small pause] the America's Cup Australia won the
America's Cup. And I was sitting in the flat....because we had to sell our house
and rent for a while before we left....and....Bob Hawke came on and he [bursts
out laughing] he did the old you know [mimic's voice] 'Any boss who doesn't let
'is worker [bursts out laughing] have the day off ....is a *bum*!' And I was sitting
there going 'Yay! I'm going to the right country!' [laughter]
(Interview, English migrant Michaela, 2001)]**

Despite changes in government, both in England in 1979 and Australia, where a

Labor government was elected in 1983, the *Daily News* continued to construct the

English working class as a threatening 'mass'. The English inner cities were

presumably still degenerating both racially and morally, for example, journalists had a

field day with what were termed 'race riots' in 1981, which juxtaposed nicely with the

supposed passivity of the crowds celebrating the Royal wedding of Prince Charles and

Lady Diana Spencer in the same summer.

Margaret Thatcher claimed in the 1980s that there was no such thing as class, a claim

at odds with the number of words dedicated to the English working class in

newspapers, including Perth's *Daily News*. Valerie Walkerdine picks up on this

anomaly when she writes:

> Class having seemed to disappear from the agenda, the proletariat, the mass,
> has been an obsession, a central if sometimes silent figure during all the
> debates from modernity through to postmodernity. Indeed, we might say,
> following Foucault, that stories about the masses circulate endlessly. The
> issue is not then so much that they have disappeared, but a question of where
> and how they are talked about, what kind of object they become.
> (eds. Pile & Thrift, 1995, 315)

I argue that just what kind of object the English 'mass' *in England* became in Perth's

Daily News might provide opportunities for interrogating and further understanding

how Englishness has been represented in Australian cultural forms, from television to

academic writing. To what extent did these representations impact upon what it

signified to be an English migrant living in Perth, Western Australia?

Her Herself

[Sometimes I think Mrs Thatcher is a nice kind sort of woman. Then the next
day I see her on television and she frightens me rigid. She has got eyes like a
psychotic killer, but a voice like a gentle person. It is a bit confusing.
(Townshend, 1985, 163)]

In the month leading up to the English General Election (3 May 1979) there are some

striking examples of the continued crossing over of right wing ideology from England

to Australia. One month before the election, on 3 April 1979, 'Mrs' Thatcher was

launched in the *Daily News* with a substantial article. The story was written 'In

London' by Anne Edwards and the heading: 'The woman who has to cook before breakfast' pre-empts a further example of the feminisation of right wing politics I first detected in the 1968 to 1978 period. In what I would describe as a thinly disguised party political advertisement, the article functions to both reassure male readers, as well as appeal to females, opening with the lines: 'As I was talking to Mrs. Thatcher a delicious smell of sizzling roast meat came floating up the stairs of her 'pretty, spick and span' little house and this was at 9.30 o'clock in the morning' (22), going on to quote Thatcher, who says she has to 'plan ahead' linking her to 'every married career woman'. Quite apart from the pretty spick and span house, Thatcher was 'much prettier in real life, with a fantastic wild rose complexion' as well as being 'smaller, warmer, friendlier and off the political beat, has gentle feminine charm'. Off the political beat?! Margaret Thatcher's carefully constructed image as *commodity* was no accident. Gordon Reece, a former television producer, had been appointed as head of 'communications' at Conservative Central in early 1978. It was Reece who had recommended Saatchi and Saatchi to Thatcher and was also instrumental in her 'make over' assessing her hair style and clothes (too school marm) for example, together with the tone of her voice, as Alison Fendley writes: 'The voice was wrong, too shrill; it was lowered in pitch through lessons from an expert on breathing' (1996, 53). Mark Hollingsworth points out that Reece also had regular meetings with the editors and senior executives of the *Sun*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*. This comprehensive packaging of Margaret Thatcher is not only clearly evident in the *Daily News* article, but the Anne Edwards' selection of descriptive language ('pretty' – twice, 'small', 'warm', 'friendly', 'wild rose complexion') contextualises a 'news' article in the same discursive space as the sales pitch.

It is only towards the end of the Edwards' interview with Thatcher that a hard and fast

political issue is raised:

> Finally I asked: Since power did not lie with the trades unions so much as
> with the shop floor, how did she propose to get their co-operation? 'There are
> 12 million trade union members she said. 'And there are not 12 million
> irresponsible people in this country. (*Daily News*, 3 April 1979, 22)

Trade unionism (as *problem*) is the only political issue raised, which is revealing,

considering both the stereotype of militant pommie shop stewards in Australia,

brought to a head in Sinclair's speech two years previously, together with the

continued foci on trade union disputes occurring in Perth, Western Australia.

The *Daily News* ran front page stories on 9, 10 and 11 of April 1979 which all

featured Western Australian industrial disputes. For example, on 9 April the headline

read: 'Militants in Control: Tension Mounts at WA Bank-Up' which referred to a

truck blockade on the outskirts of Perth (Glen Forrest), part of a nationwide dispute.

Thatcher's definition of the 'irresponsible' (as opposed to 'responsible') worker is

contextualised through the newspaper's representation of this dispute. For example,

the causes for the blockade do not rate a mention, while the focus of the story is on

the drivers who do not want to stop work, whose 'freedom' was being curtailed by the

supposed 'militants' who are aligned with thuggish and violent behaviour: 'One truck

driver was persuaded to stay in the bank-up when he was attacked by another with a

hammer', although how someone is attacked with a hammer and not hospitalised

remained an unsolved mystery. The story was front page news the following day (10

April 1979), with two photographs revealing the forces of law and order (the police)

taking control of the situation: 'A policeman serves an infringement notice on one of

the protesting drivers' and 'Police order a blockading driver to move his truck'.

On 11 April 1979 the front page headline, in block capitals, read: 'Picket Violence', which was accompanied by a large photograph with the description: 'Police intervene as a man throws himself on to the bonnet of a car as it is driven through the picket line'. This incident took place at the construction site of Wanneroo Hospital (a suburb north of Perth). Fourteen workers on the site had been on strike since 2 April 1979 in response to the employment of non-union sub-contractors, and again, the emphasis is upon violence: 'Tempers flared' and 'One man, a non-unionist armed himself with a three-metre club and charged into a group of unionists' and 'One unionist picked up a big rock and hurled it on to the bonnet of one of the cars'. There is not even a cursory mention of why non-union labour on a building site might inspire such determined actions. To include trade union explanations, such as safety procedures being undermined together with the loss of collective bargaining power for example, might have humanised and provided perfectly legitimate ('responsible') causes for concern, at odds with the image of violent, irresponsible, thugs on offer here. Trade union disputes in Perth, Western Australia were being reported in the *Daily News* utilising a discourse of trade union 'militancy' borrowed from England. It was not the only discourse, or right wing manifesto, eagerly dipped into by the *Daily News*. If trade unions in England – and by the late 1970s in Australia – were to blame for economic insecurities, there was another scapegoat always available. In Australia, this became 'Asians' and in England it was invariably people of West Indian or African background.

On 12 April 1979 the Western Australian *Daily News* ran a story ('From London') with the heading: 'Tories promise migrant axe' (7), the article goes on to state: 'A Tory government in Britain would clamp down on immigration, according to its

election manifesto, published yesterday'. This should come as no surprise, as the new

Conservative leader, Margaret Thatcher, had a political history of not being

particularly empathetic to the 'concerns' of the English immigrant population. For

example, Ian Gilmour points out she was openly supportive of Enoch Powell after his

1968 'Rivers of Blood' speech, opposing his sacking from the party, plus she was

active in organising a whipped vote to prevent a Labour party Race Relations Bill in

1976, while also opposing Conservative party involvement in a Joint Committee

against Racialism. One year before the 1979 General Election, it was her appearance

and comments during a television interview which sealed the message loud and clear,

as Gilmour remembers:

> ....without any consultation with her deputy and Home Affairs spokesman
> Willie Whitelaw, Mrs. Thatcher made her feelings public, declaring that
> 'people are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by
> people with a different culture'; she went on to agree that the Conservatives
> would welcome defectors from the National Front' (1998, 304)

This is only one year after the 'domestication' of the fascist National Front discussed

in the previous chapter. On the same day that this article was published, the front

page of the *Daily News*' headline was: 'Boat People Reach Derby', a reference to

Vietnamese refugees. The state Liberal government's Immigration Minister, Mr.

O'Connor, linked unemployment with refugees stating:

> I have said before it should be stopped till we can cope with our present
> immigrants. At one stage there were 600 boat people staying at Graylands
> Hostel and 593 of them were out of work.

The 'link' was reinforced on page two, with an article stating: 'WA's jobless hardest

hit'. Margaret Thatcher's comments on page seven began to sound 'responsible' and

'common sense'.

Two days later the *Daily News*' weekend newspaper, the *Weekend News*, ran a front page story : 'WA's boat people', followed closely on page three with a full page story (with a photograph) titled: 'Tough life in WA dole towns', which included a reference to the suburbs south of Perth; Rockingham and Medina:

> The area has more people chasing available jobs than any other Commonwealth Employment Service zone in the State, and chances of finding work in local industry are minimal. Some families have been forced to sell up at rock bottom prices and move elsewhere. The region's large ex-patriot British population means many unemployed are trying to return to England. (14 April 1979, 3)

What I would suggest is revealing in this article is the language being utilised. In place of the 'whingeing pom' or 'pommie shop steward' we suddenly have the term 'ex-patriot'. The placing and contextualising of these unemployed English migrants made it very clear who the 'outsiders' in the imaginary 'white' Australian community now were: 'Asians'. Suddenly, English migrants were looking a lot less foreign, even inviting this full page, sympathetic article on their joblessness and financial woes. A considerable turn around from the examples I provided from the late 1960s era. The ease with which 'Englishness', as an emptied signifier in Australian discourses, could be filled with ideological and political meanings, is clearly apparent in this shift.

Over the next few months the 'boat people' stories continued, as did the racist discourse. For example, on 20 April 1979, on page three the heading reads: 'Vietnamese Boat No. 51 limps in' followed by O'Connor's comments on page six, which included a harsh criticism of the Federal Government, who he claimed had 'lost control of its immigration programme'.

The triple axis of unemployment, 'militant' trade unions and 'boat people' permeate the pages of the *Daily News* throughout this period. Right wing constructions and solutions to England's 'problems' concerning 'irresponsible' unionists and troublesome 'immigrants' were routinely brought into this Western Australian newspaper to inspire both fear (going the way of England) and provide solutions.

'Waiting for the clamp down'
(stolen from the song 'Clampdown', Strummer & Jones, 1979)

If immigration and trade unions were both 'out of control' in England and Australia, then solutions to the 'problem' would entail governmental action. On 21 April 1979, Perth's *Daily News* ran an article 'from London' titled: 'Curb unions, say bosses', which goes on to state:

> Mr Howard Hawks, chairman of the design and construction IDC Group, called for positive trade legislation to 'enforce discipline on the vociferous, lunatic, militant, anarchistic minority'. Mr Brian Viner of Viners cutlery firm, said unions had far too much power. 'They had a real and useful role to play in looking after and protecting the true interest of all their members,' he said. 'But it is unreasonable that they should have the power to bring the country to its knees in pursuit of those interests without regard to their justification.'

Every cliché of trade unionism is reiterated here, for example, the language utilised ('lunatic', 'militant', 'anarchistic' 'too much power', 'unreasonable') positions trade union activism as degenerate and 'to blame' for England's economic problems. I would also argue that this discourse dips into the language of the late nineteenth century.

There were always solutions for dealing with the degenerate mass as I discussed in chapter one. Equally, the 'solutions' remained much the same in 1979, discipline would need to be imposed on the degenerate ('anarchistic' and 'lunatic'), by bringing the full weight of the state against them. In Perth, Western Australia, where industrial

disputes were also represented as anarchistic and lunatic, this would certainly have

appeared a 'common sense' response to a problem.

[**Interviewer: What was it about Margaret Thatcher's Conservative party *at the time* that you thought held promise for you....and appealed to you at the time?**
Josephine: Okay first and foremost she was a woman....and I found that extremely attractive. And not only was she a woman, she seemed like she was a *kick arse* woman. And I found that extremely attractive. And that's basically it in a nutshell. She could've been....you know....the green party from the moon candidate, that wouldn't have mattered. That she was a Conservative didn't really come into it....it was that she was a woman and she looked like she was a strong woman....and I thought well okay, we'll shake things up a bit and we'll give it a go. And it's because, when I looked at my family, who tended to be: vote Labour vote Labour vote Labour without really looking at the issues just 'We're Labour people. We vote Labour'. I thought [dismissive sound] you know, 'Why? Why are we Labour people?'
(Interview, English migrant Josephine, 2001)]

The late edition of the Perth *Daily News* on 4 May 1979 filled its front page with

news of Margaret Thatcher's impending victory: 'Maggie Marches In', together with

a press photograph of Thatcher waving to supporters outside Tory headquarters. I

would argue that Margaret Thatcher's victory in 1979 marked the beginning of a

political period in England which resonated powerfully for English migrants living in

Western Australia. Whether the Margaret Thatcher led Conservative government was

admired, loved or hated, it was all but impossible to ignore the class ramifications of

the battles about to be fought out. For English migrants living in Perth, there would

continue to be plenty of simulacra of 'the English' in the *Daily News*.

[**When you look in the mirror do you see yourself? Do you see yourself on the T.V. screen? Do you see yourself in the magazines? When you see yourself does it make you scream? (Styrene, 1977, *from* the song 'Identity')]**

Setting the Agenda

One day after Thatcher 'marched in', the *Weekend News* provided a hint of the

discourses and constructions which would follow in the wake of the Conservative

party's victory by running a story from Liverpool, England. While the major *cause* of

economic instability had previously been the trade union movement's militants, this story reveals a subtle shift. The story, titled 'Lazy Road to the Scrapheap' features the first hand experiences of David Smith, who, along with 2,400 workers, had recently been made redundant from the Dunlop factory in Liverpool. The comments by the 1870 London brewer, when he described London men as 'shuffling, lazy and know too much' (*cited in* Stedman Jones, 1971, 130) are effortlessly inscribed in this representation of a 'mass' sacking. The North West English port city of Liverpool had already been struggling with the effects of unemployment for several years and by 1979 had twice as many unemployed people as the national average (*cited in Daily News*, 5 May 1979, 6). David Smith allegedly told the (anonymous) interviewer that the trade union had prevented workers from working, for example: a specific number of rolls of cloth were expected to be finished per shift:

> The figure was laid down by the Transport and General Workers Union which we all had to join. But it was a ridiculously easy target. So what happened was that we finished our daily score of 72 in about half the time and then went to the rest room. We used to fix up three chairs and put a polythene sheet over them and stuff it with tyre linings. It made quite a comfortable bed. The management never batted an eyelid, even when half the factory was sleeping. They were afraid of the union.

Intimidation of companies by unions, workers being paid 'for nothing' and – the punch line:

> Knowing some of the men involved, I've no doubt that the death of Dunlops was communist inspired. They successfully set out to destroy one system by introducing a system of their own. The other system was called work.

The ease with which a city devastated by unemployment and redundancies was reduced to the easy recourse to lazy workers and communist plots is both remarkable and totally devoid of empathy. The workers here are positioned as being to blame for their own unemployment and associative poverty, in much the same way that the residuum and degenerate in late nineteenth century English urban centres were

presumably 'weakening' the nation. This story, concerning a North Western English

town's latest redundancies, functions in a Western Australian newspaper as a warning

to Perth workers.

**[Interviewer: Now you're from Liverpool....during the 1980s did you have any
strong feeling either way about Thatcherism?
John: Oh yeah....I was aware of what was going on there....with the dock
workers....and the miners outside of Liverpool....erm....so yeah, wasn't too
impressed with some of the goings on at that time. [small pause] A lot of good
guys were....lost their way because of the policies that were put in place I
thought. (Interview, English migrant John, 2001)]**

<u>The Falklands War</u>

**[Maggie Thatcher was in power, that was fairly early days for her but of course
she won a lot of support with the Falklands' War.
(Interview, English migrant Rose, 2001)]**

In the year leading up to the Falklands War of 1982, England was repeatedly depicted

in Perth's *Daily News* as a country on the verge of civil war, riven apart by racial,

industrial and political troubles. The 'black' and 'Asian' populations of English

urban centres continued to be evoked, providing supposed evidential material for a

still active white Australia mentality in the Antipodes, for example, the 'race riots'

which erupted between April (Brixton) and July (Liverpool and Southhall) of 1981

'proved' Enoch's 1968 prophesies, while concomitantly ignoring the involvement of

white youths and broader causative issues, such as police harassment and

unemployment. Only one year after the riots Salmon Rushdie pointed out that the

term 'immigrant' had become a signifier for specifically 'black' immigrants, going on

to remind that over forty per cent of the black community in 1982 were born in

England or Britain (1991, 132). Perth's *Daily News* uncritically weighed into this

discourse, as it had with its reporting of the Lewisham riot in 1977. Again, it

discursively localised the issue.

On 21 July 1981 the *Daily News* printed a story by an Australian journalist ('in London'), Peter Smark, titled in block capitals: 'Britain's Bitter Faces'. This title is surrounded by three photographic illustrations, on the left is a head and shoulders shot of a black man with his mouth open (presumably shouting) and his right fist held in the air. The angle of the shot resulted in the fist appearing not only twice the size of his head (and therefore his brain), but also as if this fist is coming out of the page at the reader. The caption underneath reads: 'Voice of protest'. Immediately above the title (in the middle) is a photographic illustration of a row of policemen, with the caption 'The thin blue line', the reader is positioned *behind* the police and by extension is positioned as being protected by the forces of law and order. On the right hand side is a head and shoulders' shot of Enoch Powell, mid-speech, waving a finger like a teacher, with the caption: 'Enoch Powell – is he right?' Before the actual text of the story is read, the placing of the images is already pre-empting a particular gaze, or reading of events. The police, with their backs to us, the representatives of moderation caught up between right and left.

By this time, Enoch Powell was advocating 'repatriation' for non-white Commonwealth immigrants – and as Rushdie correctly pointed out this included 'immigrants' born in Britain (1991, 132). Smark refers to a recent front page story in England's *Daily Telegraph*, where 'several black people' allegedly thought Enoch was right. (Again, a revealing source of 'evidence' for the Australian journalist, the *Daily Telegraph*, according to Hollingsworth's study, were 'traditional supporters of the Conservative Party' (1986, 230).) I would argue the story goes completely 'pear shaped' with the following description:

> It's easy to imagine, in a comfortable tourist hotel, that London is a peaceful city. But it's hard, ruthless, demanding that its myriad rules be observed. In

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the East End, there are no go pubs for rockers and no go pubs for blacks. This street is held by a razor carrying skinhead gang; that street by dusky lads who make Joel Garner look mild-mannered. (*Daily News*, 21 July 1981, 8)

Quite apart from the cringe inducing 'dusky lads', it is interesting to note that the East End was not the scene of any serious rioting that summer and appears to have been selected for an Australian readership because they were expected to be familiar with the century old narrative of East End People of the Abyss. 1881 or 1981, the language and spatial landscapes of degeneration were still active, Smark's description, discounting more contemporary terms such as 'rockers' and 'skinhead gang', could have come from the late nineteenth century. In 1981, as in the previous century, working class London was degenerating 'racially' due to the presence of 'others'. Similarly again, economic inequalities are marginalised or lost altogether in the 'story'.

The story of degenerative English urban dwellers was brought home for Perth readers of the *Daily News* the following month. On 27 August 1981 a story titled: 'Respite for Liverpool taxi-man' goes on to tell readers:

> Taxi driver Gaynor Michael and his wife Patricia have fled their race-torn Old Swan home. No, there's no civil war here in Perth – Old Swan is in Liverpool, England's Battle of Britain 1981 style. As a born and bred Merseysider driving for 25 years around one of the toughest shipping ports in the world, Mr. Michael reckons he has seen some bad times. But the recent race riots in England and the threats to him by coloured youths in his suburb convinced him that it was time to get out. 'I'm glad to be here in Australia, there's law and order here', Mr. Michael said today. He was a well known face driving a cab in areas with a large coloured population, and he was taunted with threats after his part in a blockade. After 2 weeks of constant hassling enough was enough, he said. Mr. Michael said he intended to find work here during the 3 month visa which allows him to stay in Australia. (10)

Gaynor Michael's story is illuminating for a couple of reasons, for example, consider the linking of the place name 'Old Swan' with Perth, which was originally known as the Swan River Colony, the journalist even quips: 'No there's no civil war here'

suggesting there is in England. Secondly, the allusion to the Battle of Britain positions 'white' English people like the Michaels as refugees from an invading force (the 'coloured' population).

There was considerable silencing in this reporting. For example there is no mention in the *Daily News* of English groups active in opposing racism, such as Rock Against Racism, the Socialist Workers' Party and the Anti-Nazi League. Bands such as *The Specials*, made up of black and white young working class men from Coventry, articulated this anti-racist stance in their songs and from the stage in live performances. The selection and positioning of white working class English people in the *Daily News* suggested a uniformly racist group, 'under threat' from 'coloured immigrants'.

Quite apart from the 'race' problems in England, the Conservative government was, according to a *Daily News* article, 'Hit By Revolt' (17 March 1981, 6), when Tory backbenchers contested the harshness of Thatcher's Budget. By 23 July 1981, Graham Clark 'In London' contributed an article titled: 'Mood grows in Britain to....DUMP MAGGIE!' A story suggesting that the Conservative government would not secure another term in power. On 3 August 1981, the British Labour party released 'an economic blue print' which promised 'a radical vision of a socialist Britain' (12). The Falklands War would change everything.

[After the Falklands War there was a lot of feeling of [pause] triumph is probably too strong a word, but security. There was a lot of security. I don't think people felt insecure on the whole. I don't think people were particularly wealthy but I think there was a lot of stability.
(Interview, English migrant Rose, 2001)]

Argentinian forces invaded the Falklands Islands (the dependency of South Georgia to be precise) on 2 April 1982. Britain had held sovereignty over these islands since 1833 and by 1982 the population of the area was approximately 1800 people and vast numbers of sheep. There were persistent 'rumours' of oil deposits. Over the years, Argentina had spasmodically disputed Britain's sovereignty of what they termed 'Las Malvinas'. In 1982 Argentina was experiencing serious economic problems, the right wing military junta, headed by General Galtieri, was equally in trouble. It is difficult not to interpret the invasion of the Falklands Islands as an act of political expediency, a patriotic distraction from the economic and social dislocation the nation was facing. I would also argue that it was a political gift for Margaret Thatcher, turning her from election poison to the reincarnation of Britannia. How was this war represented in the Western Australian *Daily News*?

Large block capitals spelled out 'Invasion' on the front page of the *Daily News*' Weekend edition, the *Weekend News*, on 3 April 1981, followed by another front page story on Monday, 5 April, which also featured a photograph of an Argentinian tank patrolling the streets of Port Stanley. Over the next thirteen days, eight front pages were given over to the Falklands' crisis. An examination of these newspapers now, reveals subtle changes in the newspapers' approach to the war, for example, by 23 April 1981, the Falklands War is still 'front page' news, but the major story concerns Western Australian football player Graham Moss, who was about to play his three hundredth football game. In fact, by the time of the Final Edition of the day, the Falklands story has been omitted completely, replaced by a story on 'the weather' (the dryness of that year's Autumn to be precise). Examining the newspapers for this period suggests why this might be.

Despite the *Daily News'* considerable efforts at drumming up support for empathetic Western Australian patriotism for England / Britain, as the days went by, so the interrogation of the events surrounding the Falklands Islands grew increasingly cynical and critical. It would be fair to suggest the *Daily News* began by doing its very best to sell the war, quite apart from the eight front page stories, there were efforts to localise the events. For example, on 5 April 1981, the same edition as the front page image of the Argentinian tank, an article appeared on page five reporting: 'Australian flees the Falklands' and 'Kim Robertson, an Australian trapped on the Falklands Islands after the invasion, flew out yesterday with British journalists'. While on 7 April, a page three article, titled: 'Australians safe' relates the fears previously held for a Sydney family believed to have been caught up in the Falklands' crisis. On 14 April, fears of nuclear war are evoked: 'Anti nuclear campaigners in WA fear Argentina has invaded the Falklands' Islands to use them as a testing ground for nuclear weapons' (2).

The Sunday edition of the *Weekend News* published the results of a Perth survey which had asked readers how they felt about possible Australian involvement in military action concerning the Falklands' invasion, with the heading, in block capitals: 'Keep Out, They Say' (18 April 1982, 4). Seventy per cent of respondents echoed this sentiment, which was further reinforced by a selection of some personal responses, including Mr. Michael Gowan's assessment: 'Britain is making an enormous to-do over this to take people's minds off problems in its own country', an interpretation of events first published in the *Daily News* on 7 April on page twenty seven in a story written by Australian correspondent, Hamilton, 'In London', who critiqued the prevailing mood of 'jingoism' in the majority of English newspapers. In

the Perth *Daily News*, a newspaper which had previously published stories uncritically in line with the prevailing right wing ideology of the English press, this was a remarkable fissure. However, while England's 'manipulation' of the crisis was discussed and critiqued, it was the 'masses' who became central to this critique, rather than any clear attack on the British government.

Two thirds of the space allocated to Hamilton's story is taken up by a cartoon (by Nicholson) from *The Age* [Fig. 4]. In his story, Hamilton draws an analogy between the jingoism he detected in the press, with the Pax Britannica period (late nineteenth / early twentieth century), an era which similarly appears to have provided the cartoonist with a ready repertoire of stock standard English working class caricatures, which appear to have been lifted from the same period. For example, the cartoon reveals a working class family in a bare and battered flat. A man and woman sit at the table reading the newspaper, which carries the headline: 'Fleet sails for Falklands' and the punch line reads: 'Nobody's going to push us around'. On the table is an open can of food, the walls are cracked and bare with the exception of a portrait of the Queen, a bare light bulb hangs from the ceiling, while a rug with holes adorns the floor. Appearing to be the couple's son, a young man slouches in the door way, hinting at unemployment. All three are rugged up in coats. The view from the window reveals Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament. I would point out, that with very minor alterations, this image could be from a century previously, a construction the cartoonist was confident would still remain cogently recognisable for a late twentieth century Australian audience. While the *Daily News*, and, judging by this cartoon, *The Age*, were prepared to critique and question Britain's handling of the

Falklands' crisis, they none the less shifted the gaze of that critique from the arbiters

of power to old constructions of the degenerative, docile and gullible English 'mass'.

On 23 April 1982, a back page regular column in the *Daily News* titled: 'Bill Lang's

Look' picked up on the zeitgeist:

> With the British lads STILL swimming to the Falklands, we hope the parting
> words of cheer from their homeland continue to sustain them. 'On yer brave
> lads', came the cries at dockside. 'Give 'em what for'. At soccer matches and
> tea parties through the land, the sentiment was the same. 'On yer (munch,
> crunch) brave lads. Gi' 'em one in t' eye. Our thoughts (puff, slurp) are
> w'ee'.

While both Lang and Hamilton cite the few English newspapers daring to dissent

from the official pro-war line, they write in collusion with the silencing of groups and

individuals in England who were opposed to a military resolution. In the *Daily News*,

what could have become a discursive space for serious interrogation of England's

government, became one more excuse to utilise the empty signifier of 'Englishness'

to construct the English working class in a negative light. Lang's 'witty' recreation of

'the English' represents the 'mass' in all it's animalistic glory.

['I can take the killing, I can take the slaughter,
But I won't talk to *Sun* reporters'. (*from* 'Island of No Return' Bragg, 1984)]

On the same day as Bill Lang's article was published, 23 April 1982, Tony Benn, then

Labour Member for Bristol and vocal opponent to a military solution, wrote in his

diary:

> Masses of letters pouring in about Argentina; the overwhelming majority in
> support of my position. There were a handful of really vulgar and abusive
> ones. I'm certain that a majority of the British people are against the war with
> Argentina but the media are preventing that view becoming apparent.
> (ed. Winstone, 1992, 213)

Whether Benn's claim that the 'majority' were against the war is accurate or not is a moot point, what the diary entry *does* reveal is substantial opposition from members of the public. For example, he describes receiving in the post a letter from the fiancé of a Royal Marine, who wrote:

> This morning I received a letter and a poem from him. It was a very harrowing letter. He says that the majority of his Company do not want to fight over islands so far from home and expresses disbelief that the British Government can think of letting so many young men die for this issue. The press and TV insist on showing the few who are itching for a fight but most of the men under him are 18 years old on average. These boys come from working class families and have joined up to escape the dole queue. (ed. Winstone, 1992, 219)

Benn approached numerous newspapers with a view to having this alternative voice published, all refused with the exception of Benn's local newspaper, the *Bristol Evening Post*. These voices of opposition were ignored in the Western Australian *Daily News*, which, while appearing to have responded to an Australian groundswell of public opinion critical of Britain's approach to Argentina's invasion of the Falklands' Islands, it was merely an 'appearance', a charade. The arbiters of power were left well alone, while the soft target of the English working class 'mass' was evoked and maligned.

[And I think the worst import we've got is all the bloody trade unionists *here* since Thatcher kicked 'em out of England! [small laugh] Well I mean, have you noticed....if there's any trouble....they're always pommies that are shouting the loudest. (Interview, English migrant Sue, 2001)]

The Miners' Strike: 1984-1985

The miners' strike began in March 1984, in response to the announcement that the Cortonwood colliery in Yorkshire would be closed. It was not until the strike was into its ninth week that the *Daily News* began to report it, which I found interesting, particularly in the light of what at first appeared to be an incongruous story published in this newspaper two years previously, on 6 April 1982, with the heading: 'New

Man, Old Line' (5). The story concerns the election, in England, of Arthur Scargill to the position of President of the National Union of Mine Workers, going on to describe him as a 'militant left-winger', who was known to fellow miners as 'King Arthur'. Even taking into account Perth's *Daily News*' propensity for printing numerous stories from England, this struck me as particularly jarring. Further research of the early 1980s' *Daily News* suggested a possible reason for this inclusion. One year previously, on 13 March 1981, the *Daily News* published a story equating the still operational coal mines in England and Britain with the Australian economy: 'U.K. Threat to Our Coal' (5), a 'threat' to you and 'ours' which would be neutralised by the closure of Britain's 'pits'. The negative construction of Arthur Scargill in the April 1982 story was complementary to the ideological underpinnings of what was about to take place and how it would be interpreted for a Western Australian readership.

The 'construction' of Scargill was just the beginning, as the miners' strike had plenty of well established narrative tropes of the English working class to draw upon. Scargill provided a suitable 'folk devil' leader, who, as Raphael Samuel pointed out, was constantly described as 'an English Lenin, a Yorkshire Stalin, a union dictator, a dangerous revolutionary' (eds. Samuel, Bloomfield and Boanas, 1986, Preface). In the English press and the Western Australian *Daily News*, Scargill and his faceless 'mob' of violent pickets were held up in opposition to the respectable, responsible worker. It was a binary opposition already well established in the *Daily News* as discussed earlier in this chapter and chapter three.

On 29 May 1984 a full page article appeared in the *Daily News* with the title: 'How Britain's mine strike is splitting a community' with the sub-heading: 'Is your dad

working', asked the picket. 'Then tell him he's a scabby bastard'. [Fig. 5]

Juxtaposed with the faceless, nameless 'pickets' is a photograph of the individual

family unit at the centre of this story (mum, dad and two kids), with the caption:

'Under threat'. The story opens with:

> The morning that Ollerton coalface electrician Steven Knowles found a brick
> through his front room window, he said to his wife: 'I'd better stay home and
> fix the glass'.

Going on to describe further acts of violence:

> A lump of concrete was thrown through a three year old child's bedroom
> window where toys were visibly displayed on the window sill. Little Amy
> Carter in Breck Bank woke screaming in a bed of shattered glass.

The brick through the window, the lump of concrete, the individualisation of the

family and the inclusion of subtle detail (toys on the window sill suggests a deliberate

act of violence against a small child) were all functioning to elicit maximum outrage.

The image of 'little Amy' in 'a bed of shattered glass' becomes a potent metaphor.

While this is an individual family unit, they are discursively transformed to signify *the*

family, all of whom are similarly signified as being 'under threat' from thuggish,

brutish trade union militants.

The violence perpetrated against striking miners, their family units and supporters was

played down to the point of insignificance. The invasion of individual homes and

communities was ignored. A striking miners' wife wrote at the time:

> I have lost faith in the newspapers I once read. The *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror*
> are banned in this house now. They are banned from most homes in this
> village. They have told lies, half-truths, and peddled propaganda.
> (*cited in* Stone, 1985, 17)

The 'propaganda' referred to here was uncritically upheld in the Western Australian

Daily News. When violence was reported, the emphasis was upon the striking miners.

For example, on 31 May 1984, an article begins with the sentence: 'Striking miners

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clashed violently with police yesterday outside a steel coke plant near Sheffield in North England' going on to describe how: 'Pickets hurled rocks, bottles, broken pieces of fencing and smoke bombs' (4). Arthur Scargill's claims of police brutality are undermined by his well established persona in the newspaper as 'folk devil' militant. The steel plant referred to in the 31 May *Daily News*' article was the Orgreave Coke Depot, this 'incident' became known as 'The Battle of Orgreave'. In the same year, 1984, Len Masterman assessed the 'battle', concluding that television news footage of events had been severely doctored, providing numerous examples of how 'cuts' to original footage positioned striking miners as instigators of violence, rather than in defence of colleagues who were being beaten by police. (ed. Masterman, 1988, 99-109). In a similar vein, Tony Benn wrote in his diary:

> Over the last few days there have been terrible scenes outside the Orgreave Coke Depot, where 7000 pickets have been attacked by mounted and foot police with riot shields and helmets. It looks like a civil war. You see the police charging with big staves and police dogs chasing miners across fields, then miners respond by throwing stones and trying to drag a telegraph pole across a road. (ed. Winstone, 1992, 356)

In Western Australia, the *Daily News* uncritically took up one politically charged position. Striking miners and their families were neutralised of any domestic or feminine connotations, which is in keeping with the increased 'feminisation' of right of centre politics. A Yorkshire woman related how she, along with thousands of other women, became politically active during the strike:

> It started because I couldn't stand the TV making out that the wives weren't behind their men. I was so angry and frustrated for a week....[We] decided to go and picket Thoresby in Nottinghamshire that night....We called ourselves an action group because everyone says they support the miners, but we want to be active. (Stone, 1985, 10)

And yet the strike continued to be reported in Perth's *Daily News* as a brutish, masculine attack on 'the family' and the 'freedom' to work. The flip side of these

representations were stories of communities fighting for their existence: voices were

discovered and a profound, alternative sense of history was activated.

[Steven: ....but yeah we were very sympathetic to the miners and very anti-Margaret Thatcher [small pause] but I'm saying that from my own point of view probably not being totally informed....I've always thought that the left side of politics was the right side because you come from a working class background and you've got the same politics, they care about working people and Margaret Thatcher basically brutalised working people.
Interviewer: Do you think growing up hearing stories from your dad and your wider family....do you think that might have had an impact on the way you saw the world?
Steven: Absolutely....yeah....absolutely.
(Interview, English migrant Steven, 2001)]

[Paul: ....and I mean it was quite ironic we even arranged for a tour out here for some British trade unionists who came out to a series of gigs that we helped organise that were at some of the local clubs....this was an international tour....and we were responsible for organising the Perth gigs. A friend of mine, a journalist who is now based in Sydney....and he was a dinky-di Aussie born in the hills, from a middle class background and he was the most vehement supporter of the British trade unions at that time. He was the one that personally took responsibility for organising the Perth leg of those tours and I remember the gigs quite well because a lot of young people drawn along by a sympathetic attitude by what they were seeing on T.V. screens....as the miners were being bashed by cops....and there was a lot of support for the miners from young juvenile Australians who were looking to go out and have a good time. And I can remember the kind of weird scene at one of these gigs where....you know....this benefit gig....and halfway through the gig they stopped the band and said: 'Now we're having a few words....' From some of these English miners and sort of culturally these people were a million miles away from each other....young relatively affluent Australians out having a good time....getting well tanked up....dancing to good music....and then in the middle of it you've got a....you know....a fifty year old British trade unionist giving a short speech on why it was really important for ordinary people around the world to support those things. I actually counselled against them I thought....have a bit of a speech at the beginning....there's hardly anyone there but it won't interrupt the thing....I said if you stop the music you run the risk of you know....a bit of a riot or everyone leaving and I was really surprised at the generosity of spirit of all the people there that they....The bucket with the money went round and they all put money in, it was....[poignant pause]....They collected a couple of thousand dollars you know from a hundred and fifty, two hundred young people.
(Interview, English migrant Paul, 2001)]

Raphael Samuel discusses the motif of filial loyalty which permeates the discourses in

support of the striking miners, pointing out how often the sentiment, 'the union your

fathers and grandfathers built' was evoked. What is more, he contends this evocation

was in reference 'to a more indeterminate ancestry of struggle and sacrifice' (eds. Samuel, Bloomfield & Boanas, 1986, 22-29). This equated with an open ended, fluid sense of historical time, which in turn provided spiritual sustenance in this 'battle':

> The NUM appears again and again in platform oratory as 'the union your fathers and grandfathers built'; to stand out on the picket lines – and to stand up to the police – was an act of filial loyalty, a loyalty which extended from real-life fathers to a more indeterminate ancestry of struggle and sacrifice. (eds. Samuel, Bloomfield & Boanas, 1986, 23)

This sense of an 'indeterminate ancestry of struggle and sacrifice' was informing an information leaflet and letter which was sent out to trade unions in Perth, Western Australia during the 1984-85 strike.[*] The letter stated it was 'proud to announce the impending arrival in Perth of a British mineworker and his wife', going on to allude to international class solidarity:

> The Committee believes that the miners have the right to seek the financial support of the working class all over the world because the battle they face is crucial for the union movement everywhere. (PR 11935-Open)

The information leaflet refers to a promised four day week in 1919, the past / present binary opposition is placed under stress, with an emphasis upon the past *in* the present *in* the future, rather than separate chronological categories, for example:

> By fighting for pits and jobs miners are fighting for a human future and against permanent mass unemployment.
> *We owe it to the young people*
> *We owe it to the future generations.*
> (PR 11935-Open)

This sense of an indeterminate class ancestral knowledge is the buried text of Perth's *Daily News*' representation of the 1980s miners' strike. To take it even further, it is the buried, politically charged narrative underlying the Australian / English binary opposition. Support for the striking British miners in Australia appears to have been considerable *before* the letter was circulated requesting financial assistance, for

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[*] Both documents are available upon request at Perth's Battye Reference Library.

example: 'Australian Unions have already sent $500,000 to support the Miners and their families'.

'I love the sound of ideologies clashing'
(*from* the song *Ideology*, Bragg, 1986)

During the miners' strike support for the striking miners, both in England and Perth, Western Australia, drew upon alternative historical narratives. English migrants who supported the miners, drew to some extent at least, upon a historical class consciousness, while Australian born supporters and activists drew upon not only a proud labour tradition, but a concomitant commitment to the achievement of an egalitarian nation. This support for the miners' strike in Western Australia traverses the national in favour of the international, in the process suggesting alternative ways of being a 'real' Australian. Re-watching the mini-series *Anzacs*, which was first shown on Australian television in 1985, the same year as the miners in Britain were defeated, there are remarkable parallels. For example, rather than the binary opposition of Australian / English, *Anzacs* offers instead a class expose of history, where the Australian soldier and the English 'Tommy' are comrades, both at the mercy of the classes above them. The miners' strike was frequently contextualised and represented through the language of war, a 'class war'. In *Anzacs*, the German 'enemy' becomes virtually invisible, as the Australian and English foot soldiers attempt to survive their own 'superiors'. These languages of class disrupt and subvert the conservatism underpinning the chauvinist nationalism of Aussies / Poms.

Newsprint stains

In chapter two, in my brief preface to the discussion on the Australian film *The Big Steal* I argued that by the time of the Australian Bicentennial in 1988, English

migrants had almost fallen under the radar of what has become a fruitful mini-genre in Australian academia: multicultural migrant studies. As I have endeavoured to reveal in chapters three and four, while English migrants were not 'migrant' enough, the Australian news media continued providing substantial coverage of English news stories. Central to those stories were right wing constructions of the English working class and as a result, 'Englishness' remained an empty signifier to be filled. Over the twenty year period I researched in the *Daily News* the stereotypes or *ghosts* of an earlier period kept making appearances with a frequency at odds with a nation supposedly cutting ties with the old or 'Mother' country. These constructions were painted with a political brush. In these chapters I have attempted to reveal examples of older narratives at work in late twentieth century Australia. The English working class were still: militant, thuggish, 'to blame', violent, lazy and servile. Sometimes all at the same time. These constructions went un-critiqued in an Australian newspaper and due to English migrants positioning as 'not migrant enough', these constructions were never critiqued as vigorously as the stereotypes of other migrant groups. This form of investigation potently reveals the extent to which conservative and right wing politics were major factors in the ambivalent place accorded Englishness in this particular Australian cultural text. This form of investigation might concomitantly suggest how discourses of nationalist mythologies speak in order to silence. To what extent late nineteenth century stereotypes remained pervasive in non-fiction and academic publications will be the focus of chapter five.

Chapter five: Academic representations

This chapter utilises a selection of non-fiction Australian publications as a medium to

further explore my contention that discursive tropes surrounding Englishness

permeate Australian cultural texts. I am arguing that the stereotypes of 'Englishness'

in Australian nationalistic discourses were not (and are not) merely the domain of

film, television and newspapers. The readings here suggest that the stereotypes were,

firstly, so cogent and secondly, were left so resolutely 'untouched', as to become the

'common sense' informing academic writing. I will provide critiques of Ruth

Johnston's 1979 *Immigrants in West Australia*, Reg Appleyard's 1988 *The Ten Pound*

Immigrants, Jim Hammerton and Catherine Coleborne's 2002 journal article, 'Ten-

Pound Poms Revisited: Battlers' Tales and British Migration to Australia, 1947-

1971' and Tara Brabazon's 1998 journal article 'What's the Story Morning Glory?

Perth Glory and the Imagining of Englishness'. Numerous other texts are referred to

where applicable. I argue that ideologically conservative factors previously revealed

in chapters two, three and four are evident in these academic Australian cultural texts.

Joining the dots: Assimilation by numbers

Western Australia celebrated its' 150th Anniversary as a white settlement in 1979 and

the year was commemorated in numerous forms, including the publication of

'histories' of the state's progress. One of these publications was edited by Ruth

Johnston, entitled *Immigrants in West Australia*. For my purposes here, I would

suggest it provides a fascinating example of assimilationist discourses, which

permeate the text. For example, Johnston utilises a 'grid' in order to ascertain

migrants' success or failure at assimilating into Australian society, placing the

migrants, according to their responses to interview questions, into one of three

categories: Advanced, Progressing and Conservative. The migrants are from three groups, German, Polish and British, the latter group consisting of English born migrants.

Johnston placed considerable emphasis upon to what degree the English migrants and their children had acquired Australian accents, acquiring an Australian accent in this categorising was 'good' while maintenance of an English accent was a marker of poor assimilation. The responsibility for children in migrant families not assimilating quickly enough was placed firmly in the domain of the nuclear family. In fact, not assimilating to the 'Advanced' level drew negative conclusions in general, for example, Johnston contends that German children, particularly males, were 'likely to have little difficulty in establishing their place in Australia' unlike the English group:

> Not quite the same can be said for the British children, who somehow do not show the same zealous acceptance of the Australian way of life. Their acceptance is in some ways tarnished with a sense of deeply ingrained superiority, not allowing them to descend to the Australian level. Many of the British girls and some of their parents certainly possess this sort of orientation. (1979, 73)

Consider the language utilised here. There is no evidence for the 'deeply ingrained superiority' Johnston applies to these migrants, or their supposed perception of descending 'to the Australian level', although there is considerable allusion to stereotypical constructions of 'Englishness'. In chapter one I referred to the comments made by the middle class English migrant to Australia, Henry Kinsley, over a century earlier, when he sniped that working class English migrants had 'exaggerated notions of their own importance' (*cited in* White, 1981, 37). In the absence of evidential material to suggest these migrants actually felt this way, Johnston resorts – apparently unconsciously – to the 'common sense' binary oppositional myth: Australians / English. I would argue that this document does

provide evidence for the deeply held stereotypes of English migrants, which

continued to colour any mention of them. Despite the 'scientific' grid of assimilation

on offer here, the old narratives keep interrupting. It also reveals to what extent

migrants were contextualised negatively if they answered with 'incorrect' or

inappropriate responses. While Johnston does, albeit cursorily, mention the trouble

some migrant children experienced in Western Australian schools, this is effectively

glossed over, rather than offering possible explanations for defensive migrant

responses together with tougher interrogation of prejudice within the school system.

[**Well obviously when I attended school I still spoke with a broad scouse [Liverpool] accent. I got abuse from kids at school, I got abuse from the teachers who were telling me I wasn't pronouncing my words correctly....I was sent off to elocution lessons at school.** **(Interview, English migrant Mick, 2001. Mick attended Karrinyup Primary School, a state-run government school in the early 1970s)]**

[**There was the whole thing about....I mean....even teachers came up with the 'Not bad for a pom' um....you know if you happened to be quite good at something....um it varied, it depended on the teacher....you'd have to say the better the teacher the less they did that and vice versa. I had an Aussie mate of mine and....who was very good at football....um....but no good at gymnastics and he was actually....the teacher at the time said 'You're like *old gin*' as in like a derogatory term for an Aboriginal female...and that was said by a teacher repeatedly at school. So that was sort of seventies values for you....and it was full of you know....poms can't do this poms can't do the other.** **(Interview, English migrant Andre, 2001. Andre attended Craigie Senior High School, from 1976 to 1980)]**

There is no discussion of Western Australian societal mores that these migrants

encountered. The power of the gaze in this publication is middle class Australian and

the disempowered foci of that gaze are the hapless migrants. Humour is noticeably

absent from this study, I mention this because my own experiences of interviewing

and discussing this thesis with English migrants, have been permeated with self

deprecating humour and laughter. Another notable absence is the 'C' word: 'class',

although judging by the employment of the migrants (the men in 'trades' and the

women in clerical and domestic work) they were from working class backgrounds

(ed. Johnston, 1979, 85-86). The foci of the gaze is upon the nuclear family, with no

mention of either the unofficial social links between English migrants, or the

propensity of English migrants to live in particular suburbs. On the contrary,

Johnston claims that English and German migrants did not live in specific areas,

which she concludes is a 'positive' trait, because it 'act[ed] as a deterrent to the

formation of a well-knit immigrant sub-culture which might breed and encourage

delinquency' (1979, 75). A very brief look at the figures collated by the Bureau of

Immigration Research in Volume 1 of Birthplace and Religion of Local Government

Areas and a competing narrative is evident. For example: in 1976 forty per cent of

the population of Rockingham was designated as being U.K. or Irish born, equating to

four out of every ten people. In 1981, the figure remained substantial, at thirty three

per cent. (In recent years this figure has risen again) Kwinana, another suburb south

of Perth, had correlative figures of forty one percent in 1976 and thirty six per cent in

1981 (1991, 188). All over the Perth metropolitan area there were suburbs

synonymous with the English migrant presence, a remarkable omission from

Johnston's study.

[I think we actually went to an area that was already infiltrated with a lot of
English people. (Interview, English migrant Rose, 2001. Referring to Carine
circa 1983, a suburb north of Perth)]

[Craigie was a proper English suburb. (Interview, English migrant Jim, 2001.
Referring to Craigie, circa mid 1970s to mid 1980s, a suburb north of Perth)]

[There was....I suppose....yeah you gotta say they were more English than
Australian....I can't think of any of my parents' friends that were Australian,
they'd either be English or Scots....without a doubt.
(Interview, English migrant Andre, 2001. Andre's family lived in Padbury, a
suburb north of Perth, from 1976. His parents still live there)]

In Ellie Vasta's 1985 publication If you had your time again, would you migrate to

Australia? A Study of long- settled Italo-Australians in Brisbane, she comes to the

conclusion that interviewing her migrant group was problematic, because she quickly

deduced that migrants felt they should be responding with uniformly 'positive' experiences and opinions, to the point where Vasta termed these answering strategies a 'repertoire of ready answers' (14-15) or, a migrant discourse. Vasta's conclusions here remain salient, but should interested parties be surprised by this ready recourse to the 'repertoire'? I would argue not in the least, when the powerful discourses of professional objectivity and science were so clearly informing the conclusions drawn of those migrants not responding in the 'correct' way are taken into account. Taking this a step further, were English migrants subject to a particular form of negative 'press' because they disrupted the discourse of assimilation? I argue that the underbelly of assimilative policies was explicitly conservative: work hard, keep quiet, do not 'congregate' (be collectively minded) and 'make good'. These are capitalist, individualised requirements and demands, traits it would appear that not all English migrants were prepared to endorse unquestioningly. Is it indeed possible that the term 'whingeing pom' was a discursive construction intended to band-aid politically challenging comment and activism? Which in turn was always threatening to rip apart assimilative and nationalist claims of the Australian worker's paradise and the 'fair go'?

Reg Appleyard's 1988 publication *The Ten Pound Immigrants* was published in the year Australia celebrated its bicentennial. It provided a follow up to a 1964 study on British / English migrants in 1964. (All but one of the original interviewees were English) The psychologist, Alan Richardson, was a major informant on the approach Appleyard took, particularly Richardson's 'Scale of Assimilation', which remained a major framing device in the 1988 publication. With stark similarities to Johnston's 'Advanced, Progressive, Conservative' grid, this scale of measurement placed the

migrant as presumably moving from 'one' (LOW assimilation) through to 'three' (HIGH assimilation), by which stage they were accorded the status of culturally assimilated Australians. Richardson's scale of assimilation is not only of historical interest, both revealing the authority invested in assimilation policies together with the desire of historians to be seen as 'seriously scientific', but is also functioning as an underlying dynamic in Appleyard's text, framing and contextualising the discourses of the migrants interviewed. I have previously alluded to Graeme Turner's contention that particular narrative tropes recur in Australian literature and film (1989, 50-55). I would argue that these narratives were also informing Appleyard's 1988 *The Ten Pound Immigrants*.

There are key moments where the migrant script threatens to unravel. For example, 'inappropriate' responses, straying too far from the 'ready repertoire' of the Australian migrant discourse, are textually resolved or ignored. The migrants in Appleyard's group of interviewees who articulated experiences of anti-English sentiment and prejudice were negated by recourse to 'pommie' stereotypes. For example, Appleyard writes: 'One migrant was appalled by advertisements containing such sentences as 'Poms need not apply'' (1988, 128), however, rather than initiating a discussion – or even a few sentences – on the 'acceptable' prejudice revealed in these advertisements, Appleyard turns the response *back* on the interviewee: 'Perhaps his own attitude contributed to what he said was a great deal of anti-British prejudice in Australia' (1988, 128). Similar to Johnston's 'superiority' claims, there is no evidence provided for this sweeping claim, which draws upon established stereotypes ('common sense') to undermine a migrant's articulation of publicly proclaimed prejudice. In effect, this academic publication, informed and framed by the powerful

discourse of psychology, suggested that articulating these concerns was a personal

flaw or defect. Regardless of nationality, would *you* tell an Australian authority what

you really thought? Those migrants in the book who responded minus any critique of

Australia are given a Gold star: HIGHLY assimilated.

**[In those days, 1972, health and safety was way way down the list. Didn't rate a
mention basically in my experience....And yeah I think that was....that was a big
thing that I just couldn't believe....some of the conditions that guys were
working....well *people* were working under in those days you know they [small
pause] it just didn't come up you know you look after yourself and that was it.
(Interview, English migrant John, 2001)]**

Migrants surprised at what they perceived to be an inadequate social welfare system,

or to borrow Jock Collins' turn of phrase: '[the] credibility gap between the promises

of the 'Lucky Country' and the reality' (1988, 195), were textually constructed as

revealing, rather than an opportunity to explore this 'gap'; a cul-de-sac of

psychological flaws and weaknesses, elucidated in Appleyard's conclusion that this

type of migrant possessed 'a more general disposition to anticipate calamities that

might never happen' (1988, 87). Later in the book, again referring to the psychologist

Richardson, Appleyard writes:

> Richardson concluded that, when an individual believes that luck, chance, fate
> or the actions of other people are the prime determinants of rewards or
> punishments, he lacks a sense of personal responsibility for his fortunes.
> (1988, 93)

The emphasis upon 'personal responsibility', on so many levels, encapsulates the

framing discourse of this publication, which consistently avoids any links between the

migrant nuclear family and broader societal – and by extension political –

environment. One migrant describes resigning from his first job in Perth because of

what he perceived to be unsafe work practices (1988, 112), in marked opposition to

authorial involvement and comment upon migrant experiences elsewhere in the book,

Appleyard keeps a loud silence. This is a mythical Australia, without a class system

and class based concerns. By placing these issues into the arena of 'personal responsibility', there is a correlative at work, which assumes all Australians have the same access to a safe workplace, a fair wage, decent housing, health care and education. The migrants in Appleyard's publication are pathologised, isolated from the broader ebb and flow of Australian cultural and political mores and by extension so too is Appleyard, who appears to be writing within carefully marked discursive constraints.

Rosh White and White noted in *Immigrants and the Media*:

> ....prevailing themes in the press [included]: presentation of individual migrants as being assimilated, or in the process. Portrayed as having equal access to the economic and social benefits. (1983, 68)

The 'type' of migrant lacking a 'sense of personal responsibility' (Appleyard, 1988, 93), is the binary opposite of the 'battler', an Australian 'type' which I have already argued remains a deeply conservative construct, the emphasis firmly upon struggling, *quietly* and uncomplainingly. (Trade unionists are never referred to as 'battlers' in the mainstream Australian media for example) I would suggest the 'battler' discursive trope is present in Appleyard's work, with the 'bush' family motif easily accommodating late twentieth century sensibilities.

Battleresque Gothicism

[But....you know....and I felt since that....didn't realise what we were in for....you know we uprooted the kids over there and as I say they were really excited and happy about it, left all their friends at home. You know, that they'd lived with since they were babies....and I've thought about it since and wondered whether we sh....you know? I didn't think about it at the time you know, we were all excited we were all happy to....to come. (Interview, English migrant Sue, 2001)]

[Now I can look back and laugh at it all....at the time I probably wanted to cry! [laughs] What have we done?! [comic voice] Everyone would go to bed and I'd sit there and cry! [laughs] I'd think 'What have I done? *Why did I do it?!*' A cardboard box was the coffee table!! [laughing] Yeah, mattresses on the floor.

[pause] Long term never regretted it. [pause] But as I say if you start at the bottom you cannot go any lower you can only go up! [laughter] (Interview, English migrant Amy, 2001)]

Migrant children not assimilating quickly enough in Johnston's 1979 publication were the 'fault' of the parents. Similarly, Appleyard evokes the 'mother':

> Indeed, a strong desire to settle could easily be weakened when active or even passive forms of resistance were manifested by the immigrant's wife or children. (1988, 86)

The 'immigrant' in this passage is unequivocally male and the head of a nuclear family. Like a latter day 'bush mum' the woman was expected to provide uncomplaining support, being held accountable for any problems in the migration experience. In chapter eight ('The Migrants Speak'), of the three families and one single woman who are the foci, two of the families went to the 'bush' upon arrival in Western Australia, adding a further resonance to the 'battler' and 'bush mum' narrative tropes.

[Motifs of acceptance and resignation are as common in our literature as those of despair. (Turner, 1989, 55)]

[Darton did not pause to consider the possible results of the change he was introducing into the life of his bride – few men would. Janet was vivacious, and her heart yearned towards humanity. She was bright, cheerful, and impressionable. The bush is sad, heavy, despairing; delightful for a month, perhaps, but terrible for a year. (Edward Dyson 1898 *The Conquering Bush* in ed. Ackland, 1979, 72)]

One of the families, the Aspinalls, went to Boulder, a gold mining town in Western Australia. Mary Aspinall related to Appleyard her less than happy experiences upon arrival:

> Mary became extremely homesick and depressed. She said she felt so dead inside; that she was living in a dream. …. She did not dislike Boulder, but the isolation had made her lonely and homesick. …. When she tried to explain to Joe how she felt, he became annoyed. This, she said, was because he was so settled and could see that the children were settled and did not want her homesickness to get so serious that he would have to consider taking her back to England. So therefore she realised that she would have to adapt. (Appleyard, 1988, 119)

Mary had five school age children, meaning she was left alone for much of the time, she remembered:

> I would go to the gate when the children had gone to school and Joe had gone to work and look up that street and there wasn't a soul in sight that you knew or could talk to. I really got depressed with it all. And then there were those dreadful flies! Our house had only a very small kitchen and it was tin-lined and I cooked on a wood stove. (Appleyard, 1988, 119)

Appleyard goes on to add 'Cooking meals in midsummer was an ordeal she would never forget' and that it was only the futures of her five children that kept her in Australia (1988, 119). Then the text goes 'pear shaped', with Appleyard following these descriptions of unhappiness thus: 'They adapted to the conditions so easily and quickly' (1988, 119) and, with what surely should be termed a 'battlerism': they 'knuckled down'.

[And I see my Haggard Women plainly as they were in life, 'Tis the form of Mrs. Spicer and her friend, Joe Wilson's wife, Sitting hand in hand 'Past Cairn'', not a sigh and not a moan, Staring steadily before her and the tears just trickle down. (Henry Lawson, 1904 _The Last Review_ in ed. Ackland, 1979, 192)]

In my introduction I referred to the fatalism inherent in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Australian constructions of the 'bush', and I am suggesting there are striking parallels in the form Mary Aspinall's story takes. Appleyard reveals empathy and compassion while relating this story for example, _however_ Australian narrative tropes frame and contextualise Mary (the 'bush mum') in the tradition of 'knuckling down', 'battling on' and stoic acceptance. Her story does not, with any stretch of the imagination, equate with easy and quick adaptation to the 'conditions'. Quite the reverse.

[It was not his property they were destroying, and he saw and heard them with delight – those denizens of the wild bush – that was healing him, body and soul, of the ills of excessive civilisation. (Ada Cambridge, 1897, _A Sweet Day_, in ed. Ackland, 1979, 153)]

The Hall family (David, Josie and son), went to Gwalia, described by Appleyard as:

....a hamlet near the small town of Leonora, situated north of Kalgoorlie in central Western Australia. .... Gwalia is now home to only a handful of people and has clearly seen better days. Many dwellings are now derelict, shanty houses that once housed hundreds of miners and their families. David's job as geologist often took him away into the country for a week or more. He did not like leaving Josie and their son Carl in a home without telephone and nearby neighbours. But in time he accepted the situation and so did Josie – who, initially, was rather shocked by the environment. Although their house was comfortably furnished, Josie became very lonely and would read and sew a lot to pass the time in David's absence. (1988, 121)

Quite apart from the allusion to the 'bush mum' narrative trope (loneliness, sewing, isolation), the late nineteenth century construct of the colonial rural environment as *transformative* is revealed in this text. Referring to David Hall, Appleyard writes: 'Experience in the outback contributes greatly to character-building, especially traits of toughness and independence' (1988, 121). Josie, on the other hand, is described as 'a woman of immense character and *perseverance*' (my emphasis), who had 'several altercations with deadly snakes discovered in and around the house' (1988, 122).

[**Bush all around – bush with no horizon, for the country is flat. No ranges in the distance. The bush consists of stunted, rotten native apple trees. No undergrowth. Nothing to relieve the eye save the darker green of a few sheoaks which are sighing above the narrow, almost waterless creek. Nineteen miles to the nearest sign of civilisation – a shanty on the main road. The drover, an ex-squatter, is away with the sheep. His wife and children are left here alone. Four ragged, dried-up looking children are playing about the house. Suddenly one of them yells: 'Snake! Mother, here's a snake!' (Henry Lawson, 1900, *The Drover's Wife* in ed. Ackland, 1979, 64)]**

This framing of the migrants' narratives is revealing for at least two reasons. Firstly, despite the Australian rural myth, the vast majority of Australians have always lived in or around cities and towns, similarly, the vast majority of English migrants lived (and live) in and around cities and towns – in suburbs. Secondly, in chapter one I contended that the Australian rural myth was appropriated and built upon by Australian writers and artists, from constructions of the 'colonies' emanating out of late nineteenth century England. The selection of the Aspinalls and the Halls as

providers of migrant stories is particularly revealing, when the projected audience for these narratives is considered:

> The idea for the book grew out of these studies and three television programmes shown between 1965 and 1988 which traced the experiences of three migrant families and a single girl. The first programme, *This England: Take It or Leave It*, screened in 1965, explored and reported the hopes of the emigrants as they prepared to depart for Australia. The second programme, *This England: The Pommies*, was filmed in Australia in 1966 and reported the same emigrants during their first few months in Australia. The third programme, *The Ten Pound Tourists*, was filmed in Australia in 1987. Shown by ITV on New Year's Day 1988, and later by the Australian Channel 9 television network, it reported the experiences of the migrants over twenty-two years in Australia. (Appleyard, 1988, Introduction)

Undoubtedly, the Australian narrative tropes framing these stories would have been familiar to both English and Australian audiences. These are the Australian nationalist narratives of the Australia / England binary opposition: the conservative glue, which seals the two sides together.

The 'battler' motif is evident in the framing of Appleyard's migrant stories, but it would appear some migrants are framing their own stories with recourse to this narrative. Jim Hammerton and Catherine Coleborne's 2002 journal article 'Ten Pound Poms Revisited: Battlers' Tales and British Migration to Australia, 1947-1971', focuses upon a selection of migrant stories from a British migrant archive, which Jim Hammerton, Catherine Coleborne and Alistair Thomson have been instrumental in setting up. As the title of the journal article suggests, Hammerton and Coleborne argue that migrants appeared to be telling their stories through the narrative framing device of the 'battlers' tale'. I have argued previously that the 'battler' is a politically conservative trope, a contention I remain convinced of in lieu of the almost complete appropriation of this term by mainstream and right of centre media. This is not to say it has not been utilised in the past by the trade union movement and the labour movement. However, in the past decade it has become the currency of the

right wing and in the examples Hammerton and Coleborne provide in their article, political conservatism is revealed aplenty.

For example, Vera and Bernard arrived in Australia in 1954 and they clearly worked hard to establish themselves in a new country:

> Vera describes cooking in the garage in her gumboots in several inches of floodwater, carrying food and dishes back and forth between the one newly finished room and the garage. It took eight years of such labour before the house was completed to their satisfaction, but, as they said almost in unison, 'we just accepted it'. (2002, 92)

Hammerton and Coleborne go on to note that this couple, along with numerous other contributors to the archive, were quick to distance themselves from 'whingeing poms', preferring to meet and associate with Australians. Tellingly, they also note that the 'whingeing poms' referred to here included 'the demonised post-war British migrant, the militant unionist or shop steward of the 'British disease' (2002, 92). Another couple cited in the article revealed the same belief systems verbatim. Consciously or unconsciously, recourse to what Hammerton and Coleborne term 'the battlers' tale' reveals a concomitant political conservatism.

However, I would also point out that when a migrant appropriates the discourses of their new home, there will always be slippage, gaps and silences where the narrative jars. Consider the following 'battlers' tale' cited in the article. Maureen arrived in Australia from London in 1956:

> Maureen's father had died when she was a child, after which they lived with their grandparents, and her grandmother proved to be the driving force in the family's fortunes. While Maureen's mother went out to work in a London factory, she was looked after by her grandmother, who became, in her words, the 'matriarch of the family', while grandfather, employed at Woolwich Arsenal, stayed out of the way except for mending shoes. She was also the driving force in the decision to migrate, very much in conflict with Maureen's mother's hostility to the whole idea. (2002, 95)

Maureen's mother 'always hated Australia and resented the move till her death', while Maureen, in turn, contextualised her as 'the classic whingeing pom' (2002, 95).

I do not dispute the accuracy or importance of these stories, neither am I claiming that Hammerton and Coleborne are necessarily validating or admiring the 'battlers' tale' trope. However, building upon and extending their argument appears to carry fruitful opportunities. I would begin with one word: 'Why?'

Firstly, why are these volunteers so eager to relate a battlers' tale, which both distances them from other English migrants (they chose to avoid 'poms') and positions them as politically conservative? I would suggest a possibility might lie in the continued potency of the battler trope in numerous Australian cultural texts, from newspapers to films to books to current affairs, with the result that this becomes the only 'tale' validating life experience. This has a particular resonance for the stories of English migrants, a group routinely marginalised as 'privileged' in opposition to non-English speaking background migrants. For example, in a review of Nonja Peters' 2001 publication *Milk and Honey – But no Gold: Postwar Migration to Western Australia, 1945-1964* in *The West Australian* Newspaper, it is clear who is – and is not – included in the title:

> She [Peters] provides abundant evidence that British migrants were favoured upon arrival. In the workplace, for example, British qualifications were automatically accepted. (11 May 2002, 10)

[I was working at Telecom before I left England and I got all my qualifications....and before I left I wrote to Telecom in Perth....and they wrote back a fairly positive letter saying yeah yeah you know....we'd be interested to see you when come over and all the rest of it. [small pause] And....they basically offered me a start from the ground level again, go to college for four years....and just do the training that I'd finished all over again. .... I was gutted! (Interview, English migrant John, 2001) John arrived in Perth 1971 aged 19]

I do not dispute that British migrants in general, as opposed to numerous other migrant groups in Australia, were 'privileged', although I do take issue with the *language* or terminology itself, which requires qualification if not a complete reassessment. Working class migrants from any country are hardly 'privileged'. However, this has resulted in migrant stories being contextualised and validated, within the discourse of Australian migrant studies, as narratives of suffering. If not suffering *enough*, stoically and silently, means not having a story worth telling, should it be surprising that these volunteers chose the battlers' tale?

[**When I first began research for this thesis, a university student of Greek background asked what my phd was about. When I replied 'English migrants sort of....' She responded with a laugh: 'Why aren't you doing the Greeks? You lot had it easy!' It encapsulated – and continues to encapsulate – the position of English migrants in the lexicon of migrant studies.**
(Autobiographical Intrusion)]

Secondly, where are the trade unionists and the politically active amongst this English migrant group of volunteers? Where are the Marxist 1970s unionists, like Fred Haggar, who migrated to Australia from England during the same period as these volunteers, or 'builders' labourer of Rockingham'? (refer to chapter three) Where are the English migrants who lived in suburbs synonymous with their presence? It appears they were reticent to volunteer their stories, if Hammerton and Coleborne's article is any guide. These were migrants that did not 'accept' stoically. Ann – Mari Jordens writes in her 1997 publication *Alien Citizen. Settling Migrants in Australia, 1945-75*, that when the Department of Immigration drastically increased its numbers of social workers and welfare officers in 1968, it was almost certainly in response to State directors coming under pressure from migrants to improve welfare services. While Jordens upholds the 'privileged' and therefore marginalised textual positioning of British migrants, she does note: 'Much of this pressure came from British migrants, who could vote and were therefore of interest to politicians' (160), therefore

revealing that legislative privilege was utilised by some migrants, at least, in a far from conservative 'battler' manner.

Wendy Lowenstein and Morag Loh's 1978 publication *The Immigrants*, also refers to the politically active English migrant:

> In the early '70s some teachers worked out that it cost over two hundred dollars for books, uniforms and various fees to start a girl at one of the more prestigious high schools. There was quite a movement of parents who refused to pay fees, and some little children were even forced to stand outside classrooms in the passage because their parents hadn't paid. Most of the really determined protesters were English migrants. (120)

Clearly, the 'getting on with it', 'knuckling down' intrinsic to the Australian 'battlers' tale' is at odds with 'refusal' and 'protest'.

Maureen's mother hovers like a spectre at the edges of Hammerton and Coleborne's journal article. Now dead and physically unable to tell her own story, the term 'whingeing pom' fails to silence her alternative narrative completely, which may have included: a widowed factory worker and single mother, forced to the other side of the globe by a domineering parent.

[**Well I was a pom with the poms if you get what I mean. We stuck together like glue sort of thing. [Both laugh] And actually I was talking with an old guy....he was a Geordie....and I used to pick accents, with being in the army you know you could tell accents and that....I said 'You're a Geordie' and he goes 'Shhhh! I don't want anybody to know I'm English'. I could tell a mile away! [with humour] But he was from an earlier generation right....you know what I mean? And there was a lot going around about poms....there was a hell of a lot. (Interview, English migrant Dave, 2001) Dave arrived in Perth in 1970**]

When I first discovered Tara Brabazon's 1998 journal article 'What's the Story Morning Glory? Perth Glory and the Imagining of Englishness' I enthusiastically photocopied and then read it. This article includes some of the most positive traits of postmodern informed cultural studies, for example, entertaining writing style, visible author and references to popular culture, *however* while appearances suggest this

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article will be dragging the Academy kicking and screaming into the twenty first century, it is all a façade. Brabazon draws uncritically upon every stereotype of the English working class 'mass' discussed in this thesis. The style may be new and fresh, but the underlying narratives are drawn exclusively from late nineteenth century upper and middle class 'observations'. Brabazon unproblematically sets up the empty signifier 'Englishness' and proceeds to fill it with a sea of negative meanings and constructions. Here we have the textual linking of 'Englishness', English migrants, Perth Glory soccer club and the rise of the Australian right wing political party One Nation and its leader, Pauline Hanson. So much of Brabazon's argument is 'common sense', reliant on myth and stereotype, unimaginable in an academic paper on any other Australian migrant community group. Like the faceless 'mob' evoked by English 'professionals' over a century previously, Perth Glory supporters who stood in the terraced 'Shed' area, are once more a faceless entity – and this late twentieth century construction reveals far more about Australian nationalist narratives than it does about English migrants living in Perth.

Reading the paper backwards

Towards the end of the article, Brabazon writes:

> Sport is the performance of all the racist taunts, ethnic divisions and gender inequalities in society. …. Clearly, the mechanisms of colonisation do not end when the colonisers leave the country. (1998, 63)

These sentences encapsulate Brabazon's subject position concisely. Firstly, there is evidence of the stereotypical middle class intellectual's disdain for sport as a valid culture – I state 'stereotypical', because clearly there are many intellectuals working within the Academy who do not feel this way at all. Secondly, the assumption that the 'colonisers' have left the country is deeply problematic, considering the continued

economic and social collusion by all non-Indigenous Australians, at the expense of the original inhabitants: the 'colonised'. Who are these 'colonisers' she is referring to? Similarly the leap from 'Englishness' to Pauline Hanson and xenophobic tendencies in Australian culture are deftly made, as according to Brabazon, xenophobia is not really an Australian trait at all, the blame lies with *them*, rather then *us*. Consider:

> The fans in The Shed are semiotic tourists. Their sporting ideologies test the parameters of the nation, memory and masculinity. Singing for Glory involves hailing the spectre of a particular rendering of Englishness, which in this Hansonesque age can be, at times, disquieting. (1998, 59)

While she suggests: 'The key for theorists is to resist an easy or damaging nationalism' (1998, 56), the argument she puts forward is permeated with a conservative, Australian, nationalistic, narrative conceit, which continues to utilise 'Englishness' as the cause of contemporary 'ailments', in this case the momentary political rise of the (Australian) Pauline Hanson led One Nation party. It seems the 'disease' is alive and well in this 'imaginary' Englishness.

Going home in a red and white ambulance: part 2

Perth Glory played its first season in the National Soccer League in the 1996 / 1997 season. To understand fully just how radical the construction of the club was, it is necessary to contextualise the team within the marginalised place accorded 'soccer' in Australian culture – and the clue is in the language. 'Soccer' is only 'soccer' in countries where the sport is marginalised, elsewhere it is 'football'. In Australia the dominant codes of sport are Australian Rules (particularly in Western Australia, South Australia and Victoria) and Rugby League (dominant in New South Wales and Queensland). Soccer has been played in Australia since the late nineteenth century, but has never managed to seriously compete with Australian Rules or Rugby League.

Within Australian culture it has been constructed and positioned as 'un-Australian', a sport associated with migrants. An association only furthered in the post World War 2 period, when, particularly non-English speaking migrants, set up soccer clubs which often doubled as social clubs. In Johnny Warren's 2002 publication, *Sheilas, wogs and poofters: An incomplete biography of Johnny Warren and soccer in Australia*, he describes the importance of these clubs for migrants:

> Soccer did become a circuit breaker for new Australians. It was their weekend safe haven that followed a week of being a foreigner in a strange land. They would gather on weekends and play the game they loved. They would be transported, once a week, back home through the culture surrounding the game. It softened the blow from the hostilities of Anglo-Australians towards what was commonly perceived as the 'otherness' of the migrants.
> (2002, Preface)

This 'otherness' translated into terminology. People who played or were aficionados of what Pele memorably called 'The beautiful game' of soccer, were called sheilas, wogs and / or poofters – hence the title of Warren's book. Soccer teams and their clubs became synonymous with particular migrant groups, for example, Warren discusses the St. George club in Sydney which was originally set up by a group of Hungarian migrants, going on to discuss clubs set up by other migrant groups, such as the Italians, Greeks, Maltese, Czechs, Macedonians, Dutch, Yugoslavs, Poles, Croations and Germans. In Western Australia this was also the case, for example, North Perth Croatia, Floreat Athena, Fremantle Benfica, Spearwood Dalmatinac, Inglewood Kiev, the Wanneroo Lions (British / English) and the Morley Windmills (Dutch). These were all based in metropolitan suburbs, but as Kerry Evans' insightful 1997 article 'From Grom to Wisla – Soccer in Collie 1950-1971' points out, soccer clubs were set up by migrants all over Western Australia. In Collie, essentially a coal mining town in the south west of the state, Polish migrants were the driving force behind the Grom Soccer Club.

In 1991 the Australian Soccer Federation announced a programme of modernisation, which included the phasing out of ethnic place names (Inglewood Kiev became 'Inglewood' for example) and a ban on non-Australian flags at games, which Western Australia 'enforced quite vigorously' (Jones & Moore, 1994, 21) after an 'incident' at a local soccer game, which Roy Jones and Philip Moore, in their journal article ''He only has eyes for Poms': Soccer, Ethnicity and Locality in Perth' describe:

> In early June 1991, in Perth, a disturbance broke out at a match between Spearwood Dalmatinac and North Perth Croatia. Several flares were thrown onto the grounds, the Yugoslav flag was burnt and, at the end, a nearby ethnic nursing home was 'defaced with paint'. (1994, 21)

On a subjective note, as a soccer supporter myself, I am well aware of the Australian mainstream media's tendency to exaggerate soccer related incidents of this kind, however, it would be fair to conclude that nationality-based soccer clubs were never going to attract heterogenous support of the game in Australia, something the Australian Soccer Federation were seeking. Supporting this position, according to Brabazon's interpretation, I am seeking the 'de-wogging' of Australian soccer, a utilisation of highly emotive terminology intended to silence alternative arguments and therefore requiring closer attention. Is this separation between English speaking and non-English speaking migrant groups a construction?

[Yeah made some good friends there [playing soccer]. And not only English. Italian....erm....yeah I suppose mainly Italian in those days. Nollamarra were basically an Italian club....and....the after match functions they used to be at one of the organiser's houses who were all Italian. And they'd put a keg on and....mum would be in the kitchen cooking and we used to have some great times, yeah that was good....that was a great introduction to migrants from other countries for me....you know, meeting them through soccer, socially and....yeah it was great. (Interview, English migrant John, 2001)]

[I ended up working with the Italians and the Slavs on the cement mixer where they used to coat the insides of the Main Roads water supply pipes. It was a dangerous job, the guy before me had lost a finger doing it....The Italians and Slavs were great people to work with....they always looked after you in an occupational health and safety way....they'd show you how to do the job safely....they actually helped us to get integrated into Australian society by

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advising us on how to get on with the Aussies. The Australians weren't particularly friendly or welcoming. They tended to look down on the new workers....um....so it was actually quite a formative experience in understanding that....yeah....you actually had more in common with the Italians and the Yugoslavs and the Burmese. (Interview, English migrant Paul, 2001)]

Brabazon utilises binary oppositions permeated with stereotypical constructions of 'ethnics' ('good') and 'the English' ('bad'). While she talks of ambivalence, there is scant evidence of it in her work here. For example, on history and popular memory she writes:

> To write history is to trade in ideologies of seriousness, elite knowledges and written literacies. While the struggle between these difference modes of evaluating and presenting the past has had a clear impact on contemporary cultural studies, popular memory studies provide a way to assemble a sense of how the past is produced outside the disciplinary confines of history. (1998, 58)

I could not agree more. However, Brabazon provides no alternative voices from within the crowd, or 'mass', voices that might have provided an ambivalence to her argument, instead we have the reinstatement of binary oppositional stereotypes. I would argue that the inscription of the binary opposition of ethnics / English is ungenerous to all the migrants peering around these conservative simulacra: passive, traditional and unchanging 'ethnics' and aggressive, urban English. For example, while Brabazon states that any reference to violent feuding between nationality – based soccer clubs is 'unhelpful, both analytically and politically' (1998, 55), she has no problem in singling out a singing, chanting section of the Perth Glory home ground ('The Shed'):

> Criticising the Glory supporters' Englishness does not, however, miss the point. Emerging during the year of 'that Hanson woman' and the official 'de-wogging' of Australian soccer, the success and profile of the Glory fans must be evaluated with some disquiet. (1998, 59)

And I repeat - Pauline Hanson and the right wing One Nation party she led, were Australian products of an Australian culture. Being anxious about xenophobia and all

the attendant backward looking ideologies that travel in its wake, is not just understandable, but, from where I stand at least, *essential*. However, when the site for discussing and attempting to understand Australian racism, is a 'crowd' or a 'mass' from an 'other' country, it is me that begins to get anxious. I would argue there are parallels between this article and the episode of *Going Home* discussed at the end of chapter two. The English male character inspiring fear amongst the apparently harmonious Australian multicultural group on the train. Similarly, in Brabazon's construction of late twentieth century Australian society, the violence, the disruption, is threatened by 'the English', an argument, in opposition to her response to discussion of non-English migrant feuding, she clearly finds 'helpful, both analytically and politically' (1998, 55). It would appear that late nineteenth century constructions of the English urban working class 'mass' and their equally constructed polar opposite, the rural peasant or exoticised 'ethnic', continued to make simulacra appearances in Tara Brabazon's academic journal article.

[It....it starts off....it's the old thing that any football [soccer] supporter will tell you, that you walk up to the ground and you're quite tense and you're quite nervous and you're quite excited....and you're standing at the gates and you can hear the singing coming from inside the ground. It sends shivers up your spine. [pause] It's goosebumps all over. [pause] It fills you with a sense of awe, it fills you with a sense of 'I'm going to be part of that any minute now'....you know....I'm paying my money, I'm going though the gates, I'm going to buy a programme....and I'm joining that throng that's singing. It's just a massive swell of a lot of different people all there for one cause and....you know....there's nothing better to be one individual as part of a large group that are all there for one cause. [pause] But you know it's great fun....
(Interview, English migrant Mick, 2001. Description of arriving at a Perth Glory Home Game, Mick stood in The Shed)]

[The group singing and the chanting that's like the English heritage....but that's about it in terms of their contribution to that....and it's constantly overlaid visually in proximity by all the other people....and a lot of those people that would want to get into The Shed and participate in that sense of belonging to a bit of a mob....and a lot of those people are Italian, Greek, Yugoslav, Burmese....you know....and this comes down to the common fallacy about the identity of soccer crowds being homogenised....you know....and they're not. ....

There isn't one consciousness....there isn't one identity....there never is....
(Interview, English migrant Paul, 2001. Referring to Perth Glory Home Games)]

[I attended Perth Glory Home Games and stood in The Shed 'standing only'
terraced area for several seasons. I attended with my husband and a group of
friends. As the first season progressed, so the numbers of people joining in the
Carnival spirit in The Shed increased. As a slightly built, five foot one female I
had some of the most joyous times in my life with that crowd of young, old, male,
female and multi-nationality crowd. As the soccer seasons went on, so the music
hall atmosphere of participation in the crowd increased. 'Cave man' became an
icon at Glory games, several times during a game he was lifted up onto shoulders
and hoisted aloft, becoming the only visible individual to those seated elsewhere
in the crowd, who greeted his appearance with cheers. 'The Pickled Onion Man'
handed out home made pickled onions at half time, while a young Londoner
dressed as 'Austin Powers' stood in The Shed in his blue velvet suit and joke
false teeth! Numerous 'Superheroes' in costume clambered around. People
made up songs and chants. There was a great deal of repartee and laughter.
And I ask: 'Who are those people Brabazon was writing about?'
(Autobiographical Intrusion)]

This chapter has attempted to reveal to what extent stereotypical constructions of

Englishness have continued to inform Australian academic narratives. I would argue

that the disappearance of English migrants from the growing field of multicultural

migrant studies in the 1980s resulted in un-deconstructed stereotypes of Englishness –

and by extension English migrants – in Australian cultural narratives. In direct

opposition to the active interrogative work undertaken by Australian academics with

regards to the negative stereotyping of non-English speaking migrant groups,

'Englishness' remains an empty signifier, long over due for reassessment.

Conclusion: I should Coco!

[I'm gonna fight 'em off
  A seven nation army couldn't hold me back
  (*from* the song *Seven Nation Army*, White, 2002)]

I began this exploration with two major research questions, which were:

What are the factors informing the ambivalent place accorded 'Englishness' in

Australian cultural texts? and: What can this form of investigation tell us about

Australian culture and associated national myths? I have attempted to reinterpret

these national myths through the texts / narratives of Englishness and class, with an

underlying thesis which posits the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

discourse of degeneration as having continued political ramifications for Australian

cultural identities. It is hoped this closing chapter will be a space for provocation as

well as bringing together some of the ideas that I argue present themselves for further

discussion.

The violence of history and politics

I have attempted to force the violence of history and politics into the binary

opposition of Australia / England in order to investigate what I maintain is the

conservatism underpinning this construction. I would argue that by refusing the

'natural' signification of Australia as victim and England as oppressor some very

uncomfortable 'truths' (note the quotation marks – I am aware of the irony implicit in

using this term....) underpinning Australian nationalisms have become apparent. For

example, by deconstructing this potent binary opposition the conservative

appropriation of the terms 'egalitarianism' and 'anti-authoritarianism' become

apparent. Throughout this work I have exposed the continued utilisation of

Englishness as a repository for all that is deemed to be negative, from trade unionism

to working class consciousness. The stereotypes of the English working class, blueprinted by the middle and professional classes in England during the late nineteenth century, continued to make appearances, in films, television programmes, newspapers and non-fiction publications. These are specific class constructions which expose the lie and hypocrisy explicit in official Australian nationalisms.

The ties that bind

My investigation here suggests to me that the Australia / England binary opposition is functioning to maintain, rather than sever, the colony / coloniser relationship. I have revealed this by exposing how Australian nationalistic discourses continually negatively construct those who either struggle, refuse or take action, while concomitantly holding up the values of the 'battler' – those who fatalistically accept and struggle on silently. I am suggesting here that the Australia / England binary opposition, through its 'goes without saying' common sense, seals Australia into an everlasting relationship to *a* 'mother country'. This is why English television productions, such as the reality television series *Shipwrecked* for example, with its 'useless' English volunteers as opposed to the resourceful Australians, continues to 'play ball' with this discourse. One suspects England is rather flattered that Australia still thinks about them at all in this post post Empire era. 'Us' and 'the poms' evokes another age, another century – an era which, with all respect, is well past its use by date. To take this further, is this 'binding' of national identity to another axis, another place, a possible explanation for the ease with which Australia, on an official level at least, has aligned itself with the United States of America? Another country, another Empire?

Movement and transformation

I have attempted to expose the artifice of my own work by repeatedly interrupting the narrative with a variety of texts, including the translations of interviews with English migrants whose humour and honesty have contributed so much to my endeavours here. In my introduction I mentioned the influence D.J.'s have had on my approach, and re-reading this thesis now, it strikes me that these interruptions are similar to samples, providing juxtaposition, a change of rhythm, humour and poignancy. I would argue that this format has been successful in textually tearing holes in the screen of Australian nationalisms, forcing the history, politics and – most importantly of all – *movement* back into the sterile text. We are all subjects in process and constantly being transformed, as we in turn transform our environments. English migrants living in Australia swim amongst a sea of signification, so it is appropriate that they are waving (not drowning) in my text.

'Get the story crooked!'
(ed. Jenkins, 1998, 127)

In my introduction I prefaced my endeavours with a respectful nod to several textual mentors including Keith Jenkins, Hans Kellner, Valerie Walkerdine and Michael Pickering. All of these writers, through their provocative thoughts, have in no small measure contributed to the form this argument has taken. I maintain that the underlying research questions explored here (What are the factors informing the ambivalent place accorded Englishness in Australian cultural texts? and What can this form of investigation tell us about Australian culture and associated national myths?) necessitated a slightly different approach. For example, the utilisation of various cultural texts from film, television, newspapers, songs, interviews, fiction and non-fiction publications created a textual space to interrogate the underlying

discursive tropes (and by extension constraints) binding all of these seemingly

disparate cultural, historical and political artefacts. I equally maintain there are

notable benefits from regularly interrupting the text with a plurality of voices. Firstly,

this has prevented, within the boundaries of a Doctoral thesis, what Michael Pickering

so memorably termed 'the illusion of the full canvas'(1997, 7), and secondly, these

interruptions draw attention to the artifice of writing within any discursive framework.

This textual device has particular relevance for a thesis which sought to interrogate

discourse itself and the almost invisible demands that discourse is making.

Shards of Light

I argued in chapter two that the 1985 Australian television mini – series *Anzacs* was a

markedly plural text in comparison to earlier texts such as *Breaker Morant* and

Gallipoli for example. I further suggested that this pluralism might possibly be

informed by post structuralism, post modernism and the presence of a loud and highly

visible peace movement. In chapter four, in a section entitled [history] 'Up for grabs:

appropriation, collage, theft and murder' I further contended, in the context of the rise

of Thatcherism, that the post modern refusal of grand narratives could be seen as a

constantly disruptive and challenging force to right wing attempts at appropriating

and selling a single grand narrative of heroic nationalistic History. I used the example

of Billy Bragg's revitalised version of a Seventeenth century Diggers' song 'The

World Turned Upside Down' to illustrate how previously silenced voices were

resurrected, transformed and brought into play as sources of strength and opposition.

I concluded this chapter with a discussion of the 1984 – 5 Miners' strike, contending

that the histories evoked by the striking miners and their supporters transcended

traditional concepts of time, history and national boundaries, I termed it an open

ended fluid sense of historical time which in turn provided spiritual sustenance in this 'battle'. The wonderful Raphael Samuel described 'a more indeterminate ancestry of struggle and sacrifice' (eds. Samuel, Bloomfield and Boanas, 1986, 29), suggesting a different canvas of historical consciousness. When I hear the lyric from 'The World Turned Upside Down': 'They were dispersed but still the vision lingers on' I see a screen with a million pin pricks – and through those holes shines a million rays of white light – infinitesimal hopes, struggles and – yes – visions splendid. To paraphrase Robert Rosenstone (1996, 132), interrupting the text was the beginning of my 'experiment' with the discourse of history as well as an attempt to gauge alternative understandings of time and history. What new forms of representation can we use? The interruptions are a beginning, not a means to an end.

Further suggestions

These are all topics I will be exploring in greater detail sometime in the near future. Firstly, it would appear an entertaining and illuminating exercise to explore further the English orientated youth sub-culture which existed in Perth, Western Australia throughout the 1970s and 1980s. This could focus on clothing as markers of signification, the importance of particular music together with the not inconsiderable class and political underpinnings of these groups. Secondly, the important place of soccer (football) in the lives of so many English migrants in Perth. In direct contestation to Tara Brabazon's negative assessment of 'the Shed' at Perth Glory games, I will be taking an opposing subject position which interprets the carnivalesque atmosphere at home games through Mikhail Bakhtin's theories on carnival (ed. Morris, 1984). Thirdly, an investigation of the positive contributions made to the Western Australian trade union movement by English migrants is long

overdue. Finally, all of these topics open themselves up to innovative and experimental forms, where the interfaces between technologies, disciplines and styles can be further explored and navigated. I envisage histories in the near future which actively encourage this kind of experimentation, where a Phd thesis can be submitted as a piece of installation art with an accompanying soundtrack. For example, one of the most striking exhibitions I visited during the writing of this thesis was *The Gay Museum* by artist Jo Darbyshire, who played with the possibilities of making new meanings through unlikely selection and association of artefacts.[*] In short: let us all become pirates on the choppy sea of 'meaning'.

Why bother?

I began with this question posed by Keith Jenkins and it appears appropriate at this stage to attempt an answer. In 1978 Paul Thompson wrote a piece on oral history, this is what he said:

> Local history drawn from a more restricted social stratum tends to be more complacent, a re-enactment of community myth. This certainly needs to be recorded and a self-sufficient local group which can do this is undoubtedly helping many others besides itself. But for the radical historian it is hardly sufficient. History should not merely comfort; it should provide a challenge, and understanding which helps towards change. For this myth needs to become dynamic. It has to encompass the complexities of conflict. And for the historian who wishes to work and write as a socialist, the task must be not simply to celebrate the working class as it is, but to raise its consciousness. There is no point in replacing a conservative myth of upper-class wisdom with a lower-class one. A history is required which leads to action: not to confirm, but to change the world. (eds. Perks & Thomson, 1998, 27)

While I find the 'raising the consciousness of the working class' comment to be condescending, if very much of its time, the rest of this quote remains, for me at least, salient and powerful. I do not live in an egalitarian Australia, rather a nation which

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[*] This exhibition ran at the Western Australian Museum, Perth Cultural Centre, Perth. Early 2003.

continues to teach this myth in an increasingly segregated private / state school system.

[I remember….the expressions on my parent's faces when they first realised that the country they had arrived in provided free university education, a heady mixture of disbelief and joy. That door of opportunity has been slowly closing over the past fifteen years, while Australian nationalist mythologies maintain their grip. (Autobiographical intrusion)]

As I write, Australia has re-elected a conservative Liberal government for a record fourth term in government. It is the first time in Australian history a political party has won a majority in both Houses of Parliament. The Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, has been adroit at utilising the discourses of Australian nationalist mythologies, while concomitantly pursuing with vigour an economic rationalist agenda. By the time you read this, Unfair Dismissal Laws will probably be gone (Work Place 'reforms'), leaving scant legal protection for anyone who is a worker. If there was ever a time for interrupting, deconstructing and *challenging* Australian nationalist mythologies, it is now. Force the violence of history and politics back into the 'common sense'.

To use an old Australian expression, the Aussies / the poms is a furphy.

Through the cracks in the screen

As the discussions of both *Anzacs* (chapter two) and the 1984-1985 Miners' strike (chapter four) revealed, there remains an alternative vision splendid. Through the cracks in the screen, beyond even the million shards of light, I have glimpsed the myriad colours of a rainbow.

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Appendix

These images are not essential viewing. Although I anticipate their inclusion will provide a further, visual layer of signification.

Fig. 1 : 'Types' (Green, 1985, 10)

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Fig. 2 : British Disease Detector
The Sydney Morning Herald, 10 August 1977, 2

Fig. 3 : Sinclair Unfair to English Workers
Daily News, 9 August 1977, Back Page

Fig. 4 : 1880s or 1980s?
Daily News, 7 April 1982, 27

'Is your dad working, asked the picket. Then tell him he's a scabby bastard.'

Fig. 5 : Is your dad working, asked the picket.
Daily News, 29 May 1984, 4

Confidential Information: Statements of Disclosure and Consent.

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) ..Frances...Anne...Rule..........................was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) ...28ᵀᴴ June 2001... at (address) ..███████████████..

████████████..

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ...████████████████
Signature of Interviewer ...████████████████
Date 28-6-2001..................

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STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) ...Francis...Anne...Rule..............

of (address) ███████████████████████████████

....

give permission to (interviewer) ....Ann....Rule................................

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) .28-6-2001..............

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for

copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of

other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be know by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☑

My Christian name only   ☐

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used ....N|A.............................

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) *DAVE SALSBURY* was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) *30/4/01* at (address) █████████

.... ████████████████████ ....

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ..█████████████████████
Signature of Interviewer ..█████████████████████
Date ...*30·4·01*.........█████████████████████

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STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I (name of interviewee) ......DAVE SALISBURY....

of (address) ....█████████████████...

....

give permission to (interviewee) ......ANNIE RULE..................................

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) ..30.4.01.....................

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ✓

My Christian name only   ☐

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE

I (name of interviewee) *Mick* ....was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) *21.3.2001* ......at (address)

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interviews will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewe ....
Signature of Interviewe ....
Date *21.3.2001* ....

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I (name of interviewee) ..MICK.. ▮▮▮ .....▮▮▮▮........

of (address) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

give permission to (interviewer) ...ANN.....RULE..............

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) ..21.3.2001.................

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed

to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian

History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick box]

My full name   ☐

My Christian name only   ☑

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE

I (name of interviewee) JOHN. █████████ ....was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) 25.8.2001.....at (address) MOON & SIXPENCE HOTEL, MURRAY STREET, PERTH. WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interviews will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee █████████████   ....
Signature of Interviewer █████████████   ....
Date 25.8.2001...........

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I (name of interviewee) ...JOHN... ██████████ ......█

of (address) ████████████████████████████

give permission to (interviewer) ...ANN RULE...............

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) 25:8:2001..............

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed

to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian

History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick box]

My full name   ☐

My Christian name only   ☑

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) STEVEN MC GRATH, ...was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) ...11TH July 2001......... at (address) .Building 10,.....

EDITH COWAN UNIVERSITY, MOUNT LAWLEY, PERTH.

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ....
Signature of Interviewer ....
Date ..11TH. July. 2001,.........

✱ (SIGNATURE HERE PLEASE)

STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) .STEVEN...M°GRATH..

of (address)

....

give permission to (interviewer) ....ANN.....RULE.................................

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) .11TH..July...2001..............

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☑

My Christian name only   ☐

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

211

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE

I (name of interviewee) ...Jim ██████████........was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) 21.4.2001.....at (address) ██████████
██████████
....

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of
the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968
and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon
an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at
Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been
given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith
Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interviews will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will
be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both
my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my
satisfaction.

← Signature please

Signature of Interviewee ██████████.........................
Signature of Interviewer ██████████.........................
Date 21.4.2001..............

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I (name of interviewee) .JIM [REDACTED]......................

of (address) ....[REDACTED]...

give permission to (interviewer) ...ANN RULE.................

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) .21.4.2001.....................

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed

to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian

History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick box]

My full name   ☐

My Christian name only   ☑

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

213

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) ...Amy....Wilson:...was
interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) ..12th. July...2001...... at (address)
....

███████████████████████   ....

....

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ᵗ.███████████████\...........................
Signature of Interviewer ..███████████████...........................
Date .12th. July...2001.███████████████

STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) .....AMY....WILSON.... ███████████

of (address) .███████████████████████████ .....

....

give permission to (interviewer) ...ANN....RULE...................................

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) ..12ᵀᴴ..July..2001.......

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ✓

My Christian name only   ☐

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) ...ANDRE   SCANNELL...........................was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) ..21ST. August 2001 at (address) ..█████████████████

████████████████████████████

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ...████████████████............
Signature of Interviewer ...████████████████............
Date .21ST. August...2001

STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) ...ANDRE...SCANNELL...

of (address) ....

....

give permission to (interviewer) ...ANN....RULE.....

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) 21ST....August....2001..

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☑

My Christian name only   ☐

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) ..PAUL [REDACTED] ....was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) .23.4.01..................... at (address) ...EDITH...COWAN.

UNIVERSITY - MOUNT LAWLEY...

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ...[REDACTED]
Signature of Interviewer ...[REDACTED]
Date .23.4.01..................[REDACTED]

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STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) ...PAUL..

of (address) ....c/- EDITH COWAN UNIVERSITY - MOUNT LAWLEY.

....

give permission to (interviewer) ......Ann......Bule.................................

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) .23:4:01.........................

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☐

My Christian name only   ☑

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) .. ██████████████ ....was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) .20ᵀᴴ· October 2001.... at (address) ..Uₙᵢₜ 4 /............

██████████████████████████████████
....

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ██████████████ ....
Signature of Interviewer ██████████████ ....
Date ..20ᵀᴴ· October 2001.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) ..█████████████████████

of (address) █████████████████████ ....

█████████████

....

give permission to (interviewer) ....ÅNN.......Ruਪੁ.█████████████████

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) 2.0ᵀᴴ· OcTOBER. 2oo1.

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☐

My Christian name only   ☐

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) ...Jo... WAYLING ...was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) .25ᵀᴴ: October 2001... at (address) ....

██

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ...█████████████████████.............
Signature of Interviewer ...█████████████████████.............
Date ..25ᵀᴴ: October 2001:

STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) ...Jo.. ~~WHAYLING~~ WAYLING....

of (address) ████████████████████████████████

....

give permission to (interviewer) ....ANN....RULE.................................

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) .25TH. October 2001.

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to)
and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History
for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☒   JOSEPHINE WAYLING

My Christian name only   ☐

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) ████████████████████ ....was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) Sat. 13ᵀᴴ October 2001. at (address) ..████████████

████████████
....

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ....████████████████
Signature of Interviewer ....
Date ...13 - 10 - 2001.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) ████████████████████ ████████████████

of (address) ████████████████████ ....

.............████████████████..

give permission to (interviewer) ......A ɴ ɴ......R ᴜ ʟ ᴇ..................................

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) ...13ᵀᴴ....October....2001..

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to)
and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History
for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☐

My Christian name only   ☐

A pseudonym   ☑

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

...Rose.............................

STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) ...MICHAELA ████████...........was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) 19TH. October 2001 at (address) ....
████████████████████████
....

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ...████████████████████ ..
Signature of Interviewer ..████████████████████ ..
Date ..19TH. October 2001:....

STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

(SIGNATURE HERE PLEASE)

I (name of interviewee) ...MICHAELA... ....

of (address) ....

give permission to (interviewer) ....ANN RULE...

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) ...19TH. October 2001...

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☐

My Christian name only   ☑

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

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STATEMENT OF DISCLOSURE.

I (name of interviewee) ...JANE ██████...was interviewed by

Ann Rule on (date) ...8TH. November 2001. at (address) ███████████████

...██████████...

I understand that this information will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of English migrants in Western Australia between the years 1968 and 1988. Specific focus will be upon how the migrant experience impacts upon an individual's sense of national identity.

This research is part of a Phd thesis in history by Ann Rule, who is studying at Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley. I understand that Ann Rule has been given clearance by the Committee for the Conduct of Ethical Research at Edith Cowan University, Churchlands.

The taped interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and my privacy will be respected at all times. Any concerns or questions I had with reference to both my participation and the nature of the thesis have been answered to my satisfaction.

Signature of Interviewee ....
Signature of Interviewer ....
Date ...8th... November...2001.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT.

I (name of interviewee) ..... JANE ███████████

of (address) .... ███████████████████████████

...███████████████████

give permission to (interviewer) ..... ANNIE RULE ....

to use the interview, or part of the interview, conducted with me on

(date) ..... 8ᵀᴴ November 2001.

for research, publication, and / or broadcasting (only delete those not agreed to) and for copies to be lodged in the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History for the use of other bona fide researchers.

I wish to be known by: [Please tick appropriate box]

My full name   ☐

My Christian name only   ☑

A pseudonym   ☐

If a pseudonym please specify name you wish to be used

....

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