THE MANAGEMENT RUSH:

A HISTORY OF MANAGEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

By

Malcolm Pearse

B Sc (Appl Psych) UNSW

MBA Macquarie University

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

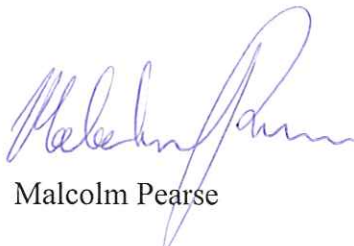**for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

Macquarie University

Sydney, Australia

June 2010

CERTIFICATION

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Graduate School of Management, Macquarie University. This represents the original work and contribution of the author, except as acknowledged by general and specific references.

I hereby certify that this has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed:

Malcolm Pearse

29 June 2010

"In time to come, historians will probably single out the increasing power of the professional manager - whether in big business, the civil service, the government corporation or trade unionism - as one of the significant events in Australian history in the 20th century."

-    **Professor Geoffrey Blainey**
The Politics of Big Business **p 6**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study arose out of an interest in the phenomenon of management, which occupies such a large place in contemporary Australian society.

I would like to acknowledge and thank all the people who contributed to this project, which has culminated in this dissertation. In particular, I acknowledge my supervisor, Professor Robert Spillane of the Macquarie Graduate School of Management for his experience and skill in recruiting, encouraging and guiding me through this marathon journey over a 10 year period. It was he who first suggested constructing a history of Australian management and then supported the project to its completion. We envisaged an ambitious project and pursued it patiently. Importantly, Professor Spillane pointed me in the direction of Australian economic history.

The other two people who deserve special acknowledgement and appreciation are my wife, Yvonne, and my son, Tristan, who never doubted my ability or the outcome. Their support and encouragement was vital and greatly appreciated as I worked for days, weeks and months at a time on this endeavour.

My interest in the history of management in Australian was ignited and nurtured by the works of Professor Geoffrey Blainey who continues to produce exquisite narratives based on a lifetime of exhaustive research. The histories of Hancock, Ward, Manning Clark and McIntyre, the Butlins and Jackson, also made large impressions, but to my mind, Geoffrey Blainey remains the pinnacle.

From the Macquarie Graduate School of Management (MGSM) I would also like to acknowledge and thank the various Deans and Directors of Research who generously contributed their knowledge of relevant history to my area of research, particularly in the early years. The staff of the Research Office kept me informed of events and research resources, some of which provided excellent results. Particular thanks to Dr Steven Segal and Elizabeth Thomas for their interest, assistance and encouragement in the recent years of my extended candidature. The MGSM Research Fund provided me with the opportunity to attend the Asia-Pacific Business and Economic History Conference in Japan in February 2009 and the Research Office also encouraged me to attend two further conferences of the Association of British Historians in July, 2009. The Bruce McComish Fund for Economic History generously sponsored my attendance at the Asia-Pacific Business and Economic History Conference in Wellington in February 2010.

This is a work of broad scope, in many ways an outline of the history of management in Australia. It is my hope that others will undertake further research to detail the many chapters that I have merely outlined.

Like many before it, this work relies on many scholars who pioneered its path but I, not they, am responsible for any errors, omissions or imbalances it contains.

Malcolm Pearse
Macquarie University
Sydney
29 June, 2010

ABBREVIATIONS

This paper has adopted a convention of specifying the abbreviation in parentheses adjacent to the long description when it is first specified eg New South Wales (NSW).

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACI	Australian Consolidated Industries
ACIRRT	Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training
AGLC	Australian Gas Light Company
AGM	Australian Glass Manufacturers
AGSM	Australian Graduate School of Management
AHRI	Australian Human Resources Institute
AIM	Australian Institute of Management
AIPA	Australian Institute of Public Administration
AML&F	Australian Mortgage Land and Finance Co. Ltd.
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
APM	Australian Paper Manufacturers
ASX	Australian Stock Exchange
ATM	Automatic teller machine
AWU	Amalgamated Workers' Union
BHP	Broken Hill Proprietary
CCH	CCH Australia
CDA	Company Directors Association
CSR	Colonial Sugar Refining
EFA	Enterprise Flexibility Agreement
EFTPOS	Electronic Funds Transfer at Point of Sale
GM-H	General Motors-Holden

ICI	Imperial Chemical Industries
ICIANZ	Imperial Chemical Industries of Australia and New Zealand
ICOS	International Conference of Scientific Management
IDA	Institute of Directors in Australia
IT	Information technology
IWA	Individual Workplace Agreement
JWT	J. Walter Thompson
MBS	Melbourne Business School
MGSM	Macquarie Graduate School of Management
MTM	Methods-Time-Measurement
NLA	National Library of Australia
NSW	New South Wales
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PA	Personnel Administration Pty. Ltd.
PC	Personal computer
PAMT	Process Analysis Method of Training
PBR	Payment by Results
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald
TWI	Training within Industry
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
USA	United States of America

ABSTRACT

Management plays a prominent role in contemporary Australia. Yet historical accounts of managers and management practice in Australia have tended to portray their development as a progression of American technologies during the twentieth century.

This dissertation constructs a history of management in Australia from 1788 to 2010. It articulates how the role of the manager and management practice developed through institutions such as companies, businesses, branch structures, industrial relations, management consulting, training, education and discourse, referring to local, British and American influences.

The dissertation pursues three theses:

> The slow rise of the salaried manager preceded widespread acceptance of management as a discipline;
>
> A *management rush* occurred during the 1980s; and
>
> Management subsequently dominated business, politics and the public domain.

The rise of the salaried manager was principally tied to the rise of the public company but was also propelled by the manager's presence in Australia's strategically important industries and small businesses. The directing manager grew prominent as business organisations became larger, more bureaucratic and complex, and the power of the rich owners waned. By 1970 career managers occupied the chair and other seats in the boardroom as a result of managerial skills, rather than share ownership.

During the 1980s the number of managers increased markedly. The management education industry flourished as the number of MBA providers and enrolments increased. The management consulting industry grew dramatically because of economic changes such as de-regulation and advances in information technology. Management consultants played a significant role in re-structuring businesses and promoting management discourse. The number of new management periodicals quickly increased and several Australian management journals and monographs were published. The *management rush* transformed business and disseminated management discourse throughout the workplace.

Management dominated business, government and the political agenda from 1990 to 2010. Economic management became the principal element in government policies, even the central issue for political campaigns. The number of managers continued to rise and the workforce was awash with managers bearing manifold titles and functions. Business schools enjoyed continued growth and the management education industry expanded and was re-shaped by mergers and re-structures. Management consultancies continued to prosper and remained instrumental in promoting management discourse and were joined by management education which similarly enjoyed strong international networks. Management discourse spread beyond business to pervade public discourse.

The dissertation concludes by addressing the role of British, American and local influences, explaining why Australia's management revolution occurred during the 1980s and promoting a new view of management history in Australia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

TABLES

FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1   The Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation analyses the history of managers and management in Australia and pursues three related theses:

the slow rise of the salaried manager preceded widespread acceptance of management as a discipline;

a *management rush* occurred during the 1980s; and

management subsequently dominated business, politics and the public domain.

Chapter 1 introduces the subject area, justifies the research, outlines the research questions, states the central thesis and argument, explains the nature of the research and outlines the methodology.

Chapter 2 outlines the origins of management and described the emergence and development of managers and management practice in Great Britain prior to and during the Industrial Revolution.   It identifies some of the prominent industrial managers and analyses the diffusion of management technology from Great Britain to the United States of America (USA) where management subsequently rose with the modern corporation. The role of the British Empire in colonial development is discussed.

Chapter 3 identifies some of the Australian colony's early managers during the period 1788 to 1850, after looking briefly at the possibility of indigenous management practice. It examines the contexts, industries and institutions and the broader socio-economic environment in which early managers developed their role and practice.   It argues that the early practice of appointing managers in farming and grazing was a colonial adaptation, that growth in the number of managers occurred largely through economic diversification but also through branch expansion, and that the public company was the principal vehicle for the rise of the manager.

Chapter 4 argues that the economic expansion of 1851 to 1900 resulted in greater numbers of managers in a range of industries such as mining, the pastoral industry, banking, service industries, and in public companies. Through the public company, salaried manager increased in status, with the recruitment of prominent overseas managers to mining companies. It notes

the distinguishing features in the economic, social and political development of the colonies – the continuing strength of the wool industry, the gold rush, the popularity of trade unions, the rise of the pastoral industry, the public company, democracy and a prosperous cultural life. The rise of the salaried manager is accentuated in tandem with the expansion of public companies.

Chapter 5 concerns the first seven decades of the twentieth century, dominated by the two World Wars and the Great Depression but also containing the post-war recovery period to 1969. It outlines the role of early management consulting companies and advertising agencies as Australian business practice modernised through international networks. World War II played a significant role in the expansion of manufacturing and the adoption of scientific management practices. Post-war prosperity saw an expanded use of manufacturing technology and the emergence of management journals and education. The rise of the directing manager is traced in the context of expanding public companies, modernisation and increasing complexity of business structures, models and services.

Chapter 6 focuses on the rise and widespread acceptance of management from 1970 to 1989, the increased numbers of managers, changes to position titles, growth of management education in universities, expansion of the management consulting industry and the development of management discourse.

Chapter 7 discusses the dominance of management from 1990 to 2009, when management dominated political and work discourse, pervading common language. It outlines the key events for the period, the primacy of economic management in the political agenda, the continued growth in the number of managers, the continued strength of management consulting and education, and the diversification of management discourse. It argues that management discourse permeated private, government and not-for-profit sectors.

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation, outlining the principal findings of the historical analysis as they relate to the research questions and proposes a new view of management history. It places the research in a wider academic context and outlines areas of further research for economic, business and management historians.

The dissertation is more a thematic exposition than a history outlining distinct periods. Some chapters recapitulate earlier events or foreshadow future events.

1.2 Introduction to the Subject Area

1.2.1 Management in Contemporary Australia

Management occupies a prominent position in contemporary Australian society. Whether private or public sector, most organisations govern and organise their activities with management structures and systems. These structures are multi-level hierarchies with executive managers, middle managers, line managers and perhaps other specialist managers including product managers, brand managers, shift managers and project managers. Their systems include plans, reporting lines, budgets, communication, legislation, delegations, procedures, policies, purchasing, accounts, payroll, leave, etc. Many of these are the responsibility of specialist managers, information technology managers, human resource managers, policy managers, client relationship managers, etc. The array of titles for managers continues to expand.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics' count of the category of managers has shown a trend of increasing numbers for some years. In May 2009, the bureau reported there were 1,245,900 managers in Australia in a total workforce of 10,781,600.[1]

The executive managers of Australia's largest companies control complex organisations with multi-billion dollar assets, thousands of employees and budgets of similar sums. Their remuneration packages range from hundreds of thousands to millions of dollars.

A number of powerful political lobby groups speak for business and management. Peak bodies such as Australian Business, the Chambers of Manufactures, the Institute of Company Directors, and the Australian Institute of Management are vocal in the media proclaiming the importance of business and management.

Management is taught at both undergraduate and post graduate levels in business schools at established universities. Journals, monographs, discussion papers and web pages abound with the research and articles of management academics. Management is regarded by many as a career, much the same as accountancy, biology or psychology, though the professional status of managers is highly contentious.[2]

Big business is well served by the international management consulting firms with their capital city central business district offices. The wider management consulting industry in Australia contains hundreds of companies servicing the needs of business, advising on strategy, systems, information technology, re-structuring, outsourcing, human resources areas, organisational change, and more. The closely related services of management training and

education are conducted by a similarly vast range of companies, providing businesses with knowledge and skills in management.

Newsagents and bookstores display newspapers, magazines and books containing management ideas, methodologies, approaches, personalities, opinions and comments. Airport transit lounges carry titles by authors such as Peter Senge, Peters and Waterman, Michael Porter and Peter Drucker. Print media abound with the jargon of management not only in the financial and business pages but also in politics, sport, leisure and tourism. Each day the electronic media broadcast business programs or segments.

Management retains an important presence in the industrial relations arena, jousting with trade unions, arguing the need to retain or relax industrial conditions such as pay rates, hours, overtime and other conditions. In recent years, economic management has become a prominent issue in political debate, at times the central issue in election campaigns.

Management concepts cross economic sectors and industries. Farmers implement farm and land management practices such as water conservation and re-cycling, minimum tillage techniques, crop rotation, diversification of stock and crop mixes to maximise returns and minimise risks. Manufacturers deploy sophisticated computer systems to manage the design of new products, ordering of materials and production runs. Large retailers rely on computerised scanning systems to manage inventory levels by automatically ordering replacement stock as customers pass through check-outs. Conservationists manage National Parks according to conservation and heritage values. In hospitals, medical staff manage the risks of infection through a series of procedures. Art curators manage collections by exhibitions and loans.

The concepts and practices of management are no longer confined to the workforce. Voluntary bodies such as sporting organisations and charities manage their people, assets and funds. Women attend workshops on managing work and family responsibilities. Families manage household finances to meet material needs and aspirations. Management roles, tasks and functions are articulated and performed in a range of contexts spanning work, social and personal spheres.

The language of management is woven throughout the fabric of society. The concepts of planning, strategy, risks, quality, marketing, change, resources and logistics are applied across a broad spectrum of daily activities ranging from gardening to mining. The language of management has permeated the discourse of most forms of organized human activity in contemporary Australian society.[3]

1.2.2 Management in Australia at Earlier Times

Yet it was not always so. 30 years ago, the first graduates were leaving the new Australian Graduate School of Management (AGSM). 40 years ago, there were significantly fewer managers in Australia and far more businessmen and supervisors. 50 years ago, no Australian university offered the Masters of Business Administration degree and the management consulting industry was much smaller, lacking today's international consulting houses. 100 years ago, managers occupied a lower standing in the social strata and may have read about the opening of the Harvard Business School (1908) but not Frederick Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911). Clearly, business and management in Australia have changed considerably during the last century, particularly during the last 30 years.

Yet the history of management in Australia goes back further to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The early colony had managers on farms from at least 1799. In the nineteenth century managers or agents were working in public companies, banks, hotels, theatres and on grazing properties. By the end of the nineteenth century, Australia's largest public companies had salaried managers administering their operations.

1.2.3 Managers as Occupation and Profession

Managers are a long-standing occupation.[4] In eighteenth century Great Britain, managers were appointed to superintend business establishments or public institutions such as theatres or other places of amusement, banks, factories, mines, mercantile or industrial establishments, or a particular department of such establishments. Over time the role of the manager developed in many industries and contexts. The Industrial Revolution saw the appointment of factory managers and the genesis of modern management. The rise of the manager and of management in Great Britain and the USA has received a considerable degree of attention from historians such as Pollard, Chandler and Hannah.[5] Other scholars, such as Burnham and Bendix, developed the themes of management and managerial ideology as forms of power and control.[6]

The rise of the manager and management has been discussed also in the context of professionalisation, principally by Perkin. During the twentieth century, Australia and other advanced economies became transformed into professional societies with career hierarchies of specialized occupations.[7] In many ways, the salaried manager, like other occupations, followed a four-step template in seeking professional status, first establishing a body of specialist knowledge; gaining control over entry, education and accreditation; formulating ethical and behavioural standards; and finally gaining the authority to self-regulate.[8] The

transformation occurred in Great Britain, the USA, Australia and other countries at different times and in different ways. Similarly, the progression from occupation to profession for such groups as doctors, lawyers, accountants, etc. occurred at different times.

Thus the rise of the salaried manager can be viewed as such a progression from the occupation of the manager towards the profession of management. But while overseas historians have documented the rise of management in Great Britain and the USA,[9] understanding the Australian environment poses considerable challenges because of a markedly smaller body of research.

1.3 Justification for the Research

1.3.1 Prior Research in Australian Management History[10]

Given the prominence of managers and management in contemporary society, it is somewhat perplexing that, prior to the publication of this thesis, the business history and management literature contained no consolidated or comprehensive history of the rise of the salaried manager or the rise of management in Australia.

During the past 50 years, Australian historians have excelled at producing histories of Australian society. These have expounded social, economic and political dimensions and delved into more specific areas such as migration, labour relations and indigenous relations. At the present time economic and general histories abound[11] and a number of histories of companies,[12] industries,[13] trade unions[14] and professions[15] have been documented.[16] The spectrum of interpretations and detail has widened considerably but not so far as to include a history of business or a history of management within Australia.

The first substantial articulation of management in the Australian context was Byrt and Masters' *The Australian Manager* published in 1974.[17] It recognised the growing role of managers in Australian business and noted their relevance to both institutional and technical aspects within organisations. Byrt and Masters also discussed systems theory, human resource management, industrial relations and manager education, including domestic and overseas theory, research and examples.

Blainey articulated the themes of the rise of the public company and big business. He coupled the rise of the salaried manager to the rise of the public company during the twentieth century and argued that historians would single out the rise of the professional manager as one of the significant events of the twentieth century.[18] Noting important differences in the nature of public companies between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he also perceived patent

differences between the salaried manager of the nineteenth century and the professional manager of the twentieth century but affirmed the longstanding role of the secretary or manager in the public company.

Much of the research prior to 1995 tended to portray the rise of management in Australia as the adoption of American management ideas throughout the twentieth century.[19] During the 1980s a number of researchers focused on the application of scientific management in Australian workplaces including Littler, Nyland and Dunford.[20] Other researchers have studied levels of foreign investment or the rise of multi-national companies while some authors have commented on the application of overseas management ideas such as industrial psychology, human relations, systems theory and strategic management to Australian businesses.[21]

During the last 15 years, a few researchers have examined Australian business and industries in some detail to supplement ongoing interest in broader socio-economic and political conditions. In 1995, Wright published a history of Australian employers, demonstrating the practices used by businesses.[22] While written within the labour studies tradition of the University of Sydney, it provided a necessary counterbalance to the mountain of research into trade unions and industrial relations. He supplemented this with a history of the management consulting industry in Australia.[23] In 2000 Merrett appraised the development of business history in Australia and provided long-term, modern perspectives on the large institutions that emerged in the late nineteenth century and dominated business and economic growth to the present day.[24] The collaboration of Boyce and Ville similarly redressed the preponderance of macro-economic research focusing on the development of Australian businesses and industries, showing the interplay between business and management theories and various case studies.[25] In 2004 Fleming, Merrett and Ville published their considerable study of big business and corporate leadership in the twentieth century. While they examined Australia as a case study within a Chandlerian framework, they also teased out many features and factors affecting the longevity of Australian big business.[26] These particular works both consolidated prior research and provided substantial theoretical frameworks for understanding the development of big business and management in Australia.

The literature pertaining to management history in Australia is scant compared to other fields (such as economic history, industrial relations, labour relations, sociology, cultural studies, corporate strategy or human resource management).[27] Some writers such as Lansbury and Spillane placed Australian management practice within an historical context, but only to a limited extent.[28] Byrt edited a comparative history of management education, writing the

chapter on the development of the Australian context.[29] Dunphy and Stace similarly used a historical context to present their organisational change research and theory.[30] There have also been projects of varying size, examining the history of marketing in Australia and the human resource movement.[31] The flagship management journal in Australia, the *Australian Journal of Management*, was first published in 1976 by the AGSM. It is yet to publish an article recounting the history of management in Australia and has provided only a handful of articles with historical material.[32] *Australian Economic History Review* is a far richer source of material since it regularly publishes articles about Australian business and industries which inform the discipline of management.[33] But it, too, is yet to publish an article recounting the history of management in Australia.

This dissertation is thus located within the small but growing literature on the history of Australian management. It integrates the work of those researchers with a much broader and diverse body of literature. Because management has historically traversed economic, social, political and business dimensions, it draws on the other disciplines that comment on managers and management, including general history, economic history and business history.

1.3.2 Essentially American Ideas in the Twentieth Century?

Several Australian researchers examined the application of scientific management techniques in the twentieth century. Wright also reviewed this area within the broader context of employer practice during the twentieth century.[34] Beyond scientific management, there are accounts of the rise of manufacturing, steel and heavy industry, machine shops, production lines, consumer goods, etc[35] and the application of such American management ideas as industrial psychology, human relations, systems theory, strategic management, etc. to Australian businesses.[36]

The textbooks for management students in Australia were typically American prior to 1990. From the mid 1980s, some publications were crafted as Australian editions of American texts.[37] Since 1918 the film and television industries of both the USA and Great Britain have promoted the 'efficiency expert' as the stereotypical manager to mass audiences.[38] Those media products have played a role in forming and maintaining popular perceptions of managers. Such accounts have tended to convey an overall sense of the inevitable march of progress to modernism, with Australia becoming increasingly aligned to American trends.[39]

If we were to accept these views uncritically, we could conclude that the tradition of management in Australia was decidedly American. Yet a closer examination of the practice of Australian businesses and companies, and the development of management discourse show

a more complex development of managers and management in Australia. Blainey signalled the importance of the ascent or rise of the manager and Wright demonstrated the strong local contextual factors that influenced the development of employer management practice.[40] Merrett noted that the strong dependency of Australia and Britain from 1788 until the 1960s provided the best means of understanding the business institutions that sustained economic growth during the twentieth century.[41] But the rise of the salaried manager and management in Australia has lacked a substantive historical account.

1.4   Scope of the Research

The dissertation constructs an overview of the origins and development of managers and management practice within Australia's social, economic and political history for the period 1788 to 2010. It includes social, economic, political, institutional, industrial relations, philosophical, psychological, intellectual and cultural dimensions of Australian history.[42] International comparisons, principally with Great Britain and the USA, and a brief foray into the global origins, diffusion and development of management within the English-speaking world are included to provide further perspectives to the Australian context. While some enquiry was made of indigenous peoples, the main focus is the development of colonial society.

Given the broad scope of enquiry, the dissertation relies mainly on secondary rather than primary sources. Its fundamental purpose is to define how management developed in Australia and argue its theses, building upon the small existing body of literature on the history of management in Australia, but also integrating commentary from the substantial body of general, economic and business histories.

The history of management is constructed from the occupation of 'manager', researching changes in meaning, practice, socio-economic status and discourse that occurred in Australian society. It examines the rise of the salaried manager in the institutions of the public company, business and the branch structure then industrial relations, management consulting, training, education and discourse. The historical narrative outlines the principal events that shaped and formed managers and management within the context of Australian society.

The scope of the research includes some material from the various states but mainly focuses on development in the eastern states, which were colonised first and led the process. The development of managers and management practice occurred in the various states and territories of Australia at different times, and the dissertation does not extend to providing a history of management in each state and territory.

Sources consisted of some primary material such as newspapers, trade magazines, government reports and legislation, with a broad use of secondary resources such as various histories, including general, economic, management, industry, business, trade union, and organisation histories. Web-based resources were used in addition to the traditional print and microfiche resources of libraries, including the Macquarie University, the University of New South Wales, the Fisher Library at the University of Sydney, the library of the Australian Institute of Management, and the State Library of NSW. In a history that includes periods that the writer has lived through, the element of personal experience must be recognised, as well as discussions with academic colleagues and others.

It also pays little attention to particular social groups, such as indigenous peoples or migrants from various countries. There is much discussion of contributions of men and very little of women. The understatement of the roles of those groups can give the impression of perpetuating the neglected history of indigenous peoples, migrant groups and women in Australia. Any such effects are unintended, nor is it intended that this dissertation be regarded as a proponent for management, business or industry. Similarly, no case is made on the merits or otherwise of the trade union movement or the various governments which include those of recent times.

The scope of the dissertation does not extend to providing a detailed history of individual Australian companies, industries, management education, management consulting, management discourse and peak bodies. Nor can it be regarded as advocating management as a profession. This history proposes a synthesis of new and existing sources to create a solid framework for future scholars to develop particular areas.

1.5   Research Questions

A review of the existing literature in the subject area informed the research questions. The diffusion of scientific management and business schools emerged as important areas of study for management scholars in Australia and elsewhere. American companies were influential in the establishment and growth of manufacturing and other industries in Australian during the twentieth century. The review also indicated that management consulting and education industries were relatively small until the 1980s when they expanded rapidly. Australia's adoption of management appeared to be delayed compared to Great Britain and the USA.

There are two principal questions that this dissertation explores and answers:

Was the history of management in Australia essentially the adoption of American management ideas and techniques throughout the twentieth century?

Why was it not until the last two decades of the twentieth century that management ideas and techniques were adopted widely in the Australian workplace?

The first question relates to the tradition of management in Australia, whether it was predominantly American or contained a number of influences, local and overseas. The questions of when the tradition began, where it came from, and how it developed are implicit. The second compares Australia to other countries in asking why its adoption of management ideas occurred late in the twentieth century.

A history of management in Australia, with some comparison to the history of management in other countries was constructed to answer the two research questions.

1.6   Method

History has its own paradigm and traditions of research, including methods of investigation and format of presentation. While neither static nor fixed, history is fundamentally empirical, analytical, interpretative and narrative.[43] A typical historicist method was pursued - collecting records of the past and then arranging them to understand epochs in their own terms.[44] Investigation combined both qualitative and quantitative approaches, sourcing original data such as records, compiling statistics and examining secondary literature. The narrative of the dissertation is based on research, facts[45] and synthesis of facts into patterns. It is neither fiction nor fantasy.[46]

A number of specific methods were used to explore and answer the research questions, namely, historical investigation, historical narrative, diffusion studies, and discourse analysis.[47] This method was adopted because, firstly, there was no one research method that could adequately analyse the data and secondly, the approach provided a better model to adequately research and interpret the area of interest by using methods that complemented each other.[48]

1.6.1   Historical Investigation

Historical investigation is the gathering of evidence in archives, libraries, museums, on the web and in the field. It is part of the historical discipline and tradition. Evidence is gathered, organised, interpreted, and finally used to compose an account.[49]

For the purposes of this dissertation, historical investigation was predominantly a reading of various secondary literature, such as existing histories, reference works and historical accounts. Reading of primary sources, such as newspapers and company records, was limited to more specific areas of interest such as identifying early managers and the job advertisements for managers.

1.6.2 **Historical Narrative**

History takes the form of a narrative when presented as the end-product of research, analysis and interpretation. From a linguistic point of view, the historical narrative provides a time-lined, developmental explanation of phenomena. While the historical narrative assembles facts about times, people, places and ideas, it presents them using the narrative genre.

Considerable effort has been made to understand the 'past in its own terms', that is, to understand its historicity.[50] Historical narrative has been applied, not only in the discipline of history but also in the sciences, the social sciences, law, business studies and management. Describing history as an account is not to say that history is fictional or fabricated. To the contrary, it is merely to make explicit the interpretive nature of the discipline.[51]

1.6.3 **Discourse Analysis**

There is a growing discussion of management discourse in the management literature, but the application of linguistic techniques has been a recent addition to the management field.[52] Elsewhere it is used extensively by lexicographers, sometimes by historians, those researching the history of ideas, and diffusion studies.

Discourse analysis means a number of things across a range of academic disciplines. Its meaning within linguistics is quite different to other disciplines of the social sciences, where its uses and meaning vary considerably.[53]

Discourse is often defined as 'language in use'. Alternatively, discourse can be defined as a unit of analysis larger than a sentence.[54] Discourse conveys meaning, connecting people in the beliefs, knowledge and relations promoted by specific groups. Discourse includes key concepts, values, stories, rituals, paradigms, frameworks, morals and values.[55]

The research analysed discourse (or text) at two levels. Firstly, the overall nature and meaning of management discourse – the paradigms, the concepts, the forms and applications of management - through records such as monographs, journals, newspapers, company records and other forms of written language. Secondly, a specific study of the origins and

semantic development of words such as 'manage', 'manager', 'management', etc., the key constituent nouns, verbs and adjectives.

The important implication of this analysis is that the dissertation does not adopt a single static definition of the manager or management but rather examines and articulates how those words changed and developed in context and meaning. It pursues the historical development of the role called 'manager', the meaning attached to 'management', and other related concepts.

Management deals principally with the work environment - a mixture of the social institutions, technology, systems, resources, power and control - where language plays an integral part. Since language is integral, discourse is particularly relevant to management.

1.6.4 Diffusion Studies

Rogers defined diffusion as:

> "a process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among member of a social system".[56]

This definition outlines four main elements in the diffusion of innovations - innovation, communication channels, time, and a social system.

Diffusion research is applied particularly to technological innovations. Technologies usually have two components – *hardware,* consisting of the tool that embodies the technology as a material or physical object and *software,* consisting of the knowledge base for the tool.[57]

1.6.5 Minor Research Projects

In addition to the overall empirical research of the history of management in Australia, a number of research projects were undertaken.

Word origins and meanings

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) 2nd Edition on Compact Disc 1992 was consulted to provide the earliest references and meanings of the words 'manage', 'manager', 'management' etc. The results were saved as a .txt file that was re-organised into a spreadsheet that served as a database. OED Online was subsequently accessed to confirm the currency of the references.[58]

Text analysis of selected British readings

Initial background reading into the Industrial Revolution revealed the significance of the biography of Robert Owen, *The Life of Robert Owen,*[59] as a foundation document in the

history of management. The text of the publication was analysed for its use of the words 'manage', 'manager', 'management' etc. Each instance was recorded in a spreadsheet that served as a database.

Charles Dickens' *Hard Times*[60] was selected as a comparative text, because it was both popular and targeted a similar subject area. The text of that publication was analysed and recorded in a similar manner.

A comparison of the use of the words 'manage', 'manager', 'management' etc. was then made between the two works.

Early Australian managers

Early Australian documents and periodicals were examined initially for references to early Australian managers, but later for their use of the words 'manage', 'manager', 'management' etc. The sources included the published passenger information in the first fleet, the diaries of Watkin Tench,[61] early newspapers, the Macquarie Encyclopaepiae, Australian Dictionary of Biography Online and arguably Australia's most significant nineteenth century literary work, *Such Is Life* by Joseph Furphy.[62]

Early colonial newspapers that were researched for early references to managers and management are listed in Table 1.

Table 1   Early Australian Newspapers

Journal	Publication Years
Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser	1803 - 1842
Commercial Journal and Advertiser	1835 - 1840
Geelong Advertiser	1840 - 1845
The Launceston Courier	1840 - 1843
Sydney Free Press	1841 - 1842
The Sydney Morning Herald	1842 - present
Arden's Sydney Magazine	1843

The secondary literature was also examined for references to early Australian managers through a number of projects.

Searches of the Macquarie Encyclopaepia of Australian History Online[63] for the word 'manager' were conducted in July, 2008. The results of the search were saved as word

processing documents in the Encycolpaedia's categories of Aboriginal, Convict or Australian History.

Searches of the Australian Dictionary of Biography Online,[64] for the occupational categories of 'company managers' (222 matches), 'company managing directors' (256 matches), 'company directors' (367 matches) and a search within the entry text for the word 'manager' (1,931 matches) were conducted on 31 July 2009. The results for each search were recorded in a spreadsheet that served as a database.

Advertisements for Managers

In November 2009 a sample of Sydney Morning Herald (SMH) newspapers on the first Saturday in March for the years 1954 to 1974 was examined for advertisements for managers in the Positions Vacant columns of the classified pages. The results are contained in Appendix 7.

Australian management periodicals

A search of the Macquarie Library Catalogue was conducted on 26 August 2009 for periodicals with 'management' in the title and 'Australia' as a keyword. The search identified 52 records. Each instance was recorded in a spreadsheet that served as a database. This list was then expanded with other periodicals that were identified through other research.

1.7   Thesis and Central Argument

The dissertation constructs a history of managers and management in Australia from 1788 to 2010 within social, political, economic, business, company and institutional contexts. It identifies the colony's first managers and articulates the development of the role of the manager and management practice in the institutions[65] of companies and business during the nineteenth century, then broadens to include management consulting, training, education and discourse during the twentieth century.

It examines the main influences in the development of management practice such as public companies, branch structures, the emergence of large organisations, advertising and promotion, auditing, accounting and other business services as well as major political, social and economic events including colonisation, the wool rush, migration, the gold rush, federation, the Great Depression of 1929 and the world wars. British and local influences dominated the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century American influences became more noticeable, but British and local influences continued.

The dissertation argues three theses in the rise of management in Australia:

> **the slow rise of the salaried manager preceded widespread acceptance of management as a discipline;**
>
> **a *management rush* occurred during the 1980s; and**
>
> **management subsequently dominated business, politics and the public domain.**

The rise of the salaried manager began in the early decades of the colony. While largely tied to the rise of the public company[66] throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, managers were employed in large organisations in Australia's strategically important industries, but also in an array of small businesses. Numbers of managers increased as the Australian economy grew and diversified and as companies expanded by establishing branches and forming multi-level organisational structures. As public companies grew larger and as the administration and regulation of business became more complex, professional service firms such as accountants, auditors, lawyers and stock-brokers grew more important and the responsibilities and practice of the salaried manager developed accordingly.

Managers were appointed to public companies, which were operating from at least 1824, and also to small businesses. As public companies grew bigger and more prominent in the Australian economy, the salaried manager also gained importance. Prior to 1850, managers held considerably less status compared to owners, but occupied trusted and responsible roles. By 1900, managers were sometimes able to progress through a company and secure a directorship, but often not. The eminence of the manager was evident in a few large mining companies where some general managers were recruited from overseas and appointed because of their international experience. Companies and government grew bigger using multi-level organisational structures and extended branch networks, enmeshing the role of managers. As organisations became larger, more bureaucratic and complex, and the power of the rich owners waned, the directing manager grew in prominence and some companies began to accept career managers onto their boards. By 1970 the public company was the pinnacle of private enterprise and professional salaried managers occupied the chair and many other seats in the boardroom. They held their seats because of their technical and managerial skills, rather than the shares they owned.

The *management rush* occurred in five distinct senses:

> a) The marked increase in the number of manager positions,
>
> b) The expansion of business schools and management education,
>
> c) The growth of the management consulting industry,

d) The growth of management journals publications, and

e) The spread of management discourse into political and public discourse.

During the 1980s the number of managers in organisations increased markedly. Managers displaced former positions such as officers-in-charge, superintendents, chiefs, heads, governors, supervisors, foremen and leading hands. The management education industry flourished as the number of MBA providers, bachelor and higher degree enrolments increased. The management consulting industry grew dramatically largely because of economic changes such as de-regulation and advances in information technology which propelled businesses into programs of radical change. Management consultants not only played a significant role in transforming the shape and performance of businesses, but were also instrumental in promoting and expanding management discourse. The number of new management periodicals quickly increased and a number of important Australian management journals and monographs were published.

Management ruled business, government and the political agenda from the 1990s to 2009. Economic management became the principal element in government policies, even the central issue for political campaigns. Management discourse spread beyond business to pervade public discourse.

Federal and state governments continued economic reform agenda with privatisation, corporatisation and de-regulation of government instrumentalities, building upon the fundamental shifts to competition and market-based economics undertaken in the 1980s. Re-structures and business transformation projects were deployed widely. As big business grew bigger, more complex and more diverse, management extended its capabilities.

The number of managers continued to grow and the workforce was awash with managers bearing manifold titles and functions. The business schools enjoyed continued growth and the management education industry expanded and underwent mergers and re-structures. The management consultancies continued to prosper and remained instrumental in the development and diffusion of management discourse but were joined by management education which similarly enjoyed strong international networks.

Management discourse permeated public discourse. Its jargon was repeated not only by managers in business, but also by politicians and other people in ordinary circumstances. It had spread through work and into personal domains.

CHAPTER 2: THE ORIGINS OF MANAGEMENT

Before examining managers and management practice in the Australian context, it is important to clarify the origins of managers and management, albeit briefly. The diffusion of management in Australia is central to the research questions and a succinct appraisal of the development of management in Great Britain and the USA follows an outline of the linguistic development of words such as *manage, manager*, and *management*. The management literature provides varying accounts of when management began, largely due to varying definitions and concepts of management. Some writers regard ancient feats of construction, or even social organisation prior to the use of language, as early instances of management behaviour.[1]

2.1 Linguistic Origins

Management is intrinsically a concept expressed in language. Linguistic research sheds considerable light on the origins of management, by identifying the etymology and semantic changes for words such as *manage, manager*, and *management* in written English language. These words do not appear to have been recorded in the English language prior to the sixteenth century. After their emergence, a number of related words arose in the language and application became broader. Analysing the etymology and semantic shifts of words related to *manage* principally reveals a history of usage prior to the Industrial Revolution and modern business.[2]

2.1.1 Etymology

The English word *manage* derives from the Latin noun *manus* meaning *hand*, the Italian noun *mano* meaning *hand*, and the Italian verb *maneggiare* meaning *handle* or *train* (horses). Its meaning is most directly influenced by the French nouns *manège* (act of managing) and *ménage* (household).[3]

The earliest citation is of the word *managing* in 1579:

"Then will he … leaue thys poore prouence to the mannaging of a viceroy."[4]

The first uses of the English word *manage* appear to be adaptations of the French *menage* meaning the act of leading (a horse). The earliest citation is in a sonnet entitled *I on my horse* dated 1586.

"He … now hath made me to his hand so right,

That in the Manage my selfe takes delight."

Shakespeare provided a citation in 1596.

"Speake tearmes of manage to thy bounding Steed."

The Oxford English Dictionary's earliest citations of *manage* and related words are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2   Year of Earliest Citation for words manage etc

Word	Year	Word	Year
managing	1579	*mismanaged*	1690
manage	c1586	*managerial*	1767
manager	1588	*manageress*	1797
managed	1591	*unmanageably*	1805
management	1598	*manageably*	1830
unmanaged	1603	*manageability*	1857
unmanageable	1632	*managership*	1864
Menagerie	1633	*managerially*	1882
manageable	1661	*mismanageable*	1883
unmanageableness	1664	*managemental*	1885
mismanagement	1668	*managerialism*	1946
mismanager	1683	*managerialist*	1962

Source: *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition on Compact Disc) 1992, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Spoken use both preceded and exceeded written use, especially prior to the nineteenth century as levels of literacy were much lower. The verbs *managing* and *manage* preceded the nouns *manager* and *management* which were evident near the end of the sixteenth century.[5] By the time the English words *manage* and *manager* were recorded, they referred to persons who controlled or operated a business or the affairs of state. The plays of Shakespeare contained numerous references to these broader meanings.

Words directly related to *manage* entered the recorded language at varying rates over a lengthy period of time. Six words were in use early in the seventeenth century, followed by a gap of 29 years before *unmanageable* (1632) then a further a period of 29 years before *manageable* (1661) and *unmanageableness* (1664). The small number of additional words indicates a period of lingual stability which continued for another 77 years before *managerial* (1767), a further 30 years before *manageress* (1797), and then 63 years before *managerialism* (1946).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* citations can be grouped within 50 year periods to show the introduction of new words and the cumulative total of words related to *manage* in the language at the end of the period, as evident in Table 3.

For the period between 1780 and 1840, when the Industrial Revolution occurred in Great Britain, only three words were added but by the end of the period 17 words were in use. The cumulative total in Table 3 indicated that during the Industrial Revolution there were 14 to 16 words in the language but the subsequent half century saw a further six words introduced. That collection of 22 words effectively continued throughout the twentieth century, though some earlier words, like *unmanaged* and *unmanageably*, became less common.

Table 3   Initial Citations and Half Century

Half Century	No of words	Cumulative Total
1551 – 1600	5	5
1601 – 1650	3	8
1651 – 1700	4	12
1701 – 1750	0	12
1751 – 1800	2	14
1801 – 1850	2	16
1851 – 1900	6	22
1901 – 1950	1	23
1951 – 2000	1	24

Source: *Oxford English Dictionary* **(second edition on Compact Disc) 1992, Oxford University Press, Oxford.**

While the varying rates of addition of words give an indication of the adequacy and expansion of the language as a whole over time, changes of meaning (semantic development) need to be examined also, for it is one thing to manage a horse and another to manage a business.

2.1.2 **Semantic development[6]**

A word's meanings and applications often change over time. The *Oxford English Dictionary* indicates a semantic development pattern of broadened meaning for words such as *manage*, *manager*, and management following their introduction to written English.

<u>manage</u>

The sense of managing affairs, wars or households with connotations of administration, direction and control developed from 1581 when citations included:

> "Mutianus ... drewe the whole manage of affaires into his owne handes." (1581)

> "Wilt thou be our Lieutenant there, And further vs in manage of these wars?" (1592)

> "Lorenso I commit into your hands, The husbandry and mannage of my house." (1596)

Use and meaning of the word *manage* broadened during the late sixteenth century to include another early meaning (1592) of the skilful handling of a weapon:

"Put vp thy Sword, Or manage it to part these men with me."

Controlling and directing the affairs of an institution or the state was the domain of management during the early seventeenth century.

> "To speake of the Commonwealth, or policy of England it is gouerned, administered, and mannaged by three sorts of persons." (1609)

The meaning broadened further to administering and regulating the use or expenditure of finances and provisions by 1649.

> "Mannage every one of his gifts to the closing of those miserable breaches which threaten an inundation of calamitie upon us all." (1649)

> "Besides these the Comes sacrarum largitionum, who managed the Emperors Finances." (1683)

manager

The word *manager* entered the English language during the late sixteenth century. A manager was one who managed something, such as a weapon, a war or an affair:

"Adue Valour, rust Rapier, bee still Drum, for your manager is in loue." (1588)

"Where is our vsuall manager of mirth? What Reuels are in hand?" (1590)

During the late seventeenth century a manager was also one skilled in managing affairs or money:

"Her Estate therefore requir'd both a discreet manager to husband it, and a man well furnish'd with money, to disengage it." (1670)

"I must recommend to you both to be good managers, and to be sure to live within what you have." (1684)

He could be a member of the Houses of Parliament, appointed for the performance of some specified duty connected with the functions of the two houses, especially arranging a conference between the houses and presenting articles of impeachment.

"We went up to the Lords to manage the impeachment against Lord Mordaunt. Our managers observed that he sat in the House." (1666-7)

During the eighteenth century a manager was also an official whose function was to manage a business establishment or a public institution. These included theatres or other places of amusement, bank, factories, mines, other mercantile or industrial establishments, or of a particular department of such an establishment.

"The Manager opens his Sluce every Night, and distributes the Water into what Quarters of the Town he pleases." (1705)

A manager could have charge of the financial arrangements and the mechanical production of a newspaper. A manager might even be responsible for the general working of a public institution.

"To Him and to Me, He and the Council seem'd to be the Managers for the Pretender; and the Commons Managers seem'd only to be of Council for the Queen and the Nation." (1710)

Some managers held formal legal appointments made by a court of chancery, to control, carry on and account for a business which had fallen into the hands of the court for the benefit of creditors or others, acting in the sense of a receiver and manager.

"Motion for an order, that the manager of an estate in one of the West India islands should give security faithfully to manage the estate." (1793)

These citations indicate both differences and changes of meaning. While the earliest meanings of the noun *manager* related to weapons, wars and affairs, the citations dated 1670 and 1684 indicate a change in meaning to estates, affairs and money. The manager as an office-bearer or official was flagged as early as 1705 but citations after 1740 better establish this meaning. The role as manager of a specified duty for the Houses of Parliament was considerably earlier, first cited in 1666-7, while the meaning of a legally appointed manager was cited in 1793 and thus much later.

management

The earliest recorded uses of the word management were around the beginning of the 17th century and describe the manner of managing.

"Maneggio, ... management, businesse, handling, negotiation." (1598)

"Those ... expences which are daiely laide out ... for the mannagements of so many warres." (1603)

"In contracts and management of State affaires." (1603)

The contexts of management changed with the verb *manage* and the noun *manager* from horses and weapons to plantations, farms, territories, affairs of state, factories, businesses and firms.

managerial

This word appears to have come into use considerably later. The oldest citation dates from 1767 and its meaning tied to the manager. Its applications and frequency of use possibly increased during the second half of the nineteenth century and during the twentieth century spawned *managerialism*.

"The latter were to be set off with all our inimitable Garrick's managerial art, ... and judicious cast of parts." (1767)

"She usually embellished with her genteel presence a managerial board-room over the public office." (1854)

"The question of the managerial authority has attracted a great deal of public attention." (1895)

"The theory of the managerial revolution asserts ... the following: Modern society has been organized through a ... set of major economic, social, and political institutions which we call capitalist ... At the present time these institutions ... are undergoing ... transformation ... Within the new social structure a different social group ... – the managers – will be the dominant ... class." (1941)

manageress

The word *manageress* meaning a woman manager (e.g. of a theatre or hotel) emerged some 190 years after the first citation of the word *manager*.

"The lady manageress's benefit had been stuck up at every door in the parish." (1797)

managership

The office or position of a manager was known as a managership from 1883 onwards.

"A local managership of a life insurance company." (1883)

This concise linguistic analysis of the etymology and semantics of words related to *manage* provides an extended view of the origins of managers and management.

Both business history and management history have tended to dwell on the effects of the Industrial Revolution on the role of the manager, but this brief study of language illustrates that there were managers well before that time and their range of practice extended from horse and weapons to wars, estates, households and money.

2.2   The Origins of Management

2.2.1 Early Management Practice

Pollard investigated the origins and development of management practice prior to and during the Industrial Revolution.[7] He argued the relevance of military organisations in controlling large numbers of men, government departments in administering large properties, and trade corporations in the development of accounting practices. He also traced the possible sources of industrial management practice to agricultural estate bailiffs, merchants, operators of larger enterprises and the domestic system of production, examining industries including agriculture, mining, silk-throwing and cotton-spinning. In so doing, he extended the study of management practice in Great Britain before the Industrial Revolution.[8]

The earliest complex enterprises in Great Britain were agricultural estates. The ownership of land conferred social status and the number of acres owned by a man determined his standing

in the community. An owner with more than 3,000 acres would probably represent the community in Parliament, while a freeholder with less than 300 acres would act as a justice of the peace. Between those categories was a member of the gentry holding between 300 and 3,000 acres. Land ownership conveyed official and legal duties as well as responsibilities for the well-being of the community as a whole.[9]

Sometimes owners appointed estate agents and bailiffs to manage their agricultural estates. In this rural context, the convention was to appoint an 'agent' or 'bailiff', rather than a manager. Their duties included drawing up leases, collecting rents, supervising the home farm, keeping the estate accounts, payment of staff and sometimes supervising the household.[10] Accounting, financial, credit and legal practices developed in this context as owners and managers maintained and expanded agricultural activities.

Some merchants operated concerns with substantial dimensions, employing hundreds to thousands of people as loom operators, weavers, or silk-throwers in their domestic workshops during the eighteenth century. In the process, they administered large inventories and finished goods, through the putting-out system. Operations on this scale were evident at a number of locations and the problems of organising these operations gave impetus to the appointment of agents and managers.[11]

The appointment of managers by owners enabled owners to delegate responsibility and control for various tasks, while retaining legal ownership, financial risk and reward. The manager or agent worked under the direction of the owner(s), carrying out their instructions. The owner-manager relationship defined reciprocal obligations within the master-servant institution and became a further institution.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, goods and services were produced through a combination of skilled labour and raw materials with relatively simple technology. In some cases, manpower was supplemented by horsepower or the use of other animals. In the manufacture of woollen, cotton and flax goods, artisans, crafts and guilds had been the sources of production for centuries.[12] But there were some notable exceptions. As early as 1721, the large Lombe's silk mill was built in Derby at a cost of £29,000.[13] By the 1760s concentrated production in workshops was a feature in some industries, such as silk-throwing, calico printing, paper-making, coach-building and the Sheffield steel trades.[14] But the general practice for much of the eighteenth century was a domestic form of organisation with merchants playing the role of organisers and financers. Factories emerged in greater numbers after the 1770s.[15]

Company formation and the activities of Empire were also important sources of influence in the development of early management practice. Throughout the seventeenth century, Britain imported commodities such as tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, salt, pepper and other spices from countries including its colonies, thus developing larger scale consumer markets. The East India Company was the only importer, having been granted exclusive trading rights in September 1600 by Queen Elizabeth I. Other companies such as the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa (1660s), the Hudson Bay Company (1670), the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (1695) and the South Sea Company (1710) followed the trail of Empire.[16] These, along with their international counterparts such as the Dutch East India Company, were early global traders that developed banking, accounting, financial, credit, and legal practices. They also contributed to the development of economic institutions, instruments and systems. Prominent amongst these were the joint stock company, the stock market, the bond market, credit instruments, currency exchange mechanisms and the insurance policy. As the British Empire expanded, these institutions provided the means for trade and economic exchange between Great Britain, its colonies and foreign traders, thus promoting economic growth.[17]

2.3 The Emergence of Industrial Management

2.3.1 The Rise of the Factory Manager

The Industrial Revolution of the late seventeenth century germinated a 'machine-centric' paradigm: the combination of heavy machinery procured by capital, with raw materials and labour. In the history of management, it stands as a foundation stone. Through the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain the salaried manager rose to prominence and the first writing and teaching of management occurred.

The cotton industry led the revolution. Output increased considerably in the 1760s following the invention of various mechanical devices. With increased use of machinery came greater numbers of cotton factories or mills which, in the 1780s, installed the first steam pumping-engines. Other textiles followed the path of mechanisation and factories (wool, silk and flax) as did other industries (coal, rail and shipping).

The pace of demand for mechanisation in the corn industry was reflected in the inquiries for corn mill engines made to the firm of Boulton and Watt, listed in Table 4.

Table 4   Inquiries To Boulton and Watt

Decade	Inquiries
1780-1789	17
1790-1799	33
1800-1809	42
1810-1819	16
1820-1825	10

Source: Thirsk, J. (General Editor), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume VI 1750-1850***, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge p 410.**

Table 4 demonstrates increasing levels of demand with the highest interest of 42 inquiries during the period of 1800-1809, most of which were made at the beginning of the decade. After that time interest waned.

The use of machines in textiles manufacturing gave rise to the factory and significant changes to the roles of owners and managers. The owners of factories employed managers with specialised knowledge, particularly of machinery, but also of the related production processes. Systems of labour recruitment and training, inventory, accounting and distribution were integral parts of this new production paradigm, referred to in this dissertation as the modern management paradigm. The mechanical revolution signalled the end of the age of manpower and the decline of the horse as worker, while the Industrial Revolution heralded the initial age of mass production[18] and the rise of the manager within the context of the factory.[19] What the manager did became known as management.[20]

2.3.2 Early Industrial Managers

Boulton and Watt

As the Industrial Revolution occurred in Great Britain, the 'language of management', or management discourse,[21] developed considerably.[22] While much emphasis has been placed on the technological aspects of the Industrial Revolution,[23] the rise of the factory manager and the development of management practice had largely been understated until Pollard.[24] The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain produced some early management theory or discourse. The Boulton and Watt partnership introduced regularity, delegation and division of functions so that their Soho foundry could operate in an orderly fashion while they installed their

machinery. As their own business became better organised, they became more critical of the businesses that they encountered. Their sons, in establishing the Soho Foundry to construct engines, implemented innovations during the period from 1795 to 1800. These significant changes developed detailed records necessary for accurate workmanship, assembly methods, stock control, and meticulous costing. Their methods have been compared favourably to the best practices of the early and mid twentieth century.[25]

Robert Owen

Of the pioneers of management, Robert Owen (1771-1858), in particular, articulated and developed a language of management, defining and describing the role of the manager as the order and control of large-scale mechanised production. Owen became a manager when he was 19, and in his long career, developed an expansive, systematic and technical approach to management. He viewed management of a business as the control of a system within broader systems. For Owen, the role of the manager of a spinning factory encompassed improved design of machinery, raising production capacity, guaranteeing the regular supply of quality raw materials, maintaining high standards of order and cleanliness in the work environment, and ensuring the workforce was well cared for. The scope of management also included book-keeping, payments of accounts and wages, supervision of staff, and accounting. Owen saw his role as manager in terms of controlling the supply of materials and the distribution of finished goods, continuous improvement of processes, the refinement of machine design and operation, quality control of raw materials and finished product, marketing through branding, accounts, finance, staff supervision, etc.[26]

Owen took the study of work seriously. He applied himself to problems of finance, machinery, materials, or employees. 100 years later, Frederick Taylor was to adopt a similar approach to the study of work. Whereas Owen modified his machinery to produce finer cotton and then to spin American Sea Island cotton, Taylor experimented to determine the most efficient means of shovelling materials at the Bethlehem Steel Company. Anticipating twentieth-century management gurus like Peter Drucker, Owen advocated the social responsibility of employers, emphasising the moral dimension to the employment relationship.[27]

Modern Management Paradigm

Owen provided the most comprehensive articulation of the modern management paradigm, including the role and tasks of the manager.[28] The modern management paradigm was

capital-intensive mechanised mass production of goods, requiring a constant supply of labour, large quantities of materials and mass distribution. Mass production occurred in the factory.

He was also prominent in public debate, promoting a new social order based on the prosperity of the factory.[29] That new social order allowed working people, particularly children, to participate in educational and cultural pursuits. To that end he established a model factory town at New Lanark, in southern Scotland.[30]

The rise of the salaried manager in Great Britain occurred in conjunction with the Industrial Revolution.[31] By 1854, the manager of the factory was of such standing as to be the subject of Dickens' scrutiny and parody.[32] Arguably, the Industrial Revolution resulted in the supremacy of Great Britain as an economic power, remaining in that position for the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries.[33] The role of the factory manager became important in generating wealth through mass production.[34]

2.4   The Diffusion of Industrial Management

From Great Britain, both the machinery and the modern management paradigm diffused to other countries including European nations, Japan, the USA, Canada and Australia. When cotton spinning machinery was exported from the north of England and later from Scotland, the language of management spread with it. The effects of the Industrial Revolution were also evident in non-English speaking countries during the nineteenth century, but the diffusion of hard and soft technologies was slower, being complicated by factors including legal barriers, cultural and language barriers.[35]

The USA adopted industrial production based on technology exported from Great Britain. Specific management practices were part of that technology. The diffusion of both hard and soft technologies has been demonstrated through links to Robert Owen and other sources. Not only did the machines of industrialisation travel to the USA, but so did the British industrialists, their managers and their methods from as early as 1790. By 1808 America could boast of 15 textile mills.

Diffusion to the USA was slow and retarded by existing trade relationships,[36] but it was in that new nation that management next flourished, largely through the rise of the modern enterprise or 'big business'. While both the USA and Great Britain had large population bases that provided markets for mass production and both developed railways and communication networks, the USA grew faster, usurping Great Britain as an economic power by the end of the century.[37]

2.4.1 **The Rise of Management in the USA**

The rise of the salaried manager in the USA began with industrialisation but occurred in conjunction with the rise of the modern enterprise or big business. Arguably those two events resulted in the supremacy of the USA as an economic power during the twentieth century.[38]

The rise of the modern enterprise spawned the systematic management and scientific management movements. Frederick Winslow Taylor's influence on management rhetoric was profound. There were many contributors to the scientific management movement, but Frederick Taylor was its voice - controversial, confronting, insistent and dogmatic. While the Scientific Management movement sought to increase business productivity through efficiency, its language was instrumental not only in producing change in work practices but also selling itself as a new systematic approach to solving work problems.[39]

But there was more than one management revolution in the USA. The USA embraced heavy industry to supply textiles to its burgeoning population during the nineteenth century. It had ample supply of cheap labour but, unlike Great Britain, moved to a system of reward based on performance and productivity, the piece rate. Of all the changes that the scientific management movement introduced, the piece rate was probably the simplest and by far the most effective.[40] The growth of manufacturing in the USA not only acted to reduce the demand for imported goods but also provided a platform for a growing economy and the language of management. The capability of American industry to take new technologies and turn them into commercial success became particularly evident during the second half of the nineteenth century.[41]

The scientific management movement revolutionised the rhetoric of management as did Madison Avenue marketing, production line technology, industrial psychology, the human relations movement, Peter Drucker and others. Numerous management 'mini-revolutions' occurred in the USA during the twentieth century[42] and the role of management rhetoric and discourse was pivotal. The scientific management movement gave impetus to the first management education and the first business schools. By the 1920s management was established as a discipline in the USA. There were practising managers, university courses and professional journals, but only a few monographs.[43]

2.5 **The Role of Empire**

The diffusion of managers and management were a minor but integral part of the expansion of the British Empire during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Like previous

empires, the British Empire was built on conquest and subjugation by various means, including force. It served political and social purposes such as the transportation of convicts and free settler migration but was primarily a vehicle for economic and cultural exchange. When the British governed a country, it imposed its institutions upon the host society. The most important of these were the English language, English forms of land tenure, Scottish and English banking, the common law, Protestantism, team sports, the limited or 'night watchman' state, representative assemblies, and the idea of liberty. These in turn impacted on commodity, labour and capital markets, culture, government and warfare.[44]

Well before the British contemplated Australia as a prospective colony, they had colonised the Caribbean, the Americas, Africa and India, forming trade and migration networks. By the time the British established the colony at Port Jackson, the methods of drawing colonies within the British military and economic empire were well rehearsed.

2.6 Chapter Summary

The word *manage* and its relatives came into the written English language from around 1579 and the number of related words expanded as a broader range of meanings developed. By 1700, a manager in Great Britain might be in charge of an estate or finances or possibly a member of Parliament with an appointed task. By 1800 a manager was an official whose function was to manage a business establishment or a public institution, including theatres, banks, factories, mines, mercantile or industrial premises, or a particular department of such establishments.

British businesses operating prior to the Industrial Revolution developed banking, accounting, financial, credit, and legal practices, promoting socio-economic institutions, systems and instruments. Various management practices arose in estate management, merchant operations and the putting-out system as well as in companies that traded within the British colonial empire.

The rise of the salaried manager in Great Britain occurred in conjunction with the Industrial Revolution, which arguably propelled Great Britain as an economic power during the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries. Management technology was exported from Great Britain during the early 1800s to Europe, Japan, the USA and other countries. The rise of management in the USA occurred in conjunction with the rise of the modern enterprise in the second half of the nineteenth century. Arguably, the rise of the modern enterprise and management were instrumental in the supremacy of the USA as an economic power during the twentieth century.

Thus the technology of management emanated from Great Britain during the eighteenth century and was augmented subsequently in the USA. That technology developed the traditions of industries such as agriculture, mining, engineering, textiles, manufacturing, and banking. It shaped institutions such as banks, factories and the modern enterprise and spawned its own institutions – the manager and management.

The British Empire with its institutions such as the English language, land tenure, banking, the common law and the idea of liberty played an important role in the diffusion of management and business practice. Colonisation, penal settlements and economic development occurred within the context of the British Empire.

CHAPTER 3: AUSTRALIA'S FIRST MANAGERS

White Not Black

For some 60,000 years or perhaps longer, the aborigines occupied *terra australis* prior to the establishment of the British penal colony in 1788. Square-rigged tall ships transported the first European settlers,[1] and the many ships that followed in subsequent decades delivered hundreds then thousands of men and women from a rapidly industrialising society at the opposite end of the world. That society had farms, towns and cities; it promoted agriculture, grazing, mining, civic construction and business. From the 1760s, it began to change irrevocably through increased use of machinery as the intensity of the Industrial Revolution drew near. The tall ships came as part of an extended program of colonisation across the globe, proclaiming the sovereignty of the British monarch and expanding the British Empire.

Aboriginal cultures had economic systems with forms of organisation and control. But mass production and mechanisation were not features of the many indigenous societies. Their social organisation was based on different beliefs and traditions, passed on orally and expressed in pictures, ceremonies and rituals. Their lifestyle demonstrated effective hunting and gathering techniques enabling survival, sometimes in extreme conditions. Their connection to country and kin could not be stronger, and they maintained social and trade networks over vast distances.[2] Their construction and technology, in comparison, was relatively simple and functional. In many ways, the social organisation of aboriginal Australians exhibited the antithesis of the colonists', though they both exhibited the elements of all societies – hierarchy, division of labour, lore, roles and rituals.

The dominant majority of surviving aboriginal languages do not contain words corresponding to 'management' and 'manager'. An examination of contemporary aboriginal languages revealed only two instances of a word for 'manager', in D̲ät̲iwuy and also in Eastern Arrernte.[3] Both of these languages were present in the Northern Territory around 1996. But even in these limited contexts, the meaning of the words fell astray of the contemporary popular Australian English usage. In both these languages, it was applied to people who were the caretakers (as opposed to owners) of the land and 'dreamings', the traditional stories of how the land was formed. These people were nurturers and conservers of traditions, not organisers of people and materials for the purpose of producing things. In some other aboriginal societies, this same role was performed by family members without the use of a separate word to describe the role. Indigenous peoples have acted as caretakers or agents of

the land and told traditional stories for thousands of years. Their practices would describe another form or approach to 'management', one that sustained their lifestyle and their culture.

It is highly unlikely that the vocabulary or concepts of modern management existed in aboriginal societies before the 'white invasion' and were passed across to colonial society only to be later lost from aboriginal language. It is far more likely that the words and concepts of 'manager' and 'management' came with the speakers of the English language and developed their meaning in the Australian context. While some of the origins of management in Australia may stem from aboriginal cultures, the dominant source of influence was Great Britain with its colonial empire.

In 1793 the First Fleet officer Watkin Tench published an account of the settlement at Port Jackson. That account contained only three citations of words related to *manage*. The first described an encounter with an aboriginal woman in a wooden canoe. She was offered and accepted several presents, but maintained her distance from the curious colonists through the skilful control of her canoe:

> "... she managed her canoe with such address as to elude our too near approach, and acted the coquet to admiration."[4]

The second also related to the skilful control of the aboriginal canoe:

> "The management of the canoe alone appears a work of insurmountable difficulty, its breadth is so inadequate to its length."[5]

The third related to the governance of prisons.

> "Those persons to whom the inspection and management of our numerous and extensive prisons in England are committed will perform a service to society by attending to the foregoing observation."[6]

All these references relate to the act of 'managing', not the 'manager', but it is interesting to ponder the juxtaposition of an aboriginal woman, a sea vessel and prisons as early references to management, for they were key elements in the early colony.

The Tall Ships Arrive[7]

According to Blainey, there were four reasons why the British decided to establish a colony in eastern Australia: to provide Britain with vital naval raw materials; a useful place of exile for criminals; a port of call on the new trade routes in the Pacific and Indian oceans; and delusions of climate.[8]

In establishing the colony, the British had strategic and commercial intent. Within three weeks of arrival at Port Jackson, a ship was dispatched to occupy Norfolk Island.[9] But while the military planned and executed the establishment of the colony at Port Jackson, they were not 'managers'. They were marines, subject to a military chain of command, a system of coercive leadership with a brutal regime of punishments for disobedience, misconduct and negligence.

Captain Arthur Phillip brought ashore a curious group of passengers in 1788 – a disproportionately large number of men compared to women, a mixture of nationalities, and a social order. Some were free settlers and some were marines but the majority had been convicted of crimes under British law, i.e. 'convicts'.[10] Most came from towns and cities, and held differing occupations, but not one convict on the First Fleet was listed with the occupation of 'manager', though there were managers in Great Britain at the time.[11]

The first challenge for the colony was survival and a range of industries commenced to provide food, water and shelter. Gardens and farms were established for food production; stock were put out to graze; wood and daub shelters were erected; and materials for buildings such as timber, stone and bricks were sourced. During the period when agriculture struggled to feed the colonists, the colony relied on tall ships sailing into the harbour with stores and supplies. [12]

The new land held many differences. The climate of Port Jackson proved to be substantially different from Britain, and also varying from the descriptions of James Cook and Joseph Banks.[13] The colonists encountered new frontiers, situations and problems. They soon learned that the indigenous people lived very differently, being neither farmers nor town builders. The colonies and settlements considerably affected the aboriginal peoples, displacing them from land, producing conflict, disrupting their lifestyle, enabling some trade and cultural exchange, but reducing their numbers through disease and other means. The history of the early colony demonstrated initial adversity and occasional failures, but it survived and then prospered, creating a unique society.

The tall ships carried growing numbers of migrants (see Appendix 1) resulting in demographic changes to the proportion of convicts, militia and free settlers and the ratio of men and women. The tall ships brought skilled labour to the farms and towns both as free settlers and convicts.

The colonial economy grew and diversified considerably with the success of the wool industry during the 1820s (see Appendix 2). Various industries and businesses commenced

and expanded, establishing a range of employers and developing the industrial relations context. Those industries included agriculture, construction, mining, manufacturing, banking, transport and retail. In 1788 the British government was the sole 'employer',[14] but by 1850 there were many. In the span of 62 years, the colony moved from total dependence on the British Government to economic independence and a vastly more complex and independent social, economic and political setting.

Perhaps the most important features of the period, for the purposes this dissertation, were the adaptations of British institutions such as settlements, industries, companies and businesses. The roles and functions of government, employers and employees were defined early in the new colonial environment.[15] Employers and businesses set early trends in labour relations, labour demands, standards of living, methods of organising and controlling. The early colonies established a system of governance over the land and its peoples. Colonial law with its ties to the Crown, land, property, capital and commercial exploitation usurped traditional aboriginal lore. British colonial enterprise and technology found a niche in the Australian context; its people established settlements, industries and institutions, similar to those in Great Britain with employers, employees, industries, businesses, methods of labour and production, and managers.[16]

The growth of the colonies developed culture and values in the new society. Some values were affirmed while others emerged. The early colonial *psyche* developed in response to the physical environment, economic conditions and an evolving social order. The colony began with total reliance on the London-based British government but gained economic independence by 1830. But that independence was enmeshed with the cotton mills of Bradford and Manchester and the banks of London. With early industries and businesses came the first managers and agents. Their initial practices replicated the traditions of the homeland, but the colony was a developing political, social, economic and institutional environment and Australia's first managers soon began to develop local management practice.

3.1 Early Colonial Development

3.1.1 Isolation and Adversity

The penal colony at Port Jackson was founded with high hopes for its prosperity. Its initial objectives were survival and independence through agriculture and grazing.[17] These proved more difficult to achieve than was anticipated, as Australian conditions were considerably different to those of Britain and traditional methods of agriculture produced inadequate yields.

The nomadic aboriginal people did not practice forms of agriculture recognisable to the colonists, establishing camps in one location then moving to another site.[18] In contrast, the colonists were settlers, building residences and towns near reliable water supplies, largely dependent on crops and grazing for food. Australia's earliest managers worked in the farming and grazing context, attempting to grow crops and graze stock (see section 3.3).

In its first 20 years, the colony struggled and demonstrated considerable failure, to the extent that the British had ample reason to abandon or limit the settlement, but instead continued to bear the heavy costs of transportation and maintaining the colonies.[19] Macintyre described the period of 1793 – 1821 as 'Coercion', thus drawing attention to the fact that the colonies were imposed by the British government and then isolation sealed the fates of those who travelled and occupied the land. The convicts were coerced into transportation and then to work for the military and free settlers. The worst convicts were sent to Newcastle or Van Diemen's Land. The aborigines were coerced and sometimes killed when conflict and reprisals erupted. Murders and massacres were not uncommon.[20] The costs of survival and prosperity were very high.[21]

But isolation and adversity fostered fraternalism and pioneering conditions accentuated toughness, adaptability and group solidarity.[22] Fraternalism was a feature of the early colony and continued to define the society throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[23]

3.1.2 Changing Social Order

The colony at Port Jackson was initially a three class social structure - the 'keepers', the 'kept' and the 'free settlers'.[24] Of the 1,400 people who left Portsmouth in 1787, the convicts numbered 759, while over 200 uniformed marines were sent to guard them and protect the colony. The remainder of about 440 included families and sailors.[25]

The 'keepers' were marines and sailors while the kept consisted mostly of recidivist male thieves.[26] The 'typical' convict was a Londoner who stole spoons, rather than a countryman who snared rabbits.[27] There was a disproportionate number of Irish convicts.[28]

The 'free settlers' were few in number for many years. Hancock estimated that in 1820 the 'free' population of the colony (excluding 'emancipists'[29]) was a mere 1,307.[30] It was only after 1810 that the levels of 'free settlers' rose markedly to an average of 867 per annum over the next 10 years. There is some debate about whether the 'emancipists' aligned with the free settlers or the convicts.[31]

While the balance of numbers between the three groups shifted, class distinctions were initially clearly delineated by the status of 'free settlers' as land owners[32] and keepers of convict and later indentured labour. To promote settlement and reduce its obligations to feed and clothe every colonist, the government adopted the practice of granting an area of 300 or 400 acres of land and assigning the services of a few convicts to every free settler or official who desired it.[33] *The Constitution Act of 1823* defined indentured labour so that young men could enter into articles of service for a period of seven years or less. The employers paid the passage money of these youths from England, and the *Act* provided for the enforcement of agreements.[34]

But while land ownership and master-servant relationships preserved class distinctions, other factors narrowed or confused social partitions and distance. Convicts had opportunities to contract their labour[35] and adopted the euphemistic and dignified title of 'government men', while the term 'convict' became an insult.[36] Social distance was further reduced over time with the growth of 'emancipist' numbers, through marriage and the birth of children.

Some evidence indicates that the great majority of convicts changed for the better,[37] while a small minority were recidivists. Governor Lachlan Macquarie appointed 'emancipists' like Francis Greenway to important government positions, granting pardons for good behaviour and parcels of land to convicts as their terms expired.[38] But the problem of crime within the colonies was significant enough to require its own courts, punishments and places of exile.[39]

Imbalance in the numbers of men and women changed from 3:1 in 1830 to 2:1 in 1840 and then 3:2 in 1850, through immigration and Australian births.[40] The ratios varied between colonies and the efforts of Caroline Chisholm in influencing and arranging the migration of women and families to New South Wales were exceptional.[41]

The social order of the early colony evolved over the decades to a more complex and diverse society, not through education, but through migration, material prosperity, land ownership and marriage. Early managers were enmeshed in this social order and their biographies reflect many developments and features of the period.

3.1.3 **Divergent Settlements**

The socio-economic histories of the various Australian states and territories present considerable departures from that of New South Wales. Blainey argued that the reasons for establishing further settlements were more sea-based than land-based, and more to do with merchant trading and commercial opportunities than as dumping grounds for English criminals.[42]

The initial colony in Van Diemen's Land (later known as Tasmania) was established in 1803, on the Derwent estuary near present day Hobart. Like Sydney, it too was a group of soldiers, free settlers and convicts.[43] The following year, a colony was established on the northern coast of the island, at the mouth of the Tamar River. Whaling, sealing, wool and wheat were important industries in its economic development, and in the 1840s its manufacturing industries included flour mills, candle making, tanneries, ship-building, brewing, boot-making, tool-making and joineries. While the transportation of convicts to the Australian mainland was halted in 1840, a few shiploads were sent to Tasmania and Norfolk Island until 1852. Tasmania received nearly as many convicts as New South Wales throughout the years of transportation, but by 1850 it had less than half the population of Sydney.[44]

In 1803, two ships from England arrived at Sorento, near Port Phillip Bay to establish a colony on the northern side of the Bass Strait. In 1835, sheep were brought across the Bass Strait from Tasmania by a group of entrepreneurs led by John Batman to the area where Melbourne now stands.[45] Within 15 years, Melbourne became one of the three busiest wool ports in the world.[46] While Melbourne was not a destination for transported convicts, it was often the destination for people with a criminal past, such as escapees and emancipists. By 1850, it too had less than half the population of Sydney.[47]

In 1824 a convict camp was established near present-day Brisbane and proved to be an unpopular location for a long time. Of all the money spent by the colonies in assisting the passage of immigrants, half was spent attracting migrants to Brisbane.[48] By 1850, its population was around a mere 2,500.

The settlement founded at Perth village on the Swan River in 1829 was a colony of free settlers sponsored by a few private individuals, including Captain James Stirling. Starting as a free settlement, Western Australia later sought the transportation of convict labour and was the last state to discontinue the practice, receiving 10,000 convicts between 1850 and 1868.[49] Its early years were arduous and after 10 years its settled population was only 2,000, many having left,[50] but by 1850, its population had grown to 5,000.[51]

In 1836, South Australia became a colony of free settlers with a ban on the transportation of convicts.[52] It was a planned colony, established through the South Australia Company, with its subsidized migrants signing a declaration embodying the ideology of the colony. Subsidized migrants were selected according to age, sex and skills.[53] It became the preferred destination in Australia for migrants of Cornish and German descent rather than Irish and Scottish and its balance between men and women was more equal.[54] Many of its German migrants were Lutherans. Whaling was its first profitable export industry and sealing had

also occurred on Kangaroo Island.[55] Wool and wheat were significant in its economic development but these industries developed in ways notably different to those in New South Wales and Victoria. Its mineral discoveries in the 1840s proved to be an important source of economic advancement. South Australia was a colonial success, not only attracting migrants from Britain but also thousands of migrants from other countries.[56] Adelaide was a destination of choice, not of coercion.

The prominence of government and convict labour waned in the east as those societies grew politically and economically, propagating the institutions of a capitalist market economy. The land-holding pastoralists, the bankers, and the many small industries joined the government as employers.

The colonies began and developed in different ways at different times. The emergence and development of managers followed different paths, being influenced by the social and economic features of each colony.

3.1.4 The Shortage of Labour

Ward regarded the shortage of labour as "the greatest single difference between the old environment and the new".[57] It meant that punishments for misdemeanours had to be tempered, so as not to significantly impact upon food production.[58] Initially, nearly all convicts worked for the government, but later they were increasingly assigned to independent employers, obtaining food, clothes and shelter by working their prescribed hours. After completing their set daily hours they were able to contract their services to their master or a neighbour.[59] In this way convicts moved from being a burden on the state to becoming members of a household and establishing themselves as an important link in the economic and material survival of the colony.

The shortage of labour constrained the development of the pastoral industry, particularly during the 1830s and early 1840s, when wool was the largest employer.[60] The rapid development of the pastoral industry created a standard of living that was considerably higher than Britain. Prosperity, in turn, changed attitudes to work and leisure: work in the colony produced noticeably greater reward and more opportunities for leisure than in Britain.[61]

The shortage of labour was an important feature of the early economy. When the economy expanded at various times, labour increased in value, drawing as high a price as the market economy could bear. Butlin argued that the regular supply of skilled labour was important in maintaining high wages, promoting urbanisation and preserving a high standard of living.[62]

Another important feature in the labour market was the development of the system for supervising convicts employed in public work in New South Wales. The use of gang labour was of considerable benefit to the colony and various governors reflected on the problem of whether to assign convicts to free settlers or the gangs.[63] The gang system changed considerably between 1788 and 1830 when groups of convicts were assigned to supervisors or overseers. During the Macquarie era (1810 – 1821), they were allocated to tasks such as sawing lumber, shell-collecting, lime-burning, brick-making or constructing roads and civic buildings. After 1813, deputy overseers and principal overseers were also appointed, creating additional layers of supervision. Robbins concluded that the supervision of convict gangs became a highly sophisticated and elaborate system.[64] The shortage of labour influenced overseers both to train and retain their charges. As will be argued later in this chapter, the shortage of labour was a considerable problem for the recruitment and practice of managers who often had responsibilities for convicts and assigned servants.

3.1.5 **Outrageous Opportunities**

The colony became a land of financial opportunity with fortunes amassed by means both fair and foul.[65] There were many examples of both convicts (such as Samuel Terry and James Underwood) and 'free settlers' (Robert Campbell, Ben Boyd, Simeon Lord, etc), who came to Australia and achieved far more than they might have done in Britain. In the prosperous days of wool and later gold, wealth could be acquired at a phenomenal rate. James Underwood was a convict who served seven years' transportation. At the completion of his sentence, he became a merchant and shipbuilder. He made much money through being a part-owner of many ships, one of which was chartered by the British to transport convicts to Australia. Such opportunities cast transportation in an unexpected light. Rather than being a deterrent to crime, many London commentators grew concerned at its prospect for reward. [66]

The capacity to acquire wealth provided greater social mobility in colonial society and a somewhat cynical attitude towards the pretensions of the wealthy. While enterprising colonials could acquire an expensive lifestyle, their means of advancement was subject to scrutiny and sometimes derision.[67] Early managers played an important role in that prosperity and in many cases grew wealthy themselves.

3.1.6 **Original Bureaucracy**

The history of Australia can arguably be described as a history of bureaucracy, beginning in 1788 with the arrival of the military and their various systems of record-keeping.

Bureaucracy was the hallmark of the early colony with the authorities closely monitoring activities by maintaining detailed records of supplies, equipment and personnel. Security was maintained through camps and curfews for many years. As Blainey described it:

> "New South Wales, for some decades was regulated minutely. A precursor to the police state, its secret files covered a higher proportion than did the secret files of any nation in Europe: it must have been the only nation or colony where the description and whereabouts of nearly everyone, free or bond was recorded on the official files ... Free Settlers reaching Sydney soon became familiar with the mesh of regulations and security procedures. Each evening a drum or trumpet sounded the tattoo, after which the strollers had to justify their presence in the streets. After the sounding of the trumpet only the recognised householders and officers of vessels were allowed to walk the streets unchallenged, and even had to carry a lantern...The government tried to regulate all economic activities in the first two decades."[68]

The military adopted the roles of protector, provider, controller, and punisher. It promoted food production, maintained order, explored and expanded the colony. While its principle means of administering these functions were systems of record-keeping which included an accounting system,[69] it used a chain of command to implement complex procedures. Colonial bureaucracy drew heavily from the administrative, legal and financial systems of Great Britain. But while the military had methods it had no staff called 'managers'.

3.2   Economic Independence

3.2.1 **The Wool Rush**

The story of the rise of the wool industry and its role in making Australia a solvent, independent and free society is well established.[70] John Macarthur began his experiments in breeding sheep in 1796 and in 1822 Macarthur's wool was judged equal to the finest Saxon.[71]

But Macarthur did not establish the wool industry single-handedly.[72] While he made a significant contribution, the wool industry became prosperous through the efforts of other entrepreneurs and the perseverance of squatters and shepherds alike. The rise of the wool industry provided the foundation stone for exploration, expansion, economic development and independence, and a milestone for industrial relations, even management.

Exploration was prompted by the need for large tracts of grazing land for increasing flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.[73] The official explorers were usually equipped by the government and commissioned to report on their journeys in terms of the arable and grazing potential of

areas, the existence of minerals or exotic plants and birds.[74] The purpose of exploration was primarily economic exploitation, inseparable from the wool industry.

Not all Australian wool was exported to England. In 1801, the first blankets and linen were woven in Sydney while the first Australian grown and manufactured tweeds appeared in 1843.[75]

The wool industry had many effects on the colonies. The export of Australian wool to Great Britain brought prosperity and gave impetus to legitimise the practice of squatting, which the English government regarded with distaste. Not only was squatting a disorderly advance whereby squatters claimed and grazed land wherever feed and water permitted, but it was also a trespass on the Crown's waste lands.[76] The pastoral industry usurped the government as the major employer in the colony, changing the context and nature of employer-employee relationships. No longer was labour supplied on the basis of indenture, but dominantly on a fee-for-service basis. Once convict labour was replaced by emancipists and free settlers, the basis for the engagement of labour changed irrevocably. The establishment of the pastoral industry also founded a form of class struggle.[77] Further, it provided the rationale and the funding for related activities such as exploration, finance, tools, materials and equipment, shipping and later railways thus spurring the invention and application of mechanical technology.

The expansion of the pastoral industry required capital to launch and expand individual ventures. Entrepreneurs such as John Macarthur, Samuel Marsden or Ben Boyd used capital to acquire land and sheep and then to finance shearing and transport costs. They also needed shepherds with knowledge of tending sheep in local conditions. As their interests expanded, they appointed managers to their businesses.

The wool industry provided the economic livelihood, either directly or indirectly, for the majority of both employers and employees and a crucible for industrial relations. The primary production of wool was only one step in the logistics of supplying the mills of Bradford and Manchester in northern England with the raw material to clothe Europeans. Sheep required shearing, so shearers and shearing sheds were essential; bailers packaged the raw product into bags; drays with bullocks or horses and drivers formed the means of land transport; dock labour and hoists were used to load the cargo onto the ships; wool buyers and brokers placed and filled orders; financiers and bankers lent capital and recorded transactions, and so on. The infrastructure of the wool industry was far-reaching at the time. The seaports of the colony had held strategic significance since the inception of the colony, and the wool

industry made them even more important. The shearing sheds and the wharves later became the battlegrounds of industrial conflict of titanic proportions.

During the rapid expansion of the pastoral industry in the 1830s, specialist firms emerged undertaking wool-broking and the sale of livestock and property. In 1839 Elders began operating in Adelaide as a general merchant and commission business. In Sydney Thomas Mort established a general auctioneering business in 1843, but by 1850 began to concentrate on auctioning wool, livestock, and pastoral properties. In Melbourne in 1846 the firm of James Turner commenced as importers and commission merchants, as did Dalgety as a general importing business. In 1848 Richard Goldsbrough commenced operations in Melbourne, both as a wool classer and broker.[78]

The pastoral industry in Australia developed a coalition between owner and stock and station agent, becoming a quintessentially Australasian institution.[79] It also produced and promoted the role of the manager of the grazing property.

3.2.2 **Money and Banking**

The expansion and success of the wool industry depended, *inter alia*, on financial and monetary infrastructure. The economic expansion of the colony was largely financed by British capital and the theme of 'wool and paper' has been developed by a number of Australian historians.[80]

Without the early founding of a banking institution and forms of currency, Australia's early economic development would have been very different. During the early years of the colony, receipts from the government store were issued by the Commissariat and promissory notes were written by a number of individuals. English and foreign coins provided some currency for trade, but the establishment of both a bank and a currency created a financial system with inherent efficiencies.[81]

The Bank of New South Wales was established in 1817[82] and initially functioned both as a lending institution and a currency controller. Its formation was an event of importance for colonial economic development during the 1820s and 1830s. The initial charter of the bank invested governance of the bank's operations in a president and six directors.[83] It commenced operations with an accounting system of double entry bookkeeping developed by John Croaker, who had been transported the previous year for embezzlement.[84] Macquarie sought to control the currency of the colony by importing Spanish dollars in 1822. But the British government, after adopting the gold standard, decided upon a uniform currency amongst the colonies. By the 1830s, British currency acted as an adequate exchange mechanism in the

major cities following government and private shipments, though outback areas retained the use of promissory notes issued by individuals into the latter half of the nineteenth century.[85]

During the pastoral expansion of the 1830s, an Australian banking system began to emerge, with entry of other banks and branches opening up in the larger outposts of settlement. By 1830 a further two banks were operating in Sydney, four in Van Diemen's Land,[86] and a few savings banks had been formed. The development of a capitalist economy prompted expansion of the banks, and, in turn, elevated the role of the bank manager.

Conditions were favourable for investment during the two six-month periods of 1835 as the Bank of New South Wales paid dividends of 20% and 24% and a number of banks formed in Britain to provide wool finance. These included the Bank of Australasia (1835), the Union Bank of Australia (1837) and the Royal Bank of Australia (1840).[87] However, the main interest of British investors remained in Europe and the USA.[88]

Expansion of the banks was soon followed by government regulation. In 1836 the banks in New South Wales that received government funds as deposits were requested to disclose half-yearly balance sheets to the Colonial Governor. In 1840 all New South Wales banks were required to publish quarterly statements of average assets and liabilities in a prescribed format. This requirement was later extended to Victoria, Queensland and South Australia.[89]

The entry of further British banks into the Australian market provided a larger pool of funds and increased the level of competition. Australia became part of an emerging international capital market, germinating a foreign exchange mechanism and displacing the Commissariat system. While both the British and colonial governments played a large role in financing civic construction, justice and administrative services, the banks became a source of finance for the promoters of burgeoning industries. The arrival of the British banks and expansion of banking operations reflected the prosperity and opportunities of the times. The banks grew bigger, becoming considerably larger at the end of the 1830s. Insurance and other companies, as well as private individuals, played a role in the money market. Individuals discounted bills and lent on mortgage.[90]

At first the banks tended to lend to the merchant rather than the pastoralist and the discounting of bills was their main business. But in the 1840s, the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney began to lend money to pastoralists on the security of their wool clip.[91]

Local banks played a limited but important role in financing the early industries of the colony, such as wool, whaling, and shipping. Early entrepreneurs such as Campbell, Lord, Macarthur, Terry, and others developed diverse portfolios after securing access to funds and

credit.[92] Campbell was an agent for the East India Company while Boyd was a Director of the Royal Bank of Australia.[93] Both men had access to finance above and beyond their personal wealth and were willing to invest.

Ville emphasised the diverse portfolios of interests that some of the early colonial entrepreneurs built up. Campbell had interests in whaling, shipbuilding, shipping, banking, and farming as well as trading in a wide range of commodities. Lord combined extensive trading and shipping interests with auctioneering and some manufacturing. Macarthur's portfolio combined shipping, whaling, commodity dealing, and farming. Samuel Terry's range of business interests extended to retailing, inn-keeping, real estate, shipping, commerce, banking, flour-milling, carriage services, and grazing. Andrew Thompson established a strong grain import business early in the colony and was involved in land-owning, retailing, inn-keeping, and construction. From the 1830s, James King's ventures included mercantile and agency work, the manufacture of pottery, agriculture, and viticulture. During the 1840s, Elder and Smith began with general mercantile and commission businesses but later extended into the mining, transport, and pastoral sectors before deciding to concentrate on the pastoral sector. [94]

With the entry of new banks and as branches were opened, managers were appointed to oversee operations, following a British tradition. Expansion, both in the number of banks and the number of branches, was seminal in establishing the manager's role in Australian trade, commerce and society. The early bank managers continued the role and practice of their British counterparts in the colonial context.[95] Because banking and finance were integral to economic development, the early bank managers were important figures, well known to the entrepreneurs of the early colony, but of a much lesser standing compared to owners and board members.

The banks financed the transaction costs for the wool industry rather than the physical process of wool growing. By the end of the 1830s, the "enduring basis of a competitive domestic capital market had been laid."[96] As a consequence the early practice and standing of the bank manager was also founded by that time.

The 1840s saw at least one significant departure from traditional British banking practices by Australian bank managers. The *Lien on Wool and Livestock Act of 1843* permitted banks to lend against livestock and unshorn wool as security, legitimizing an emerging practice. While incurring the displeasure of the British Government and perhaps the disapproval of English bankers, the development of local practice for Australian bank managers had begun.[97]

3.2.3 **The Cities Rise: The Chains Break**

As waves of migrating 'free settlers' after 1810 overtook the number of convicts being transported, the cities rose and civil rights increased. While settlements and towns were established throughout the decades for various reasons - as strategic naval positions (Norfolk Island, King Island), as garrisons (Goulburn in NSW), as whaling ports (Warnambool, Boyd Town) or with the expansion of the pastoral industry (Geelong, Canberra, Bathurst) - the port cities were the main destinations for immigrants. The throngs of migrant 'free settlers' brought a wider range of trades and skills particularly relevant to the urban context where small enterprises mushroomed, some run by managers.

As immigration increased, transportation of convicts waned. Transportation was discontinued to Sydney in 1840, Hobart in 1853, and finally in Western Australia in 1868. In a period of 80 years, 163,000 convicts were shipped to Australia with almost as many landing in Hobart as in Sydney. No settlement escaped the effects of transportation. Even the free settlements of Melbourne and Adelaide received either 'emancipists' or convicts with a 'tickets-of-leave' or conditional pardons. Tasmania and Western Australia, being the last to abandon the practice, held the effects of high numbers of convicts longer than New South Wales.[98]

As migration of 'free settlers' to the colony increased, the vast majority of migrants stayed in the established cities and towns, particularly the ports of destination. In rough terms, by 1850, half the population of each state lived in towns.

> "Australia, much more than the United States, was a country of town-dwellers.
> Perhaps only England, of all the nations, had a higher ratio of town-dwellers than
> Australia. It was easy to understand why England was a land of cities: it was the
> global workshop and foundry, making a variety of factory wares for customers in
> every continent. In contrast, Australia was the global shepherd, and that being one of
> the most rural activities it did not easily explain why such brimming towns existed in
> Australia."[99]

There were economic reasons for the tendency to remain in the towns, such as better opportunities for women to obtain work, and urbanisation became part of the Australian way of life. With the rise of the cities and the growth in the overall population to 405,000 in 1850[100] came an increased demand for goods and services, resulting in the prosperity of a number of vibrant and attractive shops.[101] For many reasons, people preferred living in cities and towns to the isolation of the inland.

The 'free settlers' brought higher expectations about legal rights, citizenship and justice. Trial by jury was introduced in civil cases in 1823 in both New South Wales and Tasmania. In 1839 the trial by jury criminal court replaced the combined judge and military officer model.[102] A significant event in education and intellectual freedom occurred in 1850 with the foundation of the first Australian university at Sydney.[103] Higher expectations about legal rights, citizenship and justice continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as Australians embraced trade unionism, democracy and federation (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Sydney was proclaimed a city in 1842 and the following year New South Wales received a partly elected government with greater liberty to frame tariffs, subject to Royal assent. In the same year New South Wales' new legislative council allowed financiers to lend against stock or unshorn sheep, permitted insolvent squatters to continue managing their sheep-runs free from the danger of foreclosure and virtually abolished imprisonment for bad debts. In 1850 the New South Wales form of government was extended to Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, which became a separate colony from 1851.[104]

From the early years of the nineteenth century, the newspapers adopted the role as the 'unofficial opposition' to the government. But continued freedom of the press was won through sacrifice. Both the editors of the *Monitor* and the *Australian* were gaoled at Parramatta in 1829 for libels against Governor Darling, the *Australian* claiming that the Governor was not fit to rule over any British colony. But Darling's successor, Sir Richard Bourke, courted the press with tax exemptions and free postage, seeking to restore a more congenial co-existence.[105]

The port cities rose with the waves of migrants who brought a greater range of skills to the colony. Concentration of population in the cities stimulated their economies prompting increases in the size of some businesses and a broader spectrum of industries.

3.2.4 **Employers and Employees**

Economic diversification

While the rise of the wool industry during this period was the main story of economic development, it was neither the only story nor the whole story (see Appendix 2). Construction and manufacturing industries began within days of the arrival of the first fleet. The need for shelter and then more permanent buildings led to timber-getting, sawing, brick-pits, clay-pits, kilns, tanneries, flour mills, etc. Brewing and distilling activities commenced during the 1790s, but a surplus of grain was not available until 1804. In that year, four

breweries commenced operation in Sydney.[106] Boat building similarly commenced prior to 1804 and became a rapidly growing industry during the 1810s.[107]

The first shipment of Australian black coal left for Bengal in 1799.[108] Bakeries were in operation by 1801. A number of tanneries commenced operation between 1803 and 1810. John Blaxland arrived in the colony in 1807 and later erected a small woollen factory, a windmill, lime kilns and a salt works on his property at Newington. Hand looms for wool had been imported in 1798. A small tin factory opened in 1808 and blacksmiths were also operating around this time, though their iron was imported. In 1813 John Wilshire brought a steam engine with machinery and equipment for sawing timber and grinding corn. Simeon Lord was an early investor in hat, leather, woollen and soap factories. Water mills and wind-mills were operating by 1815 to support flour milling. A small factory specialising in agricultural implements began in 1816 while by 1820 there were two silversmiths in Sydney. In 1821 the government was operating lime kilns, a wool manufactory, a dockyard, saw-pits, brickworks, a slaughter-house and the lumber yard carrying out over 40 different trades. The manufacture of sugar commenced in 1824, the first Australian-made steamship was launched in 1831,[109] the rich copper mines of Kapunda and Burra in South Australia were opened in the mid-1840s,[110] and iron ore was smelted on a small scale for the first time in 1847.[111] While the government played a significant role in manufacturing, by 1850 a small private manufacturing sector was evident in the colony.[112]

In 1834, the first Australian made marine steam-engine was made by a Hobart foundry. In the late 1840s Tasmania had between 70 to 80 flour-mills, 16 candle factories, 46 breweries, and about 40 tanneries. In 1847 the *Tasman* (a ship of 560 tons) was launched from Hobart and the *Harpley* (547 tons) from Tamar.[113] In Melbourne by 1851, two steam-mills, seven breweries, one soap-boiling establishment, one blacking 'manufactory', three iron foundries and one brass foundry were operating.[114]

The first printing press was set up in Sydney in 1795[115] while the first paper, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, was published in March 1803.[116] The first newspaper carried advertisements for local manufacturers and retailers such as shoe-makers, flour-millers and brewers as well as shipping notices and other commercial news. By the 1840's, various newspapers in the colonies were published on a daily basis with advertisements providing a valuable source of income. Agents became increasingly important in selling column space for newspapers and magazines during the 1840s.[117] By 1850 the newspapers numbered about 50 stretching from Perth to Maitland and Brisbane.[118]

The Management Rush

While the government stores were the colony's original institution for the exchange of goods, the first regular produce market commenced in 1803 and permanent shops were trading during the first decade of the nineteenth century.[119] Merchants such as Robert Campbell, Simeon Lord and Samuel Terry imported goods for local consumption. The demand for quality goods from England made Charles Appleton and David Jones wealthy retailers during the 1830s.[120] Following a fall-out, in 1838 David Jones established his own business, David Jones & Co. selling ready-made clothing to a broader market.[121] In order to promote their business, retailers advertised in newspapers and used posters from at least 1832.[122]

The colonies had many small enterprises such as tailors, blacksmiths, saddlers, bakeries, coachbuilders, and further services to the existing large employers – wool, whaling, retail, shipping, timber, construction and government administration. While the wool industry was the dominant source of employment during this period, these other areas, when combined, played a significant role in early colonial life, both as employers and micro-economies.

Some businesses grew to a considerable size, notably those which operated as public companies in various industries. By 1850, public companies dominated banking, were strong in insurance, and prominent in coastal shipping.[123] The South Australian Company was formed in London in 1836 for the purpose of establishing the colony of South Australia. Samuel Stephens was appointed as its first colonial manager.[124]

Early Industrial Conflict

The pastoral industry was not the context for the formation of employee societies or initial labour problems. As discussed earlier, the initial labour problems for the colony related to skills, supply and methods. For some decades, the early colony imposed control over convict and free settler alike. It was not until 1834 that a new industrial problem surfaced, when a group of tailors in Hobart went on strike for higher wages.[125]

During the 1830s number of benefit societies emerged among worker occupations such as ship and boat builders, printers, carpenters and joiners. These organisations were formed to provide sickness and funeral benefits to contributing members. Similar organisations had earlier formed in England as a forerunner to a trade union that sought to improve the wages and conditions of its members.[126]

In a similar vein to the Hobart tailors, in 1837 seamen and labourers employed in fitting out sea vessels demanded an advance on the ruling rate of wages (three shillings per day) and refused to engage with ship owners except at four shillings per day. In 1840 the Australian Society of Compositors took strike action in Sydney affecting the *Sydney Gazette* and the

Sydney Morning Herald. Later the same year the tailors of Sydney and the carpenters and joiners of Melbourne went on strike.[127]

Employers responded to each of these worker actions with a flat refusal.[128] While negotiated wage rises had occurred in similar contexts, employers confronted by striking workers were not prepared to meet demands.

The government of New South Wales was similarly unimpressed. In 1840, the *Master and Servants Act* made conspiracy to raise wages or otherwise improve the conditions of labour, the breaking of agreements by employees and leaving employment without notice offences punishable with imprisonment.[129]

As the economy expanded, the range of employers broadened and included some manufacturing businesses. The wool industry became the largest employer, displacing the colonial government from that role. The formation of benefit societies led to agitation and even strike action. The British institutions of masters and servants, employers and employees, collective bargaining, government, and the rule of law had taken root in the Australian colonies.

3.3   Australia's First Managers[130]

Australia's first managers were probably in farming and pastoral contexts, where owners often employed a 'manager' to oversee a farm and its operations. Perhaps the first manager in the colony was William Faithful, a soldier and settler who arrived in the colony in February 1792 under the command of Captain Foveaux. On discharge from the military in 1799, Faithful was employed by Foveaux in the management of his farms, and received part of Foveaux's flock when Foveaux left the colony in 1801. He prospered as a grazier and became prominent in the Richmond district, where he died and was buried in April 1847, aged 73.[131]

Another early farm manager was Joseph Holt (1756 - 1826), an Irish rebel and farmer who sailed to exile in 1799 and arrived in January 1800. He accepted the management of Brush Farm[132] at Dundas, near Sydney, from Captain William Cox. According to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography:*

> "He was a useful manager for Cox and by 1809 was himself the owner of 210 acres (85 ha), on which he grazed 400 sheep and 50 cattle."[133]

In 1809, he secured a free pardon and returned to Ireland in 1812.

In March 1803, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* published an article relating to farm management. In an extract from 'The Report of the Society for bettering the Condition, and increasing the Comforts of the Poor', the Reverend Dr Glasse advocated hand sowing of wheat, based on the results of a field trial:

> "the land in no other respect differing, either in quality, or management, from the adjoining land". *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser,* 12 March 1803, Vol 1, No 2.[134]

It provided an early example of farm management discourse. Commissioner Bigge's first report, presented in London in 1822 was entitled 'Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales and is Government, Management of Convicts, their Character and Habits'.[135] It begins:

> "MY LORD,
>
> BEFORE I proceed to lay before your Lordship a statement of the manner in which the Convicts are employed and managed in the settlements of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land ..."[136]

But subsequent references to managers and management are sparse, though there is at least one further reference to the management on convicts.[137]

An early factory manager was George Mealmaker (1768 – 1808), a Scottish political transportee who arrived in Sydney in November 1800. In August 1803, Governor King appointed him as manager of the Female Factory, a weaving business in Parramatta, for four years. King was well pleased with Mealmaker's management of the factory and granted him a conditional pardon and generous emoluments. However, Mealmaker died in March 1808, apparently destitute and a drunkard.[138]

The Macquarie Encyclopedia listed Edward Lord as having a *manager* of his estates in 1820.[139] It also cited Governor Darling (1825-1831) as stating that squatters should manage their properties instead of living in Sydney and letting *managers* run them.[140] Robert Dawson was appointed to the post of *Chief Agent* in the Australian Agricultural Company in 1824. His management of stock in the Port Stephens area drew the praise of James Macarthur.[141] Similarly, William Parry came to New South Wales as *Commissioner* in charge of the enterprises of the Australian Agricultural Company in December 1829.[142] Edward Curr, a store owner in Hobart Town, was appointed as the *Chief Agent* of the Van Diemen's Land Company in 1825.[143]

The artist John Glover arrived in Launceston in February 1831 and travelled to Hobart Town. He bought a property at Tea-Tree Brush (about 18 miles from Hobart Town) and installed a *manager*, who worked the farm with assigned servants.[144]

While there was some tradition of appointing 'managers' on farms in rural England,[145] it was not a particularly strong one. There were some 'managers' and 'agents' administering farms on behalf of the owners, but the more common arrangement was the appointment of 'bailiffs'. The management of farms in England and Wales was usually administered by leasing to tenant farmers.[146] Pollard outlined the practices of estate bailiffs prior to the Industrial Revolution, listing their duties as drawing up leases, collecting rents, supervising the home farm, keeping the estate accounts, including payment of staff and sometimes supervising the household.[147] Early colonial practice appears to have been the appointment of a 'manager' who directly supervised the farming and grazing operation, rather than the leases of tenant farmers. Some tenant farmers may have existed in the early colony, but the practice of land grants to settlers made ownership more viable and preferable to tenancy. Thus the practice of appointing 'managers' in Australia was more adaptive and innovative rather than mere replication.

Managers of farms dealt with the range of colonial features and characteristics, such as convicts, the aborigines, the shortage of labour, isolation and adversity, the intrusive role of government, the prospect of considerable wealth, etc. Their farming and grazing activities were vital to the initial survival of the colony and then its prosperity.

They routinely dealt with convicts assigned to the owner, facing the dilemma of transforming the typical 'London recidivist thief' into a useful farmhand. They also faced the failure of crops, wildlife grazing on new green shoots, aborigines occasionally harvesting sheep and cattle. They were familiar with labour shortages and contracting arrangements for convicts, particularly when the demand for labour was higher, such as when clearing land or at shearing time.

Owners faced the dilemma of appointing a manager and then, if that manager went elsewhere to start his own farm, replacing him. In the case of a company manager or agent, that replacement was sometimes recruited from Great Britain.[148] As the search for land went north, west and south of Sydney, agricultural company managers like Robert Dawson and bankers like Ben Boyd travelled, assessed the land, took steps to acquire it and turned it into a profitable farm. The case of Edward Curr (1798 - 1850) provides an expanded picture of the role of a company *Chief Agent* working in Van Diemen's Land in the 1820s and 1830s.

Curr became the *Chief Agent* at a salary of £800[149] for the Van Diemen's Land Company in 1825 after meeting the directors in London. He was born in Yorkshire and had travelled with his wife to Van Diemen's Land in 1820, having formed a business partnership with a London merchant. Curr encountered numerous business problems and returned to England with his wife and their two Hobart-born sons following the death of his father in 1823. In London, he obtained his appointment with the Company and arranged to purchase 250,000 acres of land in Van Diemen's Land for the company. He sailed in the *Cape Packet* with his family and staff, which included a superintendent, an agriculturist, an 'architect and surveyor' and two surveyors. Livestock, implements and emigrant labourers were to follow in a later ship, the *Tranmere,* allowing Curr some time to select the land, survey the boundaries and obtain an occupation licence from Lieutenant-Governor Arthur.

Curr identified his choice of land, but Arthur was reluctant to agree, as the selection did not preserve a clear gap between the Company's land and the settled districts. The Company wielded considerable financial power and Curr sought the granting of an interim area, while the larger surveying task was undertaken. The locality of Circular Head was assigned as the Company's base. The *Tranmere* called at the port of George Town on the Tamar River, picking up convicts and hiring sawyers. In October 1826 the *Tranmere* arrived at Circular Head and began to unload, but bad weather forced it to leave prematurely, to return to the shelter of George Town. The settlement at Circular Head began,[150] but soon convicts refused to work and a brawl broke out between free settlers and convicts, after rum went 'missing'. Curr received reports of insurrection but found the convict complaints largely justified because of poor rations, clothing and bedding. The superintendent's management of the settlement was found to be lacking and the Company requested that Curr move to Circular Head and reside there. This arrangement was effected by November 1827. In subsequent years, land-clearing and grazing of Saxon sheep produced good results, but Curr recognised that continued success relied on obtaining further suitable land.

The land issue was eventually finalised in 1830, taking the form of a number of blocks, rather than as a single piece, amounting to a total of 350,000 acres. Curr had sought this result as he recognised that a single tract of land would include mountains and other areas not conducive to grazing.

As *Chief Agent,* he had performed business both in London and in Van Diemen's Land. He was responsible for identifying suitable land and travelled with the surveying team. Curr established the settlement at Circular Head and the Company's work force proceeded to occupy that land, displacing the indigenous people, clearing its forests and grazing sheep for

wool production. The workforce consisted of the superintendent, emigrant labourers, convicts and sawyers.

The Company's further expansion across the north-west of Van Diemen's Land encountered difficulties such as stock losses, and Curr persuaded the Company's directors to recruit tenant farmers as a solution to a large Company workforce. Thus Curr, in a protracted manner, continued the English practice of farm agency through tenant farmers.[151]

There were also managers of early banks, hotels and other enterprises. George Read (1788-1860) was the *managing director* of the Bank of Van Diemen's Land Company from 1827 to 1849[152]. William Hamilton (1790? - 1870) became the first full-time salaried bank *manager* in Australia, when he was appointed to the Derwent Bank in April 1830.[153] He was succeeded after only 18 months by Charles Swanston (1789 - 1850) in November 1831. Swanton introduced the overdraft system to Australian banking and formed the Derwent Savings Bank during 1834. He also pursued other business interests as an import and export agent, investment agent and wool broker.[154]

On 1 January 1836 a notice for the Bank of Australasia, relating to the discounting and purchasing of Bills of Lading, appeared in Sydney's *Commercial Journal and Advertiser*. It was authorised on behalf of the Local Board of Direction by G Kinnear, *Manager*. By 1840, newspapers published in South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania[155] had similar notices referring to *managers* of banks. These early references indicate how old the tradition of bank managers is in Australia, but not as old as farm managers.

Colonial bank managers were critical to the expansion of the wool industry during the 1830s. As finance became critical to expansion, so the role of the manager gained importance. As new banks entered the colony or sought to expand through new branches, bank clerks and managers needed to be appointed. While some promotions were probably local appointments, some bank clerks and managers were recruited from Great Britain, even from afar as Scotland.[156]

John Fawkner became the owner and *manager* of Melbourne's first public house, sometime in the 1830s. Brewing and distilling were popular from the early days of the colonies, continuing the traditions of the British beverage industry.

There was at least one manager of a retail business in 1838. A manager was appointed in the Appleton and Jones Sydney drapery store some time before the partners had a fall-out. One account claimed that the dispute was over Appleton's appointment of a manager. Jones

became so enraged that he threw both Appleton and the manager out of the store and was charged with assault.[157]

The South Australian Company, the largest absentee landowning group, had a *manager* from 1836.[158] The first was Samuel Stephens, then David McLaren in April 1837. McLaren acquired land, gradually withdrew the company from whaling and shipping activities, and increased its cattle and sheep flocks. But his main success was in banking, where he lent to leading settlers and merchants.[159]

McLaren accepted the management of the London-based company and vacated his position in 1841. He was succeeded by William Giles who steered the company through the depression that followed. He improved the wool clip through importing Saxon rams and secured tenant farmers to grow wheat. He remained in the company's service as a faithful and enterprising employee until 1861.[160]

The South Australia Company was, as indicated earlier, the vehicle for the colonisation of South Australia with free settler migrants. Its managers were thus very prominent figures in the local context, though clearly responsible to the London company and its owners. Stephens, McLaren and Giles were all appointed in Great Britain and made the long sea journey to South Australia to take up the appointment. McLaren was sent following concerns about Stephens' conduct and his succession thus occurred under adverse circumstances. His appointment to manage the London company indicated a high regard for his abilities, and probably amounted to a promotion, but also a return to the comforts and attractions of London. He managed the London company while Giles managed the colonial operation.

The operations of the South Australia Company were manifold, conducted both from London and South Australia. London undertook the functions of attracting, selecting and arranging the passage of migrants, not only from Great Britain, but also from Europe, particularly Germany. German migrants pioneered the wine industry in the Barossa Valley, establishing family companies, some of whose names still appear today. Cornish migrants were important for the copper mining industry during the 1940s. Successful migrants were selected for their skills and age, amongst other criteria. One could describe the South Australia Company as a private colonisation firm, operating in a similar manner to the British government, but on a model of profit for the owners.

About 1838, Richard Green (1808 - 1878) was accountant and general manager of the merchant firm of James Henty & Co. in Launceston and carried on the business in his own name from 1843.[161] In 1839 Ben Boyd founded the Royal Bank of Australia in London, with

his brother Mark as *manager*. In 1843 Ben Boyd, (then of Boyd Town) appointed *managers* to administer his whaling and pastoral interests. Oswald Brierly was appointed *manager* of whaling while WS Moutry was appointed *manager* of all non-whaling activities of Boyd Town which included pastoral and shipping interests.[162] In 1843 John Bell was the *Managing Director* of two insurance companies in Tasmania.[163] During the 1840s, Clark Irving (1808 - 1865) was *manager* and later director of the Australasian Sugar Company.[164]

Ben Boyd was involved in Australia's profitable sealing, whaling, cattle and sheep industries, supplying both local and overseas demand. The line between Boyd's personal and private interests became somewhat blurred, as he used the Royal Australia Bank's capital to fund many of his own speculative ventures, but his appointment of managers was a means of expanding the scope of the bank's investments and his own.

Edward Knox (1819 - 1901) was a manager of the Australian Auction Company who transferred to the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in 1843 at a salary of £250. With two partners, he purchased a refinery and a distillery and leased them to the Colonial Sugar Refining Company which was founded in 1842. He traded in real estate, gaining wealth and prominence. He was a director of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney from 1845 till his death in 1901. In 1847, he became *manager* of the bank, replacing the previous managing director who had been dismissed for embezzling £10,700 of the total capital of £72,000. He devoted himself to the management of the bank until 1851, when he resigned the manager position. Knox became a director of the Sydney Tramway and Railway Co. and helped to found the Sydney Chamber of Commerce. Further aspects of Edward Knox's career are discussed in Chapter 4.[165]

The 1830s and 1840s demonstrated a more diverse selection of industries where managers were appointed to locations away from Sydney Town, in some private contexts but increasingly in public companies.

Both the South Australian Land Company and Ben Boyd operated portfolios with a degree of diversity. The nexus of a bank with other commercial endeavours was a heavily pragmatic consideration in Boyd's case, where the source of funding spurred entrepreneurial activity. In the case of the South Australian Land Company, the decision to lend money to settlers was a change of investment strategy that facilitated business expansion. Under McLaren's management, the company moved from sealing and whaling to grazing and financing leading settlers and merchants.

The development of the colonial societies stimulated cultural pursuits, entertainment and theatres during the 1830s. There were a number of theatre managers during this time, such as Joseph Simmons, John Lazar, Conrad Knowles, Joseph Wyatt, William Knight, Frederick Gibson and George Coppin. Simmons, Lazar, Knowles and Coppin all came to the colony from England and pursued the careers of actor and theatre manager, continuing the tradition of theatre managers that perhaps dated from Shakespeare's times.[166] The Oxford English Dictionary contained a citation of the manager of an opera house in England, dated 1781.[167]

Simmons (1810?-1893) came to Sydney as a settler in May 1830 and became an auctioneer. In January, 1834 he responded to an advertisement for a partner with capital for the Theatre Royal in Sydney, "such only as are prepared to give their personal attention to the management of the concern can be accepted"[168]. The following month, he commenced as a part-owning *manager* and actor until May 1836. He pursued other business opportunities as an auctioneer and the licensee of a public house, before becoming the *manager* of the Victoria Theatre in April, 1842. In May of 1843 he opened his own City Theatre but it closed after a few weeks.[169]

Lazar (1801-1879) came to Sydney in February 1937. He performed at the Theatre Royal in Sydney and was its *manager* between December 1837 and March 1838, when it closed. He was then *manager* of Sydney's Victoria Theatre from May 1843 till August 1844, and again in 1846. Returning to Adelaide in 1848, he was actor and *manager* at the Royal Victoria Theatre in 1850 and enjoyed considerable popularity. Lazar later pursued a career in public office as an alderman in 1853 and then Mayor of Adelaide Council from 1855 to 1858.[170]

Knowles (1810 - 1844) arrived in Hobart Town in April 1830 but then moved to Sydney. He joined the Theatre Royal as an actor for its first season in December 1832 and became its acting *manager* for the second season. He left for London in May 1837 but returned to Sydney in October 1838 joining the Victoria Theatre as an actor. In 1840 he became stage *manager* until February 1842 when he joined the new Olympic Theatre. He later joined Simmons' City Theatre and, after it closed, toured Tasmania before travelling to Melbourne where he opened the Victoria Theatre.[171]

Joseph Wyatt (1788-1860) opened the Victoria Theatre in Sydney in March 1838. It had a seating capacity of 2,000, considerably larger than the Theatre Royal. In March 1841 he sailed for England to recruit performers for the theatre and in his absence, William Knight was the *manager* of the theatre. Knight was a hotel owner and part-owner of the theatre until December 1845 after which time Wyatt and his brother-in-law, Frederick Gibson, shared the management of the theatre.[172]

Coppin (1819 - 1906) initially came to Sydney in March 1843, and joined the Victoria Theatre but moved to Hobart in January 1845 where he joined the Royal Victoria Theatre and exercised some managerial control. In June the same year he moved to Melbourne and, with his own company, opened at the Queen's Theatre Royal. In September the same year, he moved to Adelaide and in November opened New Queen's Theatre, capable of holding 700 people. He pursued diverse business interests and appointed John Lazar as the *manager* of the theatre in 1848. But in 1850 he returned to manage the theatre in partnership with Lazar, renovating the building and re-opening as the Royal Victoria. Further developments in his career as a theatre owner and manager are described in Chapter 4.[173]

The biographies of these five theatre managers illustrate various features of the early colony. They were all 'free settler' migrants with skills that enabled them to work as actors, theatre managers and often in other vocations, including political life. They travelled, adapted to commercial opportunities and lived through business failures.

Through the fragments recorded in newspapers, government gazettes, letters and company documents it is possible to know about some managers and what they did, though sometimes the material is very limited. *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* of 7 March 1835 carried notice of a man wanting a situation, describing himself as a "person who understands the management of Land and Stock, having farmed in England on his own account, as well as had the management of an Establishment in this Country, which he has just left, the property having changed hands of which he had the charge." The notice does not contain his name, just the initials B.Y. He appears to have worked as a manager in two separate industries, but the identity of B. Y. is one mystery in many.

There were more many managers in various contexts. Those listed in this chapter were more prominent in public life or were well served by record-keeping and later historians. Entrepreneurs and owners probably appointed other managers on farms, in merchant houses, stores, workshops, mills and wharves. Further research will illuminate a fuller picture of their business and duties. The examples recounted in this section establish that the presence of managers in Australia from at least 1799 is beyond dispute.

The beginnings of the railways of New South Wales lay in the years prior to 1850. Speculation commenced in 1845 and meetings and discussion occurred both in Sydney and London in 1848, but the Sydney Railway Company was incorporated after NSW legislation was assented to in October, 1849. Six directors were elected and Charles Cowper was unanimously elected as *manager* with a salary of £600 per annum, at the inaugural general meeting of shareholders.[174] Some shareholders objected to the size of the salary, but the

editor of the *People's Advocate* saw wisdom in the 'investment', arguing that the manager was superior to the politician-directors and master of a colossal task:

> "It is said that the manager's salary is too high. For what? ... The labours are Herculean and, what is more, the multifarious duties must require the Hercules who undertakes them to be a gentleman. Not such gentlemen as our Hills, Wentworths, Fitzgeralds and Martins, whose flaunting patriotism and aspirations of independence may at any moment be pretty considerably influenced by a good dinner at Government House. What sympathy have they with colonial enterprise? Give them their old glory back again – give them their convict system – their old bullock driving – their old lash and triangle – their old penal labour, and the institution of railways may begin at doomsday ... The railways must go on."[175]

Cowper was a determined man with considerable influence. Growing frustrated with the decisions of the directors, he resigned as manager and requested that the shareholders reverse a prior resolution preventing the manager from holding a board seat. At the subsequent shareholders' meeting on 8 October 1850, he prevailed, and five of the six directors resigned in protest.[176] In taking his seat on the board, the manager had moved from the backroom to the boardroom.[177]

3.4   Chapter Summary

In six decades the nature of the colony changed from adversity to sufficiency to prosperity and independence. Military and colonial rule yielded to a meld of capitalism, market economics and early self-government. Migration to Australia became a choice, not a punishment, and the passage from convict to 'emancipist' to citizen was well established. The wool industry achieved notable success, becoming the largest industry and the main employer, prompting exploration and geographic expansion, attracting capital investment and promoting economic growth, diversification and independence. The period began and finished as a society unlike no other, where British institutions were adapted to the particular local context.

From as early as 1799, Australia's first managers were appointed to farms, various businesses and public companies, later to banks, branches and urban businesses such as shops, theatres and hotels. They were migrants, often 'free settlers' but sometimes 'emancipists', managing businesses and companies for owners and entrepreneurs or sometimes working as owner-managers. The diversity of their roles and practice was established from this early point.

They were the human agents of businesses, industries and other institutions, contributing to the economic prosperity and diversity of the colonial economies.

The names of some managers of banks and public companies appeared in local newspapers during the 1830s and some managers grew influential in business circles, but generally their social standing was considerably less than owners of businesses and property. They worked in a range of contexts and industries, in businesses of varying size and operation. The number of managers increased as the wool industry, the banks and other businesses expanded.

Many of Australia's early managers worked on sheep stations rather than in factories, toiling outdoors, rather than indoors, and 'up country' rather than in the cities. Government administration, public company, legal, accounting and banking practices retained many of their British characteristics, but local industries and institutions adapted to the markedly different colonial environment from an early point. Appointing managers, rather than bailiffs, to superintend farms and grazing properties was adaptive rather than imitative of the British context and the practice of the farm manager also varied from that in Great Britain.[178] Companies recruited many managers from Great Britain, but often appointed local men because of their qualifications and experience of Australian conditions or to save the time and expense of overseas recruitment. Managers in Australia operated the owners' businesses in a local context with many idiosyncratic characteristics and adapted business practice accordingly.

Public companies were an important vehicle for the rise of the manager or agent, forming early in the colony in a number of industries. By 1850, public companies had attained strong positions in banking, insurance and coastal shipping. While salaried managers generally held considerably less status compared to owners, some managers were advancing their social standing as the local context provided significant opportunities for commercial and economic advancement.

The manager's standing in public companies and a broader range of businesses was established from the early years of the colony and the rise of the salaried manager had begun.

CHAPTER 4: RUSHES AND RISES

A Prospering Society

"The operative classes, generally speaking, are in full work and liberal wages, and the necessities and comforts of life being plentiful and on the whole comparatively cheap, it may be said that in no part of the world are these classes better off than they are here; it might be perhaps added that in no other country are they so well off."[1]

Prior to 1851, significant wealth had been acquired largely through pastoral activities but in the next decade it was commonly gained through prospecting. Where the earth gave pasture to yield wool, it now yielded gold. No longer would years of patient toil on the land be necessary to amass fortunes. A prospector with a claim the size of a bedroom might strike it lucky within a week or a month of obtaining a licence.[2]

There were some wealthy people in colonial society in 1851 and the society itself was considerably affluent. But that wealth would pale to insignificance compared to the prosperity evident by 1890 (see Appendix 3). By that time Melbourne and Sydney had gained the adornments of flourishing cities – grand sandstone buildings with ornate finishes defining their parliamentary buildings, town halls, courthouses and railway stations, supplemented by parks, gardens, museums, sporting facilities, schools and a university. Democracy, capitalism and the rule of law prevailed together.

The dramatic events of this period were the rushes - the gold rush, the rush of migrants, the rush to democracy and federation, the rush on deposits in failing banks - and the rises - the rise of public companies, the rise of trade unionism, the beginning of the rise of big business. Public companies grew and prospered, delivering dividends to their shareholders. The banks, the pastoral industry and the railways grew to become large organisations. Manufacturing expanded, creating a broader economy. Arbitration of industrial relations disputes and economic protectionism became government policy. The railways opened up the prospect of inland towns and cities in a quest for more grazing land, further separating aboriginal people from their traditional lands.

The gold rush intensified some of the trends that had emerged in the first half of the 1800s – 'free settler' immigration, wealth creation, the scarcity of labour, growth of infrastructure,

bureaucracy, democracy and trade unionism. It also attracted Chinese immigrants and produced xenophobic oppression.

The period also marked the rise of the salaried manager, largely linked to the rise of the public company, and a greater diversity of manager roles as business became more diverse.

4.1   Rushes

4.1.1   The Gold Rush

In February 1851, William Hargraves and John Lister, discovered gold.[3] They found gold in the footprints of wombats, kangaroos, aborigines, explorers, shepherds, sheep, and squatters alike. Those who had earlier passed over the ground simply lacked the knowledge of what to look for. Gold had been found several times before then and at least twice in the 1840s,[4] but its finders either misidentified the ore or lacked efficient methods of extracting the precious mineral. Hargraves, a red-faced man of excessive weight, had knowledge of the Californian technique of washing the heavy gold from the lighter gravels with a cradle.[5] When he returned to Australia from California in 1851, he visited the Bathurst district and applied his technique, finding grains of gold. He named the area of discovery Ophir, after the Biblical place of gold.[6] In this and other ways, Hargraves publicised his finding.[7]

In the following two years, gold was discovered in numerous places where sheep had safely grazed. News of the latest discovery was passed on with the words 'gold, gold' "as if they had to assure themselves that the incredible was true."[8] Rushes of prospectors to the region followed news of the discoveries. Gold was found in Victoria in July, 1851 and led to a rapid influx of miners, raising the population in the goldfields from 19,000 to 144,000 in 1860.[9]

These camps were like instant townships and could decline as quickly as they arose with prospectors moving with the news of a new finding.

> "Sometimes 30,000 men would rush to a new find, and a tent city or a bark village would arise, quickly declining if the field proved shallow."[10]

Gold changed the distribution of population and also the distribution of wealth. During the pastoral ascendency, wealth had passed into the hands of less than a thousand squatters but with the gold rush it became tens of thousands.[11]

News of the discoveries travelled abroad, producing rushes of migrants from Britain and China. Fearing the large influx of Chinese migrants to Victoria, the government imposed a

landing tax on Chinese.[12] Again the rushes of migrants favoured a majority of men, this time by a ratio of four to one.[13]

British law held that all gold belonged to the crown and colonial governments established an exorbitant licence fee of 30 shillings per month. The purpose of the licences were twofold, not only to take advantage of an obvious source of revenue, but also to implement a measure to discourage gainfully employed men from leaving the cities.[14]

While the diggings were initially the domain of the individual or small group of prospectors, public companies formed to deploy machinery when claims became less lucrative and deeper mining was required. With the formation of public companies in mining, salaried managers were often appointed.

The impact of the discovery of gold changed Australia's macro-economic position, in one sense strengthening it with a further powerful export, but gold also competed with wool as an employer. The main effects on output and employment occurred during the 1850s and 1860s. By 1870 wool again challenged as the main export and machinery reduced the overall number of men working in mines, but created larger numbers of miners in a single firm.[15]

Gold defined Melbourne and Victoria, causing the state's population to jump remarkably from 76,000 in 1850 to 540,000 in 1860, thus making Victoria the most populous state.[16] Gold and migration propelled Melbourne past Sydney to become the leading city during the 1880s.[17] The value of gold deposits extracted in Victoria increased from £763,000 in 1851 to £5,720,000 in 1854.[18] This flood of money transformed the existing banks (the Bank of Australasia, the Union Bank and the Bank of New South Wales) and stimulated the entry of new banks such as the Oriental Banking Corporation, the London Chartered Bank of Australasia, the English, Scottish & Australian Chartered Bank, the Bank of Victoria, the Colonial Bank of Australasia and the National Bank of Australasia.[19]

Wealth changed the colonies, which were known as 'states' from 1850. In the cities, the spires grew skyward, shops sold an array of goods, theatres opened, opera played, literature and art flourished. Spectator sports and gambling gained popularity. Huge crowds attended football games, cricket matches and horse races like the Melbourne Cup, which was first run in 1861. The social and cultural life of the states bloomed.

4.1.2 The Migration Rush

In 1851, Sydney held a population roughly equivalent to the combined populations of Melbourne and Hobart as indicated in Table 5.

Table 5   Population of Main Cities and Towns in 1851

Sydney	54,000	Parramatta	4,100
Melbourne	29,000	Brisbane	2,500
Hobart	24,000	Bathurst	2,300
Adelaide	18,000	Perth	1,550
Launceston	13,000	Goulburn	1,500
Geelong	8,000	Windsor	1,400
Burra	5,000	Newcastle	1,300
East and West Maitland	4,200	Portland	1,000

Source: Blainey, G. (originally 1983) 1995 (revised edition), *A Land Half Won***, Macmillan, Melbourne p 119.**

The population of the Australian states grew from 405,000 in 1850 to 3,765,000 in 1900. The rate of growth from decade to decade varied, with the greatest increase occurring between 1850 and 1860, co-inciding with the gold rushes. Table 6 illustrates the population for the colonies and the percentage increase per annum during the preceding decade.

Table 6   Australian Population Growth 1850 - 1900

Year	Population	% increase
1850	405,000	7.8
1860	1,146,000	11.0
1870	1,648,000	3.7
1880	2,232,000	3.1
1890	3,151,000	3.5
1900	3,765,000	1.8

Source: Jackson, R. V. 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century***, Australian National University Press, Canberra p 29.**

4.1.3 **The Rush to Democracy**

The gold rushes made wealthy people richer and they also made the broader society wealthy. Blainey described this as a democratisation of wealth. When the gold rushes ended, Australians were "probably the richest people in the world."[20]

Gold was not the only rush to sweep the country. Egalitarianism was further embedded into Australian society through the early adoption of democracy and trade unions. Australia pioneered the secret ballot (1856) and women's voting rights (1884). In the space of 40 years it became arguably the most democratic country in the world.

As stated earlier, a partly elected government was established in New South Wales in 1843 and extended to other states in 1850 when the British government also decided that any male Australian who owned a small property or any householder who paid a rent of £10 a year could have the vote. Following the discovery of gold, the cost of rent soared and most rents in a town or city were in excess of £10. By 1856, 95% of men living in Sydney were entitled to vote. [21]

The state of Victoria was defined as separate from New South Wales in 1851 and, in March 1856 the secret ballot became law there.[22] Two years later, the new parliament of New South Wales gave every man the right to vote.[23] By 1859 the five self-governing states, including Queensland, had adopted the secret ballot.[24]

In 1863 the Parliament of Victorian confirmed the right of women property holders to vote but not stand at municipal elections. In December, 1884 South Australia took the matter further, granting women the rights to vote in parliamentary elections and sit in parliament.[25]

The roots of freedom and democracy for Australians took hold during this period and grew stronger in subsequent decades. Freedom and democracy had significant bearings on the practice of managers in Australia, influencing shareholder and board meetings, trade union membership, the role of government in regulating business, trade unions and industrial disputes.

4.2 **Rises**

4.2.1 **The Rise of Public Companies**

While public companies were powerful in banking, insurance and coastal shipping by 1850, their prominence rose with subsequent mining, engineering and railway investment. Though the essential structure of the public company has remained intact to the present day (board of

directors, shareholders, manager, and employees), there are a number of clear differences in how public companies operated during the late eighteenth century compared to now.

During the nineteenth century, most large public companies, with the exception of banking, were controlled by a handful of rich shareholders, who occupied the board and governed its operations. In effect, these people were managing directors. Often one or two owners carried the title of managing director.[26] In 1883, silver was discovered at Broken Hill[27] and two years later the first board of the Broken Hill Proprietary Company was formed, dominated by a handful of rich shareholders. In 1886 the first board of the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company was formed with five shareholders holding 88% of the company's shares.[28]

Salaried administrators were known as the 'secretary' or 'manager' and rarely sat on the board, which was the preserve of the owners. But while social standing was not conveyed, the salaried managers of large companies were handsomely paid, irrespective of whether they were recruited locally or from abroad. While of lesser standing than the owners, in some circumstances, managers could exert considerable influence and power, particularly when the membership of the board rotated quickly due to resignation or death, an experienced manager could provide a mainstay. Similarly, in an era of slow communications and sea travel, the manager had extended control over operations compared to a head office in London or Edinburgh. Through both these means, the manager could filch effective power from the board, irrespective of his lower standing.[29] However, the boards and owners in London or Edinburgh enforced the obligations of the manager or chief agent of the public company, as evident in examples of managers listed in Chapter 3 who were replaced.

The passing of the *Companies Statute* in Victoria in 1864 and the consequent formation of companies produced increased opportunities for accountants and auditors. In subsequent decades the relationship between the company, its manager, accounting and audit grew closer as company managers embraced a wider range of functions. In a climate of economic development, particularly in the mining industry, the need to record investment expenditure and inventory was important as a means of demonstrating the operations of the company as well as determining dividends for shareholders. The demand for accounting and audit functions was not limited to the mining industry, but evolved as business practice became increasingly formal and as a consequence of greater business investment activity. Government regulation played a minor role. While the appointment of municipal auditors was required upon the introduction of the *Victorian Local Government Act* of 1890, compulsory audits of Victoria companies were not mandated until 1896, after the economic depression of the 1890s revealed various weaknesses.[30]

During the 1880s, accountants emerged as a distinct group of service providers with particular expertise listed in commercial and trade directories and congregating in particular precincts of the capital cities. Their occupational identity was partially derived from their British counterparts, whose standing had gained momentum through being more effective than lawyers in disentangling bankruptcies.[31] From 1885 a number of professional accounting associations formed in Australian states using the British model whereby new members were only admitted upon passing the examinations of the association.[32]

The local shareholders took an active interest in the affairs of the company, attending its general meetings, making decisions and instigating actions. Between 1869 and 1871, the board of the National Bank of Australasia dismissed two successive general managers and the shareholders dismissed most of the directors.[33]

During the 1870s and 1880s, thousands of working people owned shares in mining companies. There were busy stock exchanges at towns such as Broken Hill in New South Wales, and Queenstown and Zeehan in Tasmania. Trade unions, such as the Amalgamated Miners' Association, held interests in directing the operations of public mining companies, either on a profit-sharing basis or with a union office-bearer on the board. But by 1900, the involvement of working people and union leaders was waning. Throughout the period, anonymous or unknown investors were prevented from becoming shareholders by the owners.[34] During the 1890s, women formed only a small minority of shareholders.

Another profound difference in the operation of public companies was the prominence of the dividend. Some companies paid out dividends quarterly, but many paid on a monthly or fortnightly basis. The Mount Bischoff tin mining company of Launceston paid a monthly dividend for 40 years. Between 1865 and 1901, the Long Tunnel Mining Company of Gippsland declared 279 separate dividends, an average of more than seven per year. In 1889 the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company became the first Australian company to pay £1 million in dividends in the space of one year. With the exception of banking, large reserve funds were frowned upon. The purpose of the company was to make profits and pay them to the shareholders.[35]

By 1875 public companies were powerful in pastoral finance, gold, coal and base metals. Most of the minerals were produced by public companies rather than working owners or small syndicates. By the 1880s most gasworks and many large engineering firms were owned by public companies.[36]

Many of the large public companies that were to play prominent roles within their industries were formed during this time. Table 7 lists some of the more durable companies that were registered during the period. Of these, some, such as Dalgety and Co. Ltd. and Elder Smith & Co. had traded prior to registration.[37]

Table 7   Formation of Public Companies 1851 - 1900

Year	Company	Registered
1855	Colonial Sugar Refining Company Ltd	Sydney
1860	Angus and Robertson Ltd	Sydney
1865	New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency	England
1866	New Zealand and Australian Land Company	Scotland*
1875	Adelaide Steamship Company Ltd	Adelaide
1878	Mercantile Mutual Insurance Ltd	Sydney
1884	Dalgety & Company Ltd	London
1885	Broken Hill Proprietary Company	Melbourne
1886	Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company Ltd	Brisbane
1888	Goldsborough Mort	Melbourne
1888	Elder Smith & Company	Adelaide
1892	Mount Lyell Mining Company Ltd	Melbourne
1894	Australian Estates and Mortgage Company Ltd	England
1895	Melbourne Steamship Company Ltd	Melbourne

Source: Guide to Australian Business Records, http://www.gabr.net.au/gabr_home.html **Accessed 12/06/2009; * Tennent, K. 2009b,** *The Free-Standing Company in Pastoral Investment: The New Zealand and Australian Land Company,* **Paper presented at the Association of Business Historians Conference at Liverpool, July 2009.**

The rise of the public company was the vehicle for the ascent of the salaried manager. It was also a pre-requisite for the expansion of the trade union movement. These two themes are argued in sections 4.3 and section 4.2.5 respectively.

4.2.2 **The Rise of Manufacturing and Protectionism**

"Nothing did more than steam to change Australia in the years from 1860 to 1900. It especially altered men's work..."[38]

While Australians had earlier demonstrated their interest in machinery and inventions, boilers and the steam engine moved production from the blacksmith's foundry to mechanised production and heavy engineering. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the pastoral industry had been established through the unequal teamwork of humans and animals. But the second half of the nineteenth century saw horses and bullocks replaced by steam locomotives. As with the gold rushes, the focus of manufacturing shifted from New South Wales to Victoria and the ideological difference of protection exposed a further rift between the two most populous states. The British government had conferred the powers to legislate tariffs upon the states in 1850. NSW remained an advocate of free trade while Victoria imposed protection through tariffs during the 1860s.

The application of technology during the period was diverse - windmills to pump artesian water to the surface, corrugated iron for rooves and water storage tanks, wire fences replacing posts and rails, mechanical ploughs, harvesters, strippers, threshers, crushers and mills, mechanical refrigeration, electric lighting, mechanical shears, dynamite, the overland telegraph, and the international telegraph. But this was especially the age of technological advance through the steam engine. The railways connected remote centres with coastal ports and later challenged the steamships as the fastest means of transportation between cities.[39] Technology raised production efficiencies and expanded the manufacturing sector of the economy.

"Steam worked pumps for irrigation, heavy hammers in the foundries, rollers in the biscuit factories and flour mills and the saw in the timber mills."[40]

Steam engines required wood or coal, so the demand for these resources increased sharply.

This period saw the formation of professional and industry groups. In 1852 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was formed on a ship prior to arrival at Sydney.[41] These men played a pivotal role in increasing mechanisation. In February 1877, a meeting of gentlemen concerned with manufacturing industries was held in a Melbourne hotel to discuss ways of furthering those industries. Their initial objective was the procurement of a permanent building in which to hold exhibitions and a Manufacturers and Exhibitors Association was formed, later to become the Victorian Chamber of Manufactures.[42]

In 1883 the Association's membership passed 200. The following year, the Chamber pressed for an inter-colonial congress of manufactures to be represented at the Colonial exhibition to be held in London in 1886.[43] The Chamber of Manufactures of New South Wales was formed in 1885. In 1878 the manufacture of superphosphate commenced and by 1886, Australia's first steel rolling mill was operational. In 1897, there were 2,614 factories in Victoria employing 43,000 workers, indicating that manufacturing became particularly evident in Victoria.[44]

The rise of manufacturing saw the Victorian government introduce protection of the local manufacturing industry. During the 1850s, David and Ebeneezer Syme acquired the insolvent Melbourne *Age* newspaper. In the 1860s editor David Syme argued popular economic policies with moral earnestness and calm logic. In a time of unemployment he called for a protective tariff against imports.[45] Over time, he became the chief advocate among many lobbyists arguing for protectionism. In April 1866 the first protectionist *Tariff Bill* was passed by the Victorian Assembly.[46]

4.2.3 **The Growth of Retail and Promotion**

The rise of manufacturing was closely related to the development of the local retailers. Manufacturers both contributed to and benefited from the considerable growth and advancement of retail and promotional activities during the period.

Shops grew more plentiful and bigger with the building of shopping arcades and department stores to attract growing numbers of female shoppers. Numerous arcades were erected in Melbourne, including the Queens Arcade (1853), the Royal Arcade (1869), the Eastern Arcade, the Victoria Arcade, the Coles Book Arcade and the Metropole Arcade in Melbourne. Shopping precincts emerged in George Street and Pitt Street in Sydney and Collins Street and Bourke Street in Melbourne. Farmers[47] installed the first plate glass windows mounted in french-polished cedar frames in their Sydney store in 1854, beginning the trend to make the shop and its wares visible to passing trade. Their name and business grew during this period along with other retailers such as Anthony Horderns, David Jones, Gowing Bros, G. J. Coles, Sidney Myer and Fletcher Jones.[48]

Parallel to the growth of retail stores and the expansion of manufacturing were changes in the forms of advertising. Newspapers continued to occupy the important role of expanding retail and manufacturing through advertising. During the 1850s the first advertising placement agencies such as Gordon & Gotch usurped newsagents who had previously sold advertising space. During the following decade local manufacturers supplied a broader range of cheap

consumer wares to growing urban populations, at times competing with the many imported household goods sought by growing numbers of affluent city dwellers. Additional forms of promotion were introduced such as mass-produced dodgers (pamphlets) and bill-posters plastered along hoardings or highly visible surfaces to supplement traditional forms of promotion such as shop signs, notices, store displays and public spruikers.[49]

The population growth in cities, a wider range of goods, and increased numbers of retailers were important market factors that drove the emergence of brands and promotional campaigns to differentiate products and project them into an affluent society. Changes in market dynamics resulted in changes to business and management practice such as advertising, display and promotion. The major coastal cities continued their role as markets for consumer goods through the construction of fashionable arcades and shopping precincts.

4.2.4 The Emergence of Big Business

During this period a few businesses expanded to a scale considerably larger than had been previously evident. Bank branches and pastoral company agencies became more numerous, sometimes crossing state borders. The structure of these organisations was a parent firm with a host of agencies or branches. But the railways of New South Wales and Victoria became Australia's largest organisations by a clear margin. They were giants in their time, much larger than the firms that had preceded them and eventually rose to a scale comparable to some railway companies in Great Britain and the USA.

The Railways

Australia's railways came quickly after those of Great Britain (1830s) and the USA (1840s). They were another example of the application of British technology and capital in the Australian context, but on a scale that was considerably larger than any other local enterprise. They were Australia's first large enterprises, with a number of business units requiring both central and local control during construction and operational phases. They required large amounts of capital, materials, labour and organisation. All the iron rails, train engines and rolling stock were freighted by ship from Great Britain.

In many ways the railways were a demonstration of Australia's modern society. Unlike Great Britain and the USA, where private companies played a major role, Australian railways were substantially a government enterprise. Throughout the period, state governments played the dominant role in promoting both their inception and expansion. They employed thousands of men laying track, building stations, incrementally connecting the proximate to the remote.

Construction activity formed temporary towns and augmented the standing of those with new stations. Their bridges, cuttings and fillings to carry parallel iron rails transformed the landscape.

The impetus for building railways in Australian came initially from the merchants of its cities,[50] then from the wool industry, and later from mining.[51] The first railways commenced in the 1850s, but the golden age of rail construction was the 1870s and 1880s when thousands of navvies were employed.

The railway between Redfern and Parramatta was the initial New South Wales line, delaying other considerably longer and more challenging lines to Bathurst in the west and Goulburn to the south-west. Work on the Redfern to Parramatta line began in earnest early in 1851 and a train left Redfern Station on 26 September 1855, heralding the opening of the state's first railway. But Victoria's first railway had been running for a year by then. It was built between Flinders Street Station and Port Melbourne and carried both passengers and cargo.[52]

The construction of the rail network in New South Wales produced a massive organisation with thousands of employees as shown in Table 8.

Table 8   NSW Government Railways Employees 1858 – 1929

Year	Employees
1858	96
1871	1,173
1878	4,156
1887	9,563
1890	11,827
1896	9,745
1929	43,972

Source: Patmore 1985, *A History of Industrial Relations in the NSW Government Railways: 1855 – 1932,* **PhD Thesis University of Sydney pp 1, 7 & Appendix 3.**

By way of comparison, during the late 1860s the engineering firm P. N. Russell of Sydney employed between 300 and 400 staff. In 1871 the railway had 1,173 employees. By 1890 it was easily the state's largest employer with a staff of 11,827 and in 1896 it surpassed the Victorian railway as the largest employer in the country. At the time, of the state's total

population of over 1,000,000 people, the coal industry employed 10,469 while all of New South Wales manufacturing industry employed 12,700.[53]

While expensive to construct, railways provided a quicker, more reliable and cheaper method of transport for both freight and passenger alike. Australian engineers demonstrated their ingenuity in projects such as the Zig-Zag railway near Lithgow and bridges over the flood plains at Menangle and the steep gullies of the Nepean tributaries.[54]

Chandler argued that the railways were the first modern business enterprise to appear in the USA.

> "They were the first to require a large number of full-time managers to coordinate, control and evaluate the activities of a number of widely scattered operating units. For this reason, they provided the most relevant administrative models for enterprises in the production and distribution of goods and services when such enterprises began to build, on the basis of the new transportation and communication network, their own geographically extended, multiunit business empires."[55]

Prior to that time the traditional family firm operated on a small scale in the market economy. There were no middle managers in the USA until as late as 1840.[56] The first US railways were constructed in the 1830s, but marked expansion occurred from the mid 1840s through the 1850s and into the 1860s.[57] The progressive expansion of railways in Australia is detailed in Table 9.

Table 9   Miles of Railway Open 1860 – 1900

State	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
NSW	70	340	848	2,193	2,811
Queensland	-	206	633	2,142	2,801
South Australia	56	133	667	1,610	1,736
Victoria	?	274	1,199	2,471	3,218
Total, eastern Australia	?	953	3,347	8,416	10,566

('?' indicates unknown)

Source: Jackson, R. V. 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century*, Australian National University Press, Canberra p 87.

Forming this large organisation posed many challenges. Patmore argued that the organisation's form and structure was largely modelled on the British railways which, in turn, had borrowed from the military with a 'departmental' or 'branch' structure.[58] In 1855 the railway adopted the rules and regulations from England's Eastern Counties Railway thus establishing the basis of a system of discipline including reprimands, fines, suspensions, reduction in grade and dismissal. The British system of appeal against disciplinary action was also adopted with the appeal process formalised in the rule book of 1861. Elaborate labour control systems were thus implemented from an early point of the railway's development.

Some of the Chief Railway Commissioners were recruited from overseas railways, but some came from the British military and the NSW Public Service. The first chairman of commissioners of the Victorian railway was Richard Speight.[59] He was recruited from the Midland Railway in England in 1884 and remained chairman for 10 years. Migration records show that some porters came from Britain and the state's first engine driver had worked on the English, Irish and French railways. In 1855, only one of the six stationmasters had any practical knowledge of railway operations and sourcing skilled labour across the levels and departments of the organisation was a common problem.

Railway employees formed trade unions, constituting the Railway Clerks Association in 1866 and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in 1871. Industrial conflict, if not resolved in the workplace, was addressed through arbitration which became compulsory in 1901.

Patmore described the New South Wales Railways as an essentially bureaucratic employer. It was a 'hierarchy of engineers', modelled on its British counterparts, but a state enterprise with little direct competition. The railways linked inland wool-growing areas with coastal ports, allowing bales of wool to be exported overseas. While shipping competed along the coast, road transport posed little competition until the late 1920s.[60]

There were some staff called 'managers' in the New South Wales and Victorian Government Railways, but only a few. In 1878 there were three branches in the organisation – Traffic Branch, Permanent Way Branch and Locomotive Branch. Traffic Branch had two managers, one for each main line. In 1889 a Chief Traffic Manager was appointed, making three managers in around 10,000 staff. There were many more inspectors, stationmasters, engineers, superintendents, gangers, fettlers, labourers, overseers and graded staff. Similar reticence to use the title 'manager' in the Victorian Railways is detailed in subsection 4.2.4.

While the British government had specified the English gauge for railways in the colonies, each state developed its railway to different standards.[61] Victoria adopted the wide Irish gauge. New South Wales built its first railway with the Irish gauge but moved to the English standard for the remainder of the network. In 1864 Queensland used the narrow gauge, introducing a third standard. Tasmania built its first railway using the Irish gauge but from the 1870s used the narrow gauge for the remaining railways. South Australia used the Irish gauge until 1870 when it built a railway with the narrow gauge. Western Australia built all its railways with the narrow gauge. The lack of a single gauge was a trivial problem for transporting goods from inland centres to coastal ports within a single state but impeded the development of railways to transport goods and passengers between Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide in subsequent decades. The state governments failed to heed the advice of the British Parliament and replicated Great Britain's problem of a myriad of gauges, which emerged during the early nineteenth century and was recognised by the British Parliament during the 1840s.[62]

The Banking Industry

In contrast to the railways, which formed multi-level hierarchies with few staff called managers, the banking industry's branch structure both increased the number of managers and raised the profile of their work.

The gold rush had a marked, though temporary, increase in the rate of economic growth after 1851. While the rate of increase declined after 1853, higher levels of exports and imports were maintained.[63] The gold standard was more fully implemented in Australia following the Royal Mint's opening a branch in Sydney in 1855. From that point, the mint bought gold and issued currency at the standard British rate.[64]

Between 1875 and 1889, British capital in Australia grew substantially. During this time, Australia was absorbing more British capital than any other colony in the British Empire.[65]

Higher levels of export and import resulted in higher levels of deposits and lending, increasing the scale of banking. The banking industry expanded the number of branches without a large increase in the number of banks as illustrated in Table 10.[66] Appendix 4 shows the distribution of banks and branches across the states while Appendix 5 contains the totals banks and branches for the period 1817 – 1914.

Table 10 Australia Banks and Branches 1850-1900

Year	Banks	Branches
1850	8	24
1860	16	197
1870	21	381
1880	26	844
1890	31	1,543
1900	22	1,280

Source: Butlin, S. J. 1953, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System, 1788-1851,* **Melbourne University Press, Carlton.**

The number of banks doubled during the 1850s then increased by five each decade to 1890 then decreased by almost a third. But the number of branches increased by a factor of seven during the 1850s, then roughly doubled each decade to 1890, then contracted by a sixth.

Expansion in available capital and bank branches commensurately increased the number of bank managers, cemented their role in economic activity, and elevated their eminence within the community. Thus the continuing prosperity of the wool industry, augmented by the gold rush and high levels of British investment capital produced economic and business effects including marked expansion of the banking industry which, in turn, advanced the standing of the bank manager.

The Pastoral Industry

Another prominent industry to favour the manager was the pastoral industry. According to Ville, a number of significant changes occurred in the pastoral industry during this period. Firstly, wool sales grew sharply from 19 million kilograms in 1850 to 210 million by 1890, peaking in 1896.[67]

Secondly, the international wool market gradual shifted from London to the port capital cities of Australia. London was the dominant wool market during most of the nineteenth century, but by the 1880s, Australian wool was increasingly being sold at local auctions, particularly in Sydney and Melbourne. Large wool-broking companies promoted the auction sale in the port capital cities of Australia, so that within 40 years almost the entire Australian wool clip was sold before shipment overseas. Ville noted the significance of the re-location of the wool

market, concluding that it constituted a major institutional shift underpinning Australia's economic development and enhancing the leadership role of its regional capitals.[68]

Thirdly, the destination of Australian wool changed. While London was the almost exclusive destination during the first half of the eighteenth century, by 1900 only 20% of wool sold at Australian auctions was bound for London, while 70% went to Europe, particularly France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, and 4% for North America.

Fourthly, large players in the stock and station industry developed through different means. Elders spread their activities to mining and transport, before concentrating on the pastoral sector by the 1860s. During the 1850s, James Turner became a specialist in wool exports while Dalgety, having profited handsomely from gold trading in Victoria, and then concentrated on wool consignment. Richard Goldsbrough's firm specialized in brokerage, growing from 13% of the Victorian wool trade in 1858 to 40% by 1870.[69]

The pastoral industry remained prominent in Australia's economic development during this period and managers continued to perform various roles in the industry, notably the management of sheep stations in increasingly remote areas. Some managers continued from the previous period, while others emerged with changes in the structure of the industry. The stock and station agent became an important partner to the grazing property manager.

4.2.5 **The Rise of Trade Unionism**[70]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Australians embraced trade unions like no other nation had done before. While the previous chapter established that the first Australian benefit societies and trade unions formed in the 1830s, the 30 year period from 1885 to 1914 saw the proportion of trade unionists in the general population move from one in 54 to approximately one in nine.[71] During this period the trade union movement expanded, organised, consolidated, improved working conditions, raised and elected its own candidates to the state legislatures, and established the Australian Labor Party as its political arm.[72] It spread like a bushfire, embracing social policy and political action.

The period from 1850 to 1862 saw the formation of unions predominantly in the building trades in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland including the Operative Stonemasons Society (Melbourne, 1850; Sydney, 1853), the Typographical Association (Sydney, 1850; Melbourne, 1850; Ballarat, 1857), the Australian Society of Progressive Carpenters and Joiners (Sydney, 1854), the Operative Bakers (Melbourne, 1862), Plasterers, Bricklayers, United Labourers, Shipwrights and Bakers (New South Wales, 1857-1862). In some cases,

particularly in Victoria, the continuous operation of the union was disrupted by the gold rush.[73]

In 1853, a group of stonemasons who had re-built the London Houses on Parliament migrated to Sydney. After experiencing a couple of hot summers on the new continent, they agitated for a shorter working day. After a conference with employers in 1855, the eight hour day was agreed. The granting of the eight hour day to the stonemasons of Melbourne was a victory worthy of great celebrations:

> " ... later celebrated by an annual holiday in which workers marched through the streets of Melbourne carrying banners extolling the virtue of eight hours' labour, eight hours' recreation and eight hours' rest. Melbourne saw itself as the world's leader of the movement for shorter hours of work." [74]

Another employer, building a brewery, refused to honour the eight hour agreement and a short strike ensued. Following this, all building firms adopted the eight hour day.[75]

But it was not so simple in the Newcastle district when, in 1861, over 1,000 coal miners held a stop work meeting to form an association for the purpose of protection in the event of strike action. Late that year, the owners of the mines attempted to replace the existing work force. Assisted by their wives, the miners stoned their replacements off the mines and the trouble was later settled through a conciliation committee.[76]

According to Sutcliffe, the period from 1870 to 1890 was one of progress and prosperity. Agriculture and the pastoral industry grew, manufacturing prospered, and silver and other minerals, particularly in New South Wales, became important industries. Wages rose and continued an upward trend until 1878 and retained that level until 1885. The combination of high wages and lower prices resulted in a much higher standard of living for workers and their families. Real wages were probably as high during that period as any time since.[77]

As stated earlier, gold mining became mechanised and operated by public companies. The use of machinery resulted in some companies employing large numbers of miners in the one firm. In February 1872, the Bendigo Miners' Union was formed with objectives to secure an eight hour shift, resist attempts to reduce wages, resist the admission of Chinese, and forward legislation for the regulation of mining.[78]

Similar groups formed in other mining centres and in 1874 a meeting of 12 groups was held at Bendigo, resulting in the formation of the Amalgamated Miners Association of Victoria with 12 branches. The meeting addressed the issue of legislation and drafted a Bill that was substantially incorporated in the Victorian *Regulation of Mines and Machinery Act* of 1877.[79]

Numerous other trade unions were formed in the 1870s in the building and manufacturing industries e.g. the Queensland Typographical Union (1873), the Agricultural Implement Makers Union of Victoria (1873), the Seamen's Union (Sydney and Melbourne, 1874), the House and Ship Painters' Union (Sydney, 1874), the Tanners and Beamsmen's Union (Victoria, 1875), the Bootmakers' Union of Tasmania (1876), and the Carpenters and Joiners (Hobart, 1877).[80] Many of these groups pressed successfully for the adoption of an eight hour day and other objectives shared with the Bendigo Miners' Union.

In July 1878, William Guthrie Spence formed a miners' union known as the Amalgamated Miners' Association at Cresswick. Spence understood the interests of workers and owners alike. Later he learnt the economics of the mining operation by first-hand experience. Shortly after forming the union, he and some colleagues took over a gold-mine on a profit-share basis with the owners.[81]

The mining union spread and grew in membership. It linked up with the coal miners of New South Wales and formed branches in other states and also in New Zealand. By 1890, it was the biggest union in Australasia with a membership in excess of 23,000.[82]

In June 1886, David Temple and Spence formed the Amalgamated Shearers' Union at Ballarat. Shearers were not an obvious target group for unionisation. They worked in remote places, moving from shed to shed as successive flocks were shorn. Many were themselves small landholders who used shearing as a supplementary source of income. They were higher paid than shepherds or farm labourers. Spence enrolled members on the eve of the new shearing season and approached pastoralists to employ only union members. Those who signed up were well treated while those who refused were picketed. It was a simple strategy that proved to be highly effective, as an organised group of committed men presented a powerful force in remote parts where police were few in numbers.[83]

The membership increased to about 20,000 in 1890 and it remained the largest union for 75 years (known as the Amalgamated Workers' Union (AWU) from 1894).[84] But the AWU was a federation rather than a union, requiring considerable organisation and business methods to steer such a large and diverse membership.[85]

Threatened and actual strike action during this period often achieved concessions from employers. The reasons for this may have been largely economic.   Expansion of the cities produced a building boom and employers may have found it more profitable to meet the demands of construction unions and continue work than provoke strike action and delays.

Similarly, in the prospering wool industry, accommodating the demands of shearers in remote settings was preferable to delays and disruption during times of relative prosperity.

This period also marked the formation of the Trades and Labour Councils in the various states. In Melbourne the 'Operatives Board of Trade' formed in 1856 and became the forerunner to the Trades Hall Council of 1883. Trades and Labour Councils were formed in Sydney in 1871, Brisbane and Hobart in 1883, Adelaide in 1884 and Western Australia in 1892. These bodies acted as advisers to the unions in the event of conflict with employers.[86]

An important development in the trade union movement was the convening of several Inter-Colonial Trade Union Congresses.[87] The first was held by the Sydney Trades and Labour Council in 1879 and attracted representatives from all the states. Well before federation and long after the first corroboree,[88] the trade union movement saw an important purpose in assembling the clans.

But perhaps the most important development was the movement's decision to play a direct role in politics.[89] Prior to this time, trade unions were non-political and a number of Workingmen's Political Associations had formed. The Melbourne association meeting held in March 1884 formulated a program of reforming the Upper House of Parliament, economic protection, the eight hour day, no assisted migration, land and absentee tax, mining on private property and abolition of newspaper postage.[90]

Somewhat surprisingly, the New South Wales Trades and Labour Council was the first state body to campaign and win seats in a state election. In January, 1890, they overwhelmingly decided to formulate the object, rules and platform of the Labour Electoral League. In the June 1891 election, the Labour Electoral Leagues won 35 out of 141 seats in the Legislative Assembly.[91]

Following the maritime strike of 1890 and the Seventh Inter-Colonial Congress held at Ballarat in 1891, the Trades and Labour Councils in each state were also instrumental in establishing Labour Electoral Leagues, with a view to gaining representation of working men in parliament. Such representation became possible following the decision of the parliament to pay its members. Prior to that decision, the parliament had been the preserve of those with independent means.

Not only did employees form trade unions and peak bodies during this period, but employers also formed collective bodies. A Builders and Contractors' Association was operating by 1875.[92] The Employers' Union of Victoria, a union of employers from all industries,[93] acted

in a dispute in 1884. In 1886, the Shearers' Union engaged in disputes with the Pastoralists' Union.[94]

It is interesting to note that shearers have traditionally been paid on a piece rate. W. G. Spence never questioned the right of some shearers to earn more than others. He was neither a communist nor a Marxist. The trade union movement and the Labour Party were not socialist in the 1890s,[95] being more influenced by the populist American Henry George than Marx or the British Fabians.[96]

A clash of employer and union might occurred in the maritime strike of 1890. This erupted in both Melbourne and Sydney for different reasons. In Melbourne the state branch of the national Mercantile Marine Officers' Association sought to press its claims for improved wages and conditions through affiliation with the Trades and Labour Council. The employers indicated that some concessions might be granted, provided the affiliation did not occur. In Sydney, the Wharf Labourers Union supported the Shearers' Union by refusing to handle any wool that had been shorn by non-union labour. The Sydney strike action preceded Melbourne by a few days. Ship owners tried to secure non-union labour; the shearers and miners went out on strike in support, prosecutions were made under the Masters and Servants Act, and employers advanced the notion of freedom of contract. The dispute continued for a little over two months when, depleted of funds and lacking public support, the unions were forced back to work, having suffered a serious defeat.[97]

While the employers had won the battle, the war on the waterfront was far from over, continuing for a further 100 years. In April, 1998 the largest Australian stevedore company sacked its entire workforce, stating that it would contract individual employees to a different company, but would not employ unionised labour. That battle was a war of attrition, which neither side won, nor fully recovered from.

The formation of both trade unions and employer collective bodies mirrored British institutions. The Australian context demonstrated a far greater extent of union participation and a higher standard of living for workers. These two important differences dominated industrial relations during this period and were a central feature of the twentieth century.

4.3   The Rise of the Salaried Manager

4.3.1   **Public companies**

The rise of the public company was the vehicle for the ascent of the salaried manager. As public companies became bigger, the salaried manager grew more important. This period saw

a number of large companies continue to operate, including the Australian Agricultural Company, the Van Diemen's Land Company, the Australasian Sugar Company and the South Australia Company, the latter under the management of William Giles.[98]

In 1854, the Australasian Sugar Company went into liquidation following disputes amongst the partners. The following year, Edward Knox[99] formed the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) holding a third of its capital of £150,000 and purchased the assets of the Australasian Sugar Company. The company flourished during the next two years, declaring a dividend of 50% in 1856, so Knox sold some of his shares and went to England. World sugar prices fell and the company faced heavy losses, threatening Knox's personal wealth. He returned to Sydney and gradually mended the company's trading position, determining that profits would never again be routinely disposed as dividends but should be retained as reserves and used to finance expansion. In shifting the balance from dividends to reserves, Knox increased the capital within the business and viewed the company as more than a year-to-year proposition.

He removed competition through take-overs and promoted strength and efficiency within the organisation. Knox maintained a voluminous correspondence with overseas agents and kept abreast of technical developments in refining and milling. His mantle expanded the company's refinery operations into other Australian colonies and New Zealand, and mills were constructed to crush cane. He established one of the early staff provident funds and had few industrial problems. In 1880, he appointed his second son, Edward William Knox, as *general manager* but remained chairman until 1901. In 1885, he appointed Joseph Grafton Ross as the *secretary and manager*.

Knox had many other interests and roles. During his four visits to London, he acted as a director for various firms. He owned considerable tracts of pastoral lands, served on the advisory committee of the Australian Agricultural Company, was a director of the Sydney Exchange Co. and chairman and trustee of the local board of the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Co. Aside from his business interests, Knox was very active in the Sydney Anglican church, a director of the Benevolent Society and the Sydney Infirmary and Dispensary, a founding director and chairman of the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital and vice-president of the Carrington Centennial Hospital for Convalescents at Camden, and as a member of the first Legislative Council in 1856-57 (he was reappointed in 1881, but resigned in 1894 due to illness).

When the banking crisis occurred in 1893, he was chairman of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney. Following its suspension of business on 15 May, he devised a reconstruction scheme, enabling it to resume trading on 19 June.

In the mining sector, general managers were recruited to the largest operations from abroad. William Patton was recruited from Virginia, USA to the Broken Hill Proprietary company (BHP)[100] and, in the 1890s, Robert Carl Sticht was recruited from Colorado, USA to the position of *general manager* at Mount Lyell Mining and Railway Company in Queenstown, Tasmania.[101] Guillame Delprat was appointed as *Assistant General Manager* of the BHP in 1898 and *General Manager* the following year. Having built a career in the mining industry, initially in Spain, Delprat based himself in London working as a consultant advising companies in Spain, Mexico and North America. He developed expertise in the processes used to extract metals and had published a paper in the transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers. He implemented new processes and improvements at Broken Hill, assisting the company's profitability.[102]

The New Zealand and Australia Land Company was formed in 1866, with a capitalisation of £2 million, to give limited liability to around 38 land holdings in Australia and New Zealand, owned by private Scottish investors. It was a free-standing company whose core operation was wool-growing, though it conducted other agricultural activities. By 1879, the New Zealand land holdings had been consolidated into 15 portfolios, each with a *manager*. A further five portfolios in NSW and one in Victoria were managed by one agent company, Holmes, Wright and Co., while the Queensland portfolio had its own manager with three *farm managers*.

The overall company structure had a *General Manager* and a *Colonial Manager* based in Scotland, as well as a *Queensland Manager* and *farm managers* in New Zealand and Australia.[103] Its organisational structure was thus a multi-level hierarchy with geographical divisions.

4.3.2 Freedom of Contract

An important feature to emerge in the industrial relations context was the notion of what employers termed 'freedom of contract'. Following the bitter maritime strike of 1890 and related disputes in shearing and mining, employers were able to break strikes and institute what they described as 'freedom of contract'.[104] In 1892, the Trades Dispute Conciliation and Arbitration Act of NSW became law, providing for voluntary rather than compulsory arbitration of disputes. Under its terms, a Council of Conciliation and Arbitration could hold

an enquiry if both sides agreed. This need for consent negated the potential of the tribunal and it settled only two of the 24 cases that came before it, losing its funding in 1894. Like the Victorian wages board system of 1896, it, too, failed to afford legal status to trade unions.[105] Through this limited forum and subsequent compulsory arbitration tribunals established after 1900, what later became known as the 'managerial prerogative' developed. This was essentially the right of employers to govern and control their business through a number of functions such as recruitment, remuneration, terms of employment, and termination.

Both the early arbitration council and subsequent compulsory tribunals established early in the new century provided forums for disputes between employers and trade unions. While instituted for the purpose of aiding the resolution of conflict, they also assisted in preserving the managerial prerogative through limiting the range of issues subject to collective bargaining.[106]

Thus Australians' enthusiasm in adopting trade unionism and strike action in support of improved wages and conditions resulted in arbitration institutions which, from an early point, defined and characterised industrial relations between management and the unions. For employers, the tribunals enshrined freedom of contract and later management prerogative while for trade unions, they afforded recognised legal standing and the power to bring employers to resolve worker grievances.[107]

4.3.3 The Banking Industry

The career of William Alfred Cottee (1833-1904) gives an insight into the expansion and prospects for someone working in the banking industry during this period of rapid branch expansion. Initially employed at the Bathurst branch as a clerk with a salary of £150, he was promoted to the position of *Teller* in 1859, then *manager* of the new branch at Yass in 1860. He next worked at the Wagga Wagga branch as *relieving manager* before being appointed as the permanent *manager*, with a salary of £400. He remained in that position for 16 years.

In 1876 he opened the Sydney office of the Australian Mortgage Land and Finance Co. Ltd. (AML&F) and remained until 1897, when he joined the local board of advice of AML&F and also the board of the Bank of New South Wales. He died in 1904.[108]

As quantified earlier in Table 10, in 1850 there were eight banks and 25 branches, but the number of branches grew considerably until 1890. Expansion of the number of branches was a vehicle for the growth in the number of bank managers, establishing them as an institution in towns and cities. For example, the Bank of New South Wales appointed James Hill as the *manager* in Tamworth in 1857[109] and Robert White as the *manager* in Toowoomba in

1862.[110] In 1863, Edmund Young was *manager* of the South Australian branch of the National Bank of Australasia. In 1878, Andrew Barlow was the *manager* of the Bank of Australasia branch at Ipswich, Queensland.

4.3.4 **The Pastoral Industry**

While the wool or pastoral industry was relegated by gold mining to the second largest export earner during the 1850's,[111] the pastoral industry nonetheless developed considerably during the remaining decades of the nineteenth century and remained Australia's leading export industry.[112]

The Australian practice of appointing farm managers became widespread as wealthy individuals and large and small companies invested in grazing and agriculture. Appendix 6 contains further examples giving some indication of how common the practice became.

The drought and financial crisis of the 1890s increased the number of managers through foreclosures. When banks and pastoral finance companies foreclosed on unpaid mortgages, many graziers were employed by the mortgagors to manage their stations.[113]

Ville constructed an expansive history of the stock and station industry in Australia and New Zealand.[114] He described the role of the stock and station agent and the farmer as one of reciprocal benefit whereby:

> "Agents fostered long-term and wide-ranging business relationships with farmers providing then with commercial, financial, technical, marketing and general business services, which helped many farmers increase the quantity and quality of their output, improve the organisation of their farm in good times, and withstand insolvency pressures in bad."[115]

The agent provided an array of services, products and advice. He could arrange long-term finance to purchase property, equipment, and livestock and short-term finance to cover marketing costs including transport, insurance, storage and presentation. He also provided the farmer with advice on new techniques, animal breeds, land tenure regulations, and produce market trends. He sold farming materials, equipment and often stock, even general household needs. The agent received commissions, interest payments and resale margins. But information and advice was often provided without charge as an element of a long-term farmer-agent relationship.[116]

Ville traced the development of companies such as Elders, James Turner, Dalgety, Goldsborough, Mort, Australian Mercantile Land and Finance Company, New Zealand Loan

and Mercantile Agency, and others, detailing their expansion and takeover paths. Service diversification, incorporation and mergers were features of their growth. They ventured to varying degrees into financing, stock trading, land acquisition and farm management. There is no doubt that their role was pivotal to the continued strength of wool production in Australia and New Zealand, seizing commercial opportunities wherever possible.

The stock and station industry of the nineteenth century developed through an agency or branch structure operating in various states. It tended to appoint agents to its branches, rather than managers, though the functions of the agents were similar to managers in other industries, such as banks and retail. By 1907, the five largest pastoral companies had expanded to operate 68 branches in 27 locations, but the major growth in branches and the emergence of centralised corporate governance occurred after World War II.[117]

4.3.5 Other managers

The diversification and expansion of industries during this period resulted in the appointment of a number of managers in factories and other businesses. From the 1850s onwards, managers were increasingly employed in contexts other than farms and banks (see Appendix 6). Managers were appointed to businesses such as plant nurseries, merchant stores, waterworks, stage coach transport, vineyards, newspapers, meat-preserving, river transport, clothing, Aboriginal missions, electricity, mining, brewing and engineering. Some men could be regarded as career company managers (eg Theodor Scherk, Alexander Macdonald) as they worked as managers in a number of businesses.

John Rutherford, an American migrant, was the *manager* of the Melbourne-based Cobb and Co. coach company in 1857 for a few months before leaving. Engaging several partners, in 1861 he bought the company and became its *general manager*. The following year he extended its operations to New South Wales, driving the leading coach to Bathurst, which became the company headquarters and his place of residence.[118]

While there had been early attempts to smelt iron dating back to 1847, the most successful was the Eskbank iron works, which opened at Lithgow in 1876 with a young but experienced Welshman named Hughes as *manager*. The venture had a number of financial backers including John Rutherford and a Canadian named Dan Williams. The Eskbank iron works produced iron rails for Sydney's trams but closed down in 1883.[119] In 1886, William Sandford revived the works and became *manager*. At first, he specialised in re-rolling scrap iron but then, in 1900, built Australia's first steel furnace and became Australia's first steel producer.

The first Tattersall's Sweep was run by George Adams (1939-1904) for the Sydney Cup[120] run on Easter Monday in 1881. This form of gambling proved to be immensely popular and, sometime later, he appointed D. H. Harvey as *manager*. Harvey remained with the organisation for about 40 years.

4.3.6 **Theatre managers**

Cultural pursuits, entertainment and theatres were evident in the prospering colonial societies. A number of theatre managers continued their careers during the second half of the nineteenth century, including Joseph Wyatt, William Knight, Frederick Gibson and George Coppin.

Joseph Wyatt's career continued, opening the Prince of Wales Theatre in Castlereagh Street, Sydney in March 1855, having sold the Victoria Theatre the previous year.

George Coppin developed his career as a theatre *owner* and *manager* during this period. The latter half of 1851 saw an exodus of population from Adelaide to the goldfields of Victoria and Coppin followed the torrent, entertaining miners in Geelong. He returned to Adelaide in 1853 but then departed for England where he pursued his interest in theatre and engaged the tragedian Gustavus Brooke for an Australian tour. Returning to Melbourne, he opened the Olympic Theatre in February 1855 and the following year purchased the rival Theatre Royal and further expanded his theatre empire with the purchase of the Cremorne Gardens Amusement Park at Richmond. In 1858 he was elected to Richmond Council and retired from the stage, relying on Brooke to manage his theatre and other business interests. [121]

4.3.7 **Managers in Literature**

As Charles Dickens described managers of the fictional Coketown in *Hard Times*, published in 1854, some Australian authors of fictional literature mentioned managers during this period. Joseph Furphy's *Such is Life* contained 37 references to the word 'manager' and derivatives, including station manager, bank manager, and salaried manager. For Furphy, these managers were stock characters in the drama of life in the bush. His recording of these figures reflected the *status quo* and lends weight to the institution of the manager in various contexts during this period.[122]

4.4 **The Crash of the Banks**

While the Australian colonies had experienced some economic recessions, these were short and often followed by a mineral boom.[123] They often occurred early in the decade but were preceded and followed by increases in investment towards the end of the decade.[124]

It was not until 1893 that the inflow of British deposit funds slowed to a trickle.[125] In 1893 there was a rush to withdraw deposited funds, resulting in a failure of the banks. Economic collapse was imminent. Those banks and pastoral finance companies that had lent in speculative land booms were most exposed, because asset values had declined. Farm incomes were reduced partly through lower wool prices and partly through declining production through physical damage caused by over-expansion and a large rabbit population, and then by drought.[126] A surge of local depositors rushed the banks seeking to withdraw their funds. Between 6 April and 17 May 1993 13 banks suspended business, then the pastoral companies Goldsborough Mort and New Zealand Loan suspended business in June and July respectively.[127] Only three important banks continued to trade throughout the crisis – The Bank of New South Wales, the Union Bank and the Bank of Australasia.[128] Bank managers and their boards made critical decisions at this time, both to rescue the immediate rush on deposits and repair their damaged books over time, if possible. Both bank and other managers learned valuable lessons in dealing with crisis and liquidity after sustained prosperity.

> "The economic collapse came in three stages - a moderate slump followed by bank crashes and then by drought - and each stage deepened the depression."[129]

Australia suffered a financial crisis coupled to an environmental crisis, in the form of a major drought. The land that had known few bounds now lagged in the throes of a depression. Victoria suffered the most. The governments were ill-prepared to deal with the economic depression and the commodities of wool and gold were unable to combat its effects. The warning signs had been evident earlier - falling commodity prices, increased levels of debt for pastoralists, large interest repayments on overseas debts, and banks lending in areas of greater risk.

Up to that point, the colony had not experienced a major drought, and in 1893 such an event was outside the realms of contemplation so the states were completely unprepared. The levels of unemployment and the failure of the banks both came as shocks. The failure of banks affected business and investor alike, producing conditions of low investment and high unemployment. Yet while the economic outlook was depressed, Australian nationalism grew in stature and federation gained momentum.

4.5   A Progressive Society

4.5.1 **Nationalism and Federation**

The late decades of the nineteenth century marked a rise of nationalism. The arts flourished through the Heidelberg school of artists,[130] and literature captured the interest of town and country folk alike through the poems of Henry Lawson, Banjo Patterson and others in *The Bulletin*.[131]   In Australia's case, democracy preceded both nationalism and federation. Nationalism was the child of democracy.[132]   Hancock argued that the roots of Australian nationalism:

> "... took definite form in the class struggle between the landless majority and the land
> monopolising squatters. For the squatters and their allies were not like the great mass
> of immigrant settlers and their children, compelled by circumstances to break their
> connections with England and accept Australia as their only home. They went to and
> from one hemisphere to another; often they ended their days in England ..."[133]

The 'currency lads and lasses' had hastened the transition from 'transplanted British' to 'Independent Australian Britons'.[134]   The Australian romantic artists turned the gaze of Australians on their place and society - the bush, the outback, and the cities. They brought those elements into popular consciousness.

Nationalism, in the form of a view of Australia beyond state boundaries, was evident in the actions of both employers and employees. Unions and employer groups held national conferences and formed alliances across state borders. Governments, too, moved towards nationhood, taking steps towards a federation of the states. In 1889 Sir Henry Parkes, then Premier of New South Wales, invited the states and New Zealand to send delegates to a convention to be held in 1891 at Sydney, for the purposes of drafting a constitution for a federal government.[135]

The model that was eventually adopted by the six proud but parochial states was championed by John Quick of Bendigo, a lawyer and aspiring politician. Quick's model was that both the initial constitution and subsequent changes would require a special poll with a majority of people in a majority of states consenting to the proposed courses.[136]   Such a model presented obvious compromises and ensured that federation would proceed only on a basis of consensus. While Australians had sought a democratic society, arguably they received a bureaucratic one, where the will of the populous states, New South Wales and Victoria, could be frustrated by a majority of less populous states. In a referendum, the votes of New South

Wales and Tasmania would carry the same weight, while their populations were wildly disproportionate.

4.5.2 **Education and Universities**

The foundation of universities was important to the development of education and cultural life in the states, but compulsory schooling made a considerable difference to more people. Literacy and formal education also changed the nature of business and management practice, promoting the expansion of legal, accounting and advertising documents such as contracts and, balance sheets, posters and flyers. Eventually, during the twentieth century, educational institutions would host formal business and management instruction.

Radical changes to literacy and education occurred during this period. In 1861, 31% of Australian women and 19% of Australian men signed their marriage certificate with a mark. Victoria introduced compulsory secular and free education in 1872, Queensland in 1875 (six to 12 year olds) and NSW in 1880 (six to 14 year olds). By 1901, only 1% of Australian women and men signed their marriage certificate with a mark.[137]

The churches were the main providers of education until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the state assumed that role. The creation of a secular, compulsory and free system of education was a considerable undertaking for the state governments. The building and staffing of a school in every suburb and bush settlement drew considerably on public expenditure, and teachers and administrators constituted a significant proportion of the public service. Like the state railways, the administration of schools was centralised, governed by rules and formed in the bureaucratic prototype for which Australians demonstrated great talent. [138]

Australia's commitment to education was relatively early, and occurred roughly parallel to the rise of trade unionism. Trade unionism has often eclipsed other themes in past historical narratives, but the rise of education was more important to more people. As trade unionism began to wane in the 1980s and 1990s, education continued to grow considerably stronger.

The spread of literacy and the growth of the cities increased both the circulation of influence of newspapers and books. In the business sphere it proliferated record-keeping for both companies and trade unions. It impacted on advertising, branding, packaging, and sign-writing, but to a much lesser extent than during the early twentieth century.

Literacy was a pre-requisite to 'white collar' work and a raft of roles centred on administration. The growth of administration was central to the development of large

enterprises with agencies and branch structures. Literacy produced an educated and informed society.

The government schools provided an experience with a high degree of routine and regimentation with the ringing of the bell, marking the roll and the rote learning methods of the time. Religious and moral instruction were applied to forge character. Catholic and fee-paying protestant schools continued with the latter bridging the gap between elementary and higher education. [139]

An important milestone in the development of education in the early colony was the founding of the Australian College in 1831 by John Dunmore Lang. Lang held the ill-fated hope that the college would become the first Australian university. Instead, Sydney founded the first university in 1850 and another three universities followed during this period, as indicated in Table 11 below.

Table 11   Foundation of early Australia Universities

Year	University
1850	University of Sydney
1853	University of Melbourne
1874	University of Adelaide
1890	University of Tasmania

Source: Grave, S. A. 1984, *A History of Philosophy in Australia,* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia; http://www.australian-universities.com/history-of-australian-universities.php Accessed 22/10/2009.

Each was established by the state with an act of Parliament and funded from the public coffers. Their founders expressed high hopes of liberal education and elevating public life, but in practice they served the more utilitarian functions of professional training for lawyers, doctors and engineers. [140]

Philosophy and liberal education were not completely disregarded. The foundation Principal of Sydney University and Professor of Classics was Rev John Wooley, who taught both logic and classics. A lectureship in philosophy was created in 1888 and raised to the Challis Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy two years later. The University of Melbourne also taught logic and classics for many years until an independent lectureship in logic was created in 1881 followed by the Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy.

4.6   Chapter Summary

The socio-economic and political rushes and rises from 1851 to 1900 produced significant changes in the states.   The Australian economy gained a broader base of mining, manufacturing and services, thus widening avenues of employment. The gold rush elevated the levels of investment capital, amplified the scale of the banking industry and attracted migrants in their thousands. The cities grew both bigger and grander, embracing shopping precincts, schools, universities, libraries, museums, and galleries. During the 1890s, Lawson and Patterson narrated the legends of outback bushmen and sporting heroes, while the Heidelberg school artists captured scenes of town and country society. With increased wealth and continuing social change, Australians formed a stable but progressive democratic capitalist society and prized the values of fraternity and equality.

Public companies grew prominent in medium to large-scale businesses in industries including mining, banking, insurance, shipping and farming. With the rise of public companies came the rise of the manager and the managing director. During the nineteenth century, most large public companies, with the exception of banking, were controlled by a handful of rich shareholders, who occupied the board and governed its operations. In effect, these people were managing directors.

Salaried administrators were known as the 'secretary' or 'manager' and rarely sat on the board, which was the preserve of the owners. But while social standing was not conveyed, the salaried managers of large companies were handsomely paid, irrespective of whether they were recruited locally or from abroad. In the mining sector and other industries, general managers were recruited to the largest operations from overseas. Occasionally salaried managers were able to progress through a company and secure a directorship, but more often not.

Large organisations developed in the railway, banking, and pastoral industries, increasing the complexity of business structure, methods and operations. Some organisations developed multi-level organisational structures. The two largest employers, the NSW and Victorian state government railways operated monopolistic technical bureaucracies with few staff called 'managers'. The banks and pastoral companies operated with branch or agency structures, often with considerable autonomy across large distances and little communication with their general managers. Bank managers gained prominence and their numbers increased as branch structures expanded. The heavily capitalised New Zealand and Australia Land Company

adopted a multi-level structure of managers, but appears to be the exception rather than the rule.

Managers were employed in Australia's strategically important industries, namely wool, mining, banking, transportation and insurance. But diversification and expansion of industries during this period resulted in the appointment of a number of managers in factories and other businesses, further diversifying their roles and practice. While appointed in medium and large public companies, from the 1850s onwards, managers were increasingly employed in contexts other than farms and banks. Managers were appointed to businesses such as plant nurseries, vineyards, meat-preserving, merchant stores, clothing, newspapers, stage coach transport, river transport, Aboriginal missions, waterworks, electricity, mining, brewing, engineering, factories, shops and theatres. Some men could be regarded as career company managers as they worked as managers in a number of businesses.

With growing urban populations and a wider variety of locally manufactured goods, the retail sector developed considerably by improving the design and features of shops. Shopping arcades, department stores and shopping precincts emerged in the major cities. Product and company brands became common and additional forms of promotion such as pamphlets and bill-posters were introduced to effect sales as the range of household goods increased. Advertising became an important function for many managers as did accounting and auditing in public companies.

Australians enthusiastically adopted trade unionism and strike action in support of improved wages and conditions was often effective. Industrial conflict resulted in arbitration processes which defined and characterised industrial relations between management and the unions in Australia.

British and local influences dominated business and management practice during the nineteenth century, but some American influences emerged in the last decade with the recruitment of American managers to large Australian mining companies. But British men were recruited to run the railways and the British institutions of government, the law, finance, banking, and insurance continued to adapt to local conditions and circumstances.

CHAPTER 5: THE RISE OF THE DIRECTING MANAGER

Differing Priorities

In the USA, the first graduate business schools were established before 1900. The first business school, Wharton, was established at the University of Pennsylvania in 1881. The University of Chicago and the University of California (Berkley) followed in 1898,[1] while the Tuck School of Business and Administration was founded in 1900 at Dartmouth.[2]   The Harvard School of Business Administration opened on 1st October 1908. By the 1920s the reputations of the major business schools were secured.

During the early 1900s, a young engineer named Frederick Taylor conducted a series of experiments while working at the Midvale Steel Works. Having published an article, *The Piece-Rate System,* in 1895, he then published his first book, *Shop Floor* in 1903, and his second book, *The Principles of Scientific Management,* in 1911. That last book openly criticised the practices of foremen and supervisors, arguing that the methods used by most companies were inefficient and based on poor data. He proposed a new method of governing tasks and supervising labourers. While Taylor's ideas initially received much criticism from his fellow engineers, his emphasis on method and quantitative analysis was adopted widely in the USA and applied to various work settings. The automobile industry, amongst other large-scale manufacturers, deployed production line assembly techniques incorporating principles of scientific management.

In Australia, when *The Principles of Scientific Management* was first published, Ford motor cars were being imported from the USA[3] and production of large quantities of the first local steel was still a year away.[4] The population of New York had exceeded 1 million before 1870,[5] but it was not until the 1920s that Sydney and Melbourne reached that level.[6] Australians could afford to buy cars from early in the new century, but were not able to make them locally until 1925.[7] Population, market size and distance constrained mass production and large enterprises in manufacturing.

Taylor's ideas were reported in Australian trade journals and newspapers. Various businesses attempted to apply them but, in the main, they were resisted by most employers and employees, particularly trade unions. The American model of the business school and the

masters of business administration (MBA) were also resisted for four decades. It was not until 1955, that the University of Melbourne established its Summer School of Business Administration, the first university course in Australia to specifically focus on management, and 1963 that the MBA degree was offered by the Universities of New South Wales, Melbourne and Adelaide.

After World War II, management consultants and business education gathered momentum in Australia and during the 1960s the universities became the prime movers of management education. While there were exceptions, Australia lagged behind the leading business practices in Great Britain and the USA due to its smaller market size and focus on domestic markets, but it participated in international business networks from early in the twentieth century, continuing the pattern established during the nineteenth century in industries such as wool, the railways and mining.

The two World Wars dominated Australian history in this seventy-year period and their effects were seen for the remainder of the twentieth century, even to this day. The wars changed the economy, labour relations, the roles of women and men in the Australian economy, the nature of trade relations, foreign policy, and the structure of families and community life. The wars changed business and management, too.

During this period, as the complexity of business increased markedly, managers were appointed to functional areas within organisations, particularly large organisations. Branch structures were a common means of expansion and the domination of boards by rich shareholders waned as the power of salaried managers grew. Trustee directors, whose own shareholding in the company was relatively small, came to occupy the majority of seats and a trend emerged whereby one seat was held by a salaried employee of the company, known as the managing director, but who could more accurately be described as the 'directing manager'.[8]

Technology and Suburbs

Science and engineering dominated this seventy-year period of wars, depression and peace. World War I saw the use of machine guns, motor vehicles and aeroplanes with the latter two hastening Australia's dependence upon petrol. World War II was fought with tanks, naval vessels, and aeroplanes powered by engines fuelled with derivatives of oil and built in factories powered by electricity. Both oil and coal were vital sources of power and advantage in that war. The Japanese surrender came after a devastating display of nuclear power. In peacetime, science and engineering combined to produce suburbs and towns with electricity,

water, telephones, roads, schools, hospitals, industries, commercial districts and shopping precincts. They also produced factories and heavy industry during this period.

While Australia's economy in the nineteenth century had relied predominantly on producing raw materials for the British colonial empire, during the first half of the twentieth century, it became more independent by establishing heavy manufacturing capability in numerous industries, thus bringing Australia into the modern industrial age. The period saw industries such as steel, chemicals, rubber, electricity and glass established in Australia. In each case, technology was imported mainly from either Great Britain or the USA.[9] Mass production monoliths supplemented family workshops and transformed Australia's technological platform. In the first half of the twentieth century, the growth of heavy industry was the showpiece of a modern Australian society, but the second half of the twentieth century saw much of that industry decline, as south-east Asian countries joined the path of industrialisation.[10]

Establishing heavy industry required more than raw materials and an organised workforce. It required large amounts of capital, the experience of building new furnaces and factories, installation and maintenance of new equipment, new processes, new skills and knowledge. It especially required large amounts of electricity. There were many challenges, and Australian managers had the wherewithal to meet many of them. For some decades, Australian companies financed their operations by shareholder capital or loans from banks or pastoral companies. For most of the nineteenth century, Australian workers produced wool and wheat, transporting it to coastal ports and then shipping it to overseas markets. For decades, modern railways were built and operated over long distances. But the special challenges of heavy industry required technical knowledge from abroad. The USA multinationals, Ford and General Motors, would dominate the Australian motor car manufacturing industry; the British multinational Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) founded the Australian chemical industry; but the Australian company BHP[11] would become a steel giant and Qantas would dominate Australian air travel.[12] Large organisation such as these operated across state borders using modern organisational forms with multi-level hierarchies, sometimes with international ownership and investment capital.

Steel production changed Australian society early in the twentieth century. BHP had opened its first and only smelter for silver, lead and zinc at Port Pirie in 1890. By 1912, steel was produced by Hoskins of Lithgow[13] before BHP opened its Newcastle steelworks in June 1915. It sold its share in the Port Pirie smelter in 1925, acquired the Port Kembla steelworks in 1935 and opened the third steelworks at Whyalla in 1941.[14] Local steel spawned a sheet metal

industry and underpinned the war efforts,[15] facilitating production of machinery, cars, planes, ships, suburban trams and railways. Local steel changed the construction industry, allowing the skyscraper to shadow earlier colonial sandstone buildings. Steel and glass towers later defined Australia's capital cities as modern.

Rubber and glass production complemented steel and played a pivotal role in the mass production of motor vehicles and the war effort. The Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Company established a sales branch in Australia in 1915, then formed the Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Company (Australia) Limited in 1926.[16] Also in 1915, the Waterloo Glass Bottle Works Ltd. and the Melbourne Glass Bottle Works Company amalgamated to form the Australian Glass Manufacturers Company (AGM). In 1922 the company was restructured through amalgamation with the Zetland Glass Bottle Works Ltd. of NSW.[17] Rubber, glass and steel were crucial to consumer goods like refrigerators and future consumer staples like washing machines and televisions. Mass production, mass marketing and mass distribution became more common for consumer goods.

The first Ford car was imported into Australia in 1904 and all Ford cars were imported until 1925. In July of that year, the first Model T was produced locally at Geelong. In 1926, Ford opened assembly plants in Geelong, Brisbane and Adelaide. These were followed by the Freemantle and Sydney assembly plants in 1930 and 1936, respectively. During World War II, production facilities were converted to manufacture landing barges, military vehicles, ammunition materials, Bren gun carriers and to re-condition aeroplane engines.[18]

In Adelaide in 1912, Holden and Frost Ltd. were repairing and building horse-drawn carriages and coaches. The following year, they began to produce complete motorcycle sidecar bodies and their first custom motor body. In 1917, they completed 99 car bodies. Establishing their production line assembly plant at Woodville in 1924, they became Australia's largest body builder producing railway carriages, bus, tram and car bodies. General Motors Australia was formed in 1926 and engaged Holden to supply its car bodies. The two companies merged in 1931, during the depression, forming General Motors-Holden (GM-H). In 1936, using capital from the American parent company, GM-H began building the Detroit-style Fisherman's Bend plant on 20 acres near Melbourne. During World War II, GM-H's factories turned out aeroplane engines and frames, bomb cases, anti-tank guns and machine guns amongst other requirements of the Australian military. In response to the war, the company learned to build engine blocks and other components. With these capabilities, it proceeded to design and build an 'Australian' car, the first of which was unveiled at the Fisherman's Bend plant in Melbourne on 29 November 1948.[19]

The chemical industry was a further example of overseas technology advancing Australia's independence and modern economy. In 1928, the Australian and New Zealand subsidiaries and agencies of the four British chemical companies became ICIANZ.[20] Between 1936 and 1940, ICIANZ began acquiring and building chemical manufacturing plants in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia. Local coal, iron ore, silica and other chemicals were readily available and transported to processing plants in various states.

It was an era when science and engineering also presented new possibilities for mass communication and entertainment. In 1872, the overland telegraph had linked London and Adelaide via Darwin, but in 1930 the telephone service between Australia and England was established. The newspaper, the radio and the moving pictures were the only forms of mass media in Australia until 1956 when television came to the major cities, just prior to the staging of the Melbourne Olympic Games.

The diffusion of overseas industries, technologies and ideas into Australian business extended to include communications, film-making, electronic media, transport, advertising, management consultants and an increasing number of university trained 'professions'. The range of service industries expanded, replicating the trend in Great Britain and the USA. As those countries progressed, so Australia followed, with increasing influence from the USA. World War II was a turning point for the Australia-USA relationship. When Great Britain abandoned Singapore, Australia's reliance for security fell to the USA. Changes in military strategy affirmed an embrace of American culture and technology, including some American business and management ideas. But while assembly-line production technology, motor cars, films, swing and jazz music gained popular acceptance, other American ways did not. In accounting, law, advertising, management consulting and management education, British, American and local influences continued to compete for dominance in the Australian context.[21]

The growth of suburbs characterised this period and Australians committed to both a capitalist consumer society and a welfare state. The administrative arms and services of government grew at federal, state and local levels. Railways and sealed roads threaded their way further around and away from the capital city centres. As in London and New York, suburban railways and trams transported a class of commuters to an ever-increasing number of white collar jobs. The road networks of the cities and major towns initially provided an important thoroughfare for early trucks and delivery vans, but later carried increasing numbers of private motor vehicles, as the architecture of the family home changed to include a driveway

and a garage. The motor car, the aeroplane, electricity, the telephone, radio and television changed both work and home during this period.

As industry and the broader society advanced through technology, business and management practice also modernised with increased business services in legal, accounting and advertising firms. As companies and organisation grew bigger and reliant on advanced technology for production, distribution and communication operations, the shape and dynamics of organisations changed in various ways. Larger organisations with pressing need for technical expertise in areas such as finance, personnel, company and industrial laws, technology, and advertising appointed specialist managers, while the related increases in scope and complexity of business gave greater power and influence to senior managers. In both these ways, occupation of manager became a career path and the salaried manager progressed further from the backroom towards the boardroom.

5.1   From the Backroom to the Boardroom

5.1.1   Federation and Factories

Following the terrible droughts of the 1890s, the rains came, the pastures recovered, commodities prices improved, and optimism returned to the nation. Wool flocks returned to former numbers, factories opened and exports exceeded imports to the colony between 1892 and 1913.[22] The crash of the banks had profound and lasting effects, not only upon the financial system and companies, but also on the confidence of investors. One of those effects was Sydney displacing Melbourne as the pre-eminent city, a position it strengthened in ensuing decades.[23]

In 1901, the six states overcame their parochial interests and federated, forming the Commonwealth of Australia.[24] While this was an important social and political event, it brought consequences for industry, notably the expansion of secondary industry. Federation of the states raised the possibilities of a national market for domestic manufactures and a more consistent system of tariff protection. The years after the depression of the 1890s produced a broadening of the industrial base and a trend towards greater processing of primary products prior to export. During the 1900s, investment levels in manufacturing more than doubled and by 1914 the value of factory production rose to levels akin to the rural sector. New industries such as dairy products, meat, sugar and wheat arose and refrigeration was introduced to shipping at a time when transport costs were being reduced.[25]

While arbitration forums had been established in the 1890s,[26] legislation enabling trade unions to take employers to tribunals to resolve disputes was introduced during the early years of the new century. This occurred in New South Wales in 1901 and at the Commonwealth level in 1904, with the *Arbitration and Conciliation Act*. The two main effects of the legislation were to give statutory standing to trade unions and provide an external forum for the resolution of disputes.

There was considerable employer opposition to the legislation with claims that it would increase costs and impede efficiency by promoting unions. They formed employer associations at state and federal levels early in the new century, campaigning for the repeal and reform of the compulsory arbitration legislation. They mounted legal challenges in the superior courts. Employers also attempted to disrupt the operation of the tribunal system by not registering their associations, registering 'bogus' trade unions, engaging legal counsel and thus raising the cost of proceedings, etc. In some cases, employer associations continued active opposition to the arbitration system until 1936. But the durability of the tribunals gave benefits to both employers and unions. In the case of the employers, it provided a degree of certainty of wage levels, a basis for tariff protection for manufacturers to rise in accordance with wage increases, a form of labour discipline, and importantly, protection of the 'managerial prerogative' by limiting the range of industrial issues subject to collective bargaining.[27]

The provisions of the *Arbitration and Conciliation Act* were required on numerous occasions during the first two decades of the new century, as several important disputes erupted, including the Broken Hill strike of 1908, the strike of the New South Wales coal miners in 1909, the Brisbane strike of 1912, the coal miners' strike of 1916 and the general strike of 1917.[28]

Sometimes the disputes were resolved in favour of the unions, and at other times in favour of employers. In the case of the coal miners' strike of 1916, which resulted in coal shortages in several states, the Court granted the miners' claims, but raised the price of coal to enable the owners of the mines to pay for the shorter working hours and increased wages.[29] The general strike of 1917 stemmed from the introduction of a Taylorist card system in the Randwick Tramway Workshops. The union objected to the introduction of the card system and the strike rapidly extended to other states and industries, including coal and metals miners, seamen, waterside workers, carters and storemen. The settlement upheld, *inter alia*, the introduction of the system subject to a review after three months by a Royal Commission, no

less. Even a nation at war had industrial disputes requiring arbitration between unions, employers and government.

The trade union movement was prominent and popular throughout the period.[30] Both the Court of Arbitration and sympathetic Labor governments created some difficulties for employers. Relations between unions and company management were sometimes confrontational and intransigent. BHP, for example, continued a tough and unyielding industrial relations strategy, being prepared to sack union officials, suspend employees involved in workplace meetings, refusing to bargain directly with the union and rigidly enforcing the terms of industrial awards.[31] The process of dispute galvanised both employers and the trade union movement into more united, organised and coherent, sometimes inflexible, forces. The popularity of the trade union movement and its connections with the Labor party complicated the political process. A government that always sided with employers ran the risk of being voted out of office. A government that always sided with the trade unions ran the risk of alienating employers and losing businesses interstate.

The Victorian Chamber of Manufactures (VCM) noted that in 1907, 4,208 factories in Victoria employed 76,000 workers. In the following year the VCM formed the first 10 trade associations - woollen goods, boats, furniture, clothing, underwear, mantles, jams, cardboard boxes and sheet-metal work.[32]

The advance of manufacturing was rapid:

> "Old factories grew, new ones sprang up in their thousands, and in 1910 it was easy to find factories that employed more than 700 hands and worked sixteen to eighteen hours a day to meet the market once held by importers."[33]

With mass production of consumer goods to growing markets, the Australian advertising industry emerged and expanded. Its development is outlined later in this chapter.

Larger organisations became more common.[34] But while there were some large employers, the majority of businesses were small family concerns. Wright asserted that labour management in most Australia firms prior to World War II was based on simple personal supervision. This was more evident in small firms as control of the workforce was ordinarily the concern of the owner-manager.[35] However, by the end of the 1960s, large organisations deployed systematic work practices and were more bureaucratic with a considerably greater range of functions such as personnel, accounts, finance, advertising and sales.

Australians enthusiastically adopted the motor vehicle during the early decades of the century. By the early 1930s there were more than half a million cars, trucks and buses, making

Australia one of the most motorised nations.[36] With increased numbers of factories and motor vehicles, reliance on the horse declined, weakening Australia's balance of payments. Dependence on the horse had implied dependence on chaff and grains that were produced locally. But dependence on the motor vehicle meant dependence on petrol that was produced overseas.[37] It was not until 1961 that a commercial oilfield was found at Moonie, west of Brisbane, and Australia began to supply local oil needs.[38]

While manufacturing expanded during the first half of the century and employment within the sector rose also, its role as a large employer was curtailed by the efficiencies of mechanisation and the predominance of service industries as employers in the Australian case. A sectoral analysis of employment for the period 1891 to 1981 is outlined later in this chapter.

In addition to ownership concentration and a tendency towards increased size, the first half of the twentieth century also marked the adoption of production line technologies and other high-quantity production techniques. These were particularly evident in the automobile industry, but also in the factory production or processing of consumer goods such as canning, bottling and packaging.[39]

5.1.2 Companies and Consultants[40]

Changes to Company Boards

This period saw further changes to the membership of boards of public companies and the acceptance of the salaried manager onto the boardroom of many but not all companies.

Changes in the membership of boards were slow, but by the 1930s, the boards of the larger public companies were no longer dominated by rich shareholders, with the exception of relatively new companies, whose founders were still living.[41] During the 1930s, the boards of large companies tended to have:

> "… a conglomerate board which might include one or two descendants of the wealthier owner-directors of the original generation, and one or two rich men whose shareholding in the company might not be very large and whose seat on the board depended more on their good business reputation than on their shareholding. The board might also seat one salaried employee of the company, the managing director."[42]

Possibly half the seats of the typical board were occupied by trustee directors, whose own shareholding in the company was relatively small.

Perhaps the first career manager[43] to become a board member was Thomas Dibbs, who in 1915, retired from his salaried position to become a director of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney. That same year W. S. Robinson, who was perhaps symbolic of the new managerial elite in Australia, joined the board of the re-organised Broken Hill Associated Smelters.[44] In 1926, Essington Lewis, the general manager of Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd. was elected to the company's board. Lewis is now largely remembered for his prominent roles in the founding of the Australian steel industry and Australia's industrial effort in World War II, but he was also responsible for an era of autocratic and unyielding industrial relations practices in BHP.[45]

But these changes should not be overstated, for as late as 1939, many large public companies had never offered a seat to any of their career managers and many other companies had only invited the general managers to join the board after they had retired.[46] In many companies the demarcation between the owners and their salaried managers remained strong. During the inter-war years, career ladders for managers were not evident in many organisations.[47]

The number of publicly listed companies and the total number of shareholders both grew. In 1939 there were 392 companies registered on the Sydney Stock Exchange while in 1955 there were 770. According to Yorston, in 1953 the number of shareholders in the eight largest companies in Australia[48] was approximately 134,000, or more than twice the number of employees.[49] However, other researchers support the case for a continuing concentration of ownership and the influence of founding members on boards and directorial interlocks.[50]

Large corporations dominated the economy by 1960, to the extent that by 1964 the largest 602 companies employed almost 25% of the workforce.[51] According to Blainey, in the mid-1950s directors of the majority of large companies were not large shareholders. Directing managers controlled the operation of large companies, but, in most cases, still reported to boards. But the era of the professional or career manager was well underway, and the manager's path to a seat on the board of directors was well formed by 1970.[52]

Work Practices and Consultants

Alongside changes in board membership were changes in work practices. Wright nominated that the three key overseas innovations introduced to Australia during this period were Payment by Results (PBR), Frederick Taylor's scientific management, and quantity production techniques.[53] Each of these changed management practice and discourse.

PBR advocated remuneration on the basis of productivity rather than time. Australia had an established tradition of piecework in a number of industries, such as shearing, clothing and

footwear contexts. PBR was applied in many contexts including the tobacco, clothing, boot-making, stove, agricultural implement, sheet-metal working, steel, and box-making industries.[54]

Wright included both work measurement and wage incentive schemes in scientific management techniques. These methods were applied in contexts such as clothing, railways, automobile manufacture and retail.[55]

An early example of the application of scientific management techniques was at the Lithgow Small Arms Factory, where workers complained of 'American hustling methods' implemented in 1912.[56] Another was at the clothing factory of Pearson, Law & Co (later Pelaco) in Melbourne. Having read Taylor's *Shop Floor*, James Law, the managing director of the company, applied the techniques of time study, systematic production planning and costing to the factory production of collars, shirts and pyjamas.[57]

Newspapers and trade journals carried articles about scientific management from 1917. *Australian Manufacturer* published an article entitled 'The Taylor system of scientific management' in August of that year and a succession of articles followed, including an editorial in December relating to recently published lectures by Bernard Muscio.[58]

Management consultants played a pivotal role in the dissemination of scientific management practices. The Bedaux Company was a leading international and scientific management company and the establishment of an Australian office in 1930 was an important event. Other companies to form and provide scientific management consulting services in this period included W. D. Scott & Co. and Personnel Administration Pty. Ltd. (PA).[59]

The American automobile manufacturers such as Ford and General Motors led the application of quantity production techniques, establishing Australian assembly plants in the mid-1920s with the latest equipment and techniques, such as the moving assembly-line.[60]

While these three key innovations re-shaped a number of organisations, Wright assessed the relative rate of adoption as poor prior to 1940. In spite of the enthusiastic and extensive coverage of new machine tools and repetition production methods in industry journals, engineering firms were generally slow to adopt those technological advances for many of the same reasons as their Great Britain counterparts.[61] He attributes this to the limited size and scale of Australian manufacturing and workforce resistance. A number of disputes erupted in the metal trades, amongst others, when employers attempted to rationalise production and introduce PBR and scientific management schemes.[62] The general strike of 1917 was a clear example of this, complicated by wartime tensions.

The Management Rush

Wright concluded that, prior to 1940, in spite of the efforts of the trade journals and the advocacy of the arbitration tribunals for greater modernisation of industry, the vast majority of employers continued to rely on the simple direct control of the foreman and the discipline of the labour market as the dominant forms of management practice.[63]

However, scientific management and quantity production techniques were adopted increasingly during the 1940s and subsequent decades. Multinational corporations, management consultants, the technical colleges and professional bodies played central roles in implementing these techniques in the Australian business context.[64]

In 1943, the Personnel and Industrial Welfare Officers Association formed in Melbourne. From 1949, it was known as the Personnel Officers Association of Australia and from 1954 as the Federal Institute of Personnel Management of Australia.[65] The formation of this organisation indicated a critical mass of officers working in the personnel and industrial welfare field. The post-war period also saw an expansion of the personnel function, the way that firms recruited, selected, trained, communicated with, and rewarded employees.[66] This trend was largely precipitated by increased demand for labour which occurred after the war, forcing employers to compete for staff. Some of the practices introduced at this time included psychological testing, employment of personnel officers, formulation of job descriptions and formation of workplace consultative committees. These trends were indicative of growing support for writers such as Elton Mayo and other industrial psychology contributors to the development of industrial psychology and the personnel function.[67]

Corporate Leaders

The size of companies grew considerably throughout the period, both in terms of assets and employees. Where the business was a large concern, more systematic approaches were adopted. These were evident in organisations including the New South Wales Government Railways, David Jones and BHP.

Fleming, Merrett and Ville identified and ranked the largest government-owned enterprises, the top 25 financial firms, and the top 100 non-financial companies throughout the twentieth century.[68] Their data indicated that, in 1910, eight financial companies held assets in excess of £14 million; in 1930, 11 financial companies held assets in excess of £45 million; in 1952, nine financial companies held assets in excess of £150 million; and in 1964, 12 non-financial companies held assets in excess of £580 million. The assets of these financial companies grew between the periods by factors of 3.2, 3.3 and 3.9 respectively.

Non-financial companies also grew throughout the period. In 1910, 29 non-financial companies held assets in excess of £1 million; in 1930, 30 non-financial companies held assets in excess of £3 million; in 1952, 28 non-financial companies held assets in excess of £10 million; and in 1964, 35 non-financial companies held assets in excess of £40 million. The assets of these non-financial companies grew between the same periods by factors of 3.0, 3.3 and 4.0 respectively.

In comparison to the leading companies in the USA, Great Britain and Germany, Australian companies during the period showed some similarities in growth strategies and organisational design, but were more akin to Great Britain than the USA and Germany. They relied more heavily on foreign entrepreneurship through multinationals; had less strongly developed managerial hierarchies; and developed organisational shape to deal with distance rather than separate product markets. These and other features were largely the result of factors such as the lateness of industrialisation, the small size of markets and large distance between them, and geographic isolation from other potential markets. While able to harness technologies from overseas and possessing abundant raw materials, limited market size and spread of population were significant constraints in developing large-scale manufacturing as occurred in the USA, Great Britain and Germany. Australia was prone to dominance in many of its industries by the first large entrant, which was often a government enterprise or a foreign-owned company.[69]

The Railways

The railways remained, by far, the largest employers of the time. The New South Wales Railways employed more than 40,000 people, making it the largest employer in Australia[70] and the biggest organisation in terms of assets.[71] It was a massive organisation with a multi-level hierarchical structure. According to Patmore, it was modelled on its overseas counterparts in Britain and the USA, drawing also from the practices of military organisations that had dealt with similar large volumes of capital and human resources. Its overseas counterparts were private concerns, while the New South Wales operation was wholly government-funded. Although such a large organisation, it functioned on principles of foremanship and supervision rather than management, more resembling a professional and technical hierarchy than a management bureaucracy.[72] This was particularly so during the nineteenth century and considerable resistance was mounted to Commissioner Fraser's attempts to implement systematic management from 1915 onwards.

Fraser was interested in systematic management and attempted to reform the railway's workshops by commencing detailed measurement of a worker's time on each locomotive,

carriage or wagon's part. His purposes were to isolate 'shirkers' and develop an incentive payment scheme. He introduced card systems whereby foremen, rather than workers recorded times and details of jobs and in 1916 imported an American expert to conduct time and motion studies. From July, 1916 he publicly attacked 'slow work' and encountered considerable opposition to his attempts to systematise the workshop. He re-introduced changed work practices in July 1917 at the Randwick Tramway Workshops including additional foremen whose role was to ensure there was no labour or material waste.[73] Importantly, Fraser differentiated his systematic initiatives from American scientific management methods as in 1917 he gave an address attacking the Taylor system of scientific management.[74]

The Victorian Railways was an interstate counterpart to the NSW Railway. Selzer & Sammartino undertook a study of the latter organisation, noting that the number of employees expanded from 9,800 in 1902 to 19,273 in 1921. They constructed a database of over 750 job classifications for the years 1883 to 1921. That data series contained 13 cases where the word 'manager' was in the position title, but only six instances where a person was employed in the positions. Those six staff were employed in just two job classifications as detailed in Table 12.[75]

Echoing Chandler, Wright argued that railway organisations were "the pioneers of modern corporate management since they were the first to handle large amounts of capital and employees within a single business unit."[76] However, neither the New South Wales nor the Victorian railways had large numbers of employees called 'managers'.

Table 12   Managers and Total Staff in the Victorian Railways 1905 - 1918

	Assistant Workshop Manager	Tour Guard and Manager	Permanent Staff
1905		1	10,000
1908	1	1	9,800
1911	1		9,900
1914	1		13,600
1918	1		12,300

Source: Selzer, A. & Sammartino, A. 2009, *Nominal Wage Rigidity Prior to Compulsory Arbitration: Evidence from the Victorian Railways, 1902-21,* Paper presented by Andrew Selzer to the Conference on Australian Economic History, Canberra, March 2009.

Their feats of organisation were based on a system where 'managers' were not prominent in organisational hierarchies. But the speech of Commissioner Fraser of the NSW Railway indicated that the railway knew about systematic management and the senior levels of the organisation's hierarchy were referred to as management.

5.1.3 Australia's Service Economy

The expansion of agriculture during the nineteenth century and manufacturing during the twentieth century heavily influenced the history of management in Australia. At certain times, those industries became large employers of the Australian labour force, but over time they both became more mechanised. The tractor and electric shears transformed agriculture while production line technology and mechanisation changed manufacturing. As a consequence, those industries declined as employers, while new industries emerged and others expanded. The age of the heroic male worker of the bush or the factory passed, usurped by hordes of clerical and professional workers. When manufacturing declined, service industries became the growth area for both employment and management practice.

Table 13   Australian Labour Force by Sector 1891-1981

Year	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary		Quaternary		Quinary		Total
1891	440,800	25.8%	321,900	18.8%	223,000	13.0%	176,400	10.3%	549,500	32.1%	1,711,700
1901	517,800	25.0%	346,800	16.7%	308,800	14.9%	231,600	11.2%	558,200	26.9%	2,073,400
1911	586,100	22.1%	541,000	20.4%	437,200	16.5%	197700	7.4%	893,900	33.7%	2,655,900
1921	598,700	18.0%	698,400	21.1%	540,900	16.3%	266,500	8.0%	1,213,000	36.6%	3,317,500
1933	647,900	16.3%	855,800	21.6%	609,400	15.4%	407,400	10.3%	1,447,000	36.5%	3,967,400
1947	547,200	11.0%	1,013,500	20.4%	724,500	14.6%	721,700	14.6%	1,949,300	39.3%	4,956,200
1961	509,900	8.3%	1,398,200	22.8%	1,047,300	17.1%	1,024,900	16.7%	2,160,200	35.2%	6,140,500
1966	512,800	7.7%	1,569,900	23.5%	1,172,400	17.5%	1,305,900	19.5%	2,126,200	31.8%	6,687,200
1971	478,300	6.6%	1,616,400	22.4%	1,354,600	18.7%	1,563,500	21.6%	2,216,400	30.7%	7,229,200
1976	514,700	6.6%	1,809,100	23.4%	1,598,600	20.6%	1,849,500	23.9%	1,970,300	25.4%	7,742,300
1981	438,600	5.4%	1,481,300	18.1%	2,286,500	28.0%	1,691,600	20.7%	2,266,500	27.8%	8,164,800

Source: Jones, B. 1983 (second edition), *Sleepers, Wake!,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne p 61.

Jones[77] demonstrated how both agriculture and mining declined as employers in the Australian labour force. He adopted a five-sector analysis of the Australian economy segmenting the service sector into three parts.[78] While mining produced export income, like agriculture, it became mechanised and required fewer employees. Table 13 displays the five

sector categorisation of the Australian Labour force for the extended period of 1891-1981. The percentage figures calculate the sector as a proportion of the total.

Table 13 indicates the degree of overall expansion of the labour force throughout the period and the data trends of the sectors. Figure 1 graphs those trends.

Figure 1   Australian Labour Force by Sector 1891-1981
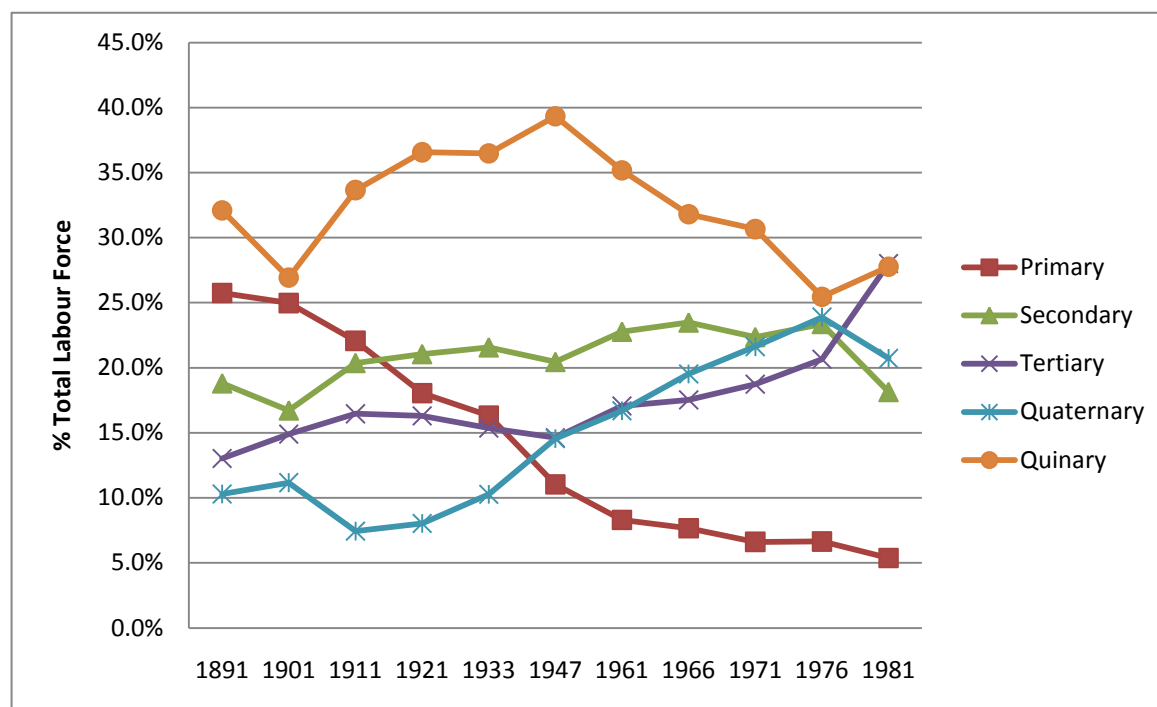
Source: Jones, B. 1983, *Sleepers Wake! Technology and the future of work***, p 61.**

Figure 1 illustrates a number of trends and features:

- the historical decline of the Primary sector (including agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, quarrying and oil extraction) as an employer;

- the steady growth to 1976 then sharp decline of the Secondary sector (including manufacturing and construction) as an employer;

- the gradual growth of the Tertiary sector (including transport, storage, buying and selling goods, water and energy supply, maintenance, waste disposal, beauty care, sports and recreation, and services provided by doctors, dentists, police and the armed forces) from 1947 until 1971, after which it expanded considerably to employ 28.0% of the labour force;

- the rapid growth of the Quaternary sector (which covered the public service, teaching, research, office work, post and telecommunications, the media, films, data processing,

computer software, banking, insurance, and various branches of the arts and sciences) from 7.4% in 1911

- the growth and decline of the Quinary sector (including hotels, hospitality, cleaning, household maintenance, etc.) from 26.9% in 1901 to 39.3% in 1947 and then to 27.8% in 1981;

- the sense that 1976 was a crossroads from which Primary and Secondary sectors declined further to be overtaken by Tertiary, Quaternary and even a declining Quinary sector employment;

- that combining the Tertiary, Quaternary and Quinary sectors shows the dominance of the service sectors as the employers of the labour force.[79]

Jones concluded that Australia was probably the world's first 'service-based' economy. Unlike Britain, the USA and most of Western Europe, where industry usurped agriculture as the major employer before service industries dominated, Australian manufacturing never became the largest employer.[80] In adopting volume production methods and scientific management practices to become efficient, manufacturing committed itself to the path of declining as an employer.

Throughout the twentieth century, services industries remained the largest employers of the labour force. Banking, insurance, education, health, legal services, armed forces, electricity, water, retail, transport, packaging and government administration became large employers. Some of those industries employed 'managers', but many did not.

5.2 Business Modernises

The influences of modernity - mass production, mass advertising and mass distribution – propelled Australian business during the twentieth century, changing the scale of companies and the range of businesses. As outlined earlier, Australia's steel and chemical industries developed after and were heavily influenced by those in Great Britain and the USA. The Australian industries formed with the benefit of considerable maturity of the associated technology.

While the systematic and scientific management movements honed manufacturing businesses and a local steel industry spurred metal fabrication and motor cars, companies were adopting other modern methods such as mass advertising and extending their business models to include advertising agencies and management consultants. As production capacity grew, the domestic retail industry expanded creating a consumer society. As the administration and

regulation of business became more complex, professional service firms such as accountants, auditors and lawyers became more important.[81]

5.2.1 **The Rise of Advertising Agencies**[82]

While systematic and scientific management consultants worked with various businesses, implementing changes to work practices, advertising agencies were working closely with business, developing a partnership of mutual benefit. Like management consulting in Australia, prominent individuals dominated the early advertising agencies, forming small businesses. But Australian advertising grew much quicker and produced a larger industry fused with mass production and mass communication.

The new century saw a number of advertising agencies emerge in Sydney and Melbourne. These early agencies sought to provide a broader range of services such as designing the layout of advertisements, drafting copy and providing illustrations to supplement existing functions of placing advertisements in newspapers and magazines or as posters. While these early agencies demonstrated some signs of international networks, the hallmark of the growing industry was a developing symbiotic relationship with business during the twentieth century. Advertising was essential to the development of Australia's consumer markets, promoting products and then brands, cementing the power of communication channels such as newspapers, magazines and posters, then radio and television. The role of advertising in promoting economic growth, spurring big business and modernising business was particularly relevant to the development of management practice. As business, particularly big business, synthesised advertising and mass communication with mass production, the role of the manager changed accordingly. As advertising agencies expanded rapidly, businesses and managers adapted their practice.

H. M. Cowdroy was the first Australian 'service agent', commencing business in Melbourne around 1900. He broke new ground by inserting an illustrated full page advertisement for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1901. But Thomas A. Miller's agency, established in 1902, appears to be the first 'full service agency'. While initially preparing copy and illustrations, his agency extended to handling newspaper contracts, recording insertions and auditing the accounts.

In Sydney, Thomas A Miller established an agency around 1902, offering clients not only an advertising placement service but also design of the advertisement. The trend towards greater design and artistic services gained momentum with the Weston Agency, formed at a similar time. Its founder had diverse background experience including as a lithographer and an art

teacher. Weston sold his agency and then formed a new agency with photographer Walter Burke in 1908, seeking to incorporate elements of photography into advertising.

Hugh Paton founded the Paton Advertising Service in Melbourne in 1904. Paton persevered with persuading clients that advertising agents could draft advertisements as well as place them in the newspapers and magazines. He pioneered the 'full service' model of advertising agency, securing clients with diverse businesses including retail, hardware, manufacturing, and the Commonwealth government. Paton was actively involved in advertising organisations such as the Victorian Ad Club and the Advertising Service Agencies' Association. Arthur O. Richardson started the Richardson Agency in 1906 and became renowned for editing and publishing *Ad Writer*, an industry journal, in 1909 and later authoring *The Power of Advertising*, the first Australian book on advertising practice.

Trade publications emerged with the publication of *Good Advertising: A Journal for Retailers* in 1906 followed by *The Reason Why* in 1909 and industry organisations formed, including the Australian Advertising Association in 1911, the Victorian Advertising Club in 1913 and the later Advertising Service Agencies' Association. The industry developed with various changes in printing technology, the extension of the telephone network, and the advent of radio and television.

Extending the domain of promotion, O'Brien Publicity secured the rights to advertising on Sydney's ferries in 1911 and went on to secure the contract for the commercial pink pages of New South Wales and telephone directories, becoming one of the first agencies with an interstate branch. Branch offices in Adelaide and Brisbane were opened in 1941 and 1961 respectively.

George Patterson founded an agency in Melbourne shortly after the World War I broke out but his war service disrupted promising business exploits. After returning from service, in 1917 he moved to Sydney and in 1920 merged his agency with that of Norman Catts. The hybrid business experienced an early coup with soap, when a shipload of the product was stranded in Australia. Patterson convinced Palmolive's management to sell the product in the Australian market. Using American layouts and 'Australianised' copy, he launched a highly successful campaign. Within two years, Palmolive established a factory in Australia with Catts-Patterson holding its publicity account, demonstrating the power of advertising to stimulate both markets and investment. Patterson continued his career in advertising with his own agency from 1934 and managed the government's radio campaign throughout World War II, cementing his agency's place as the nations' foremost promoter. He held positions on the boards of a number of his accounts, further preventing their loss to competitors.

A number of overseas agencies arrived in Australia during the 1920s. In 1924, Frank Goldberg of Wellington, New Zealand opened a Sydney agency. Three years later he moved both his business headquarters and his family there. The British agency Samson Clark & Co. moved into the Australian market around the same time, establishing offices in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane by 1929. Samson Clark & Co. brought an international perspective to producing advertisements. Campbell-Ewald was the first American agency to operate in Australia, opening a branch in 1929. It was followed a year later by J. Walter Thompson (JWT), whose London office had secured the international account of General Motors. The General Motors contract stipulated that JWT would open an office in each country with General Motors assembly plants or distributors. JWT initially opened in Melbourne before expanding to Sydney, and Wellington in New Zealand.

The arrival of American agencies conveyed a sense of modern 'scientific' methods such as market research amongst other international influences, but the extent of that influence was limited by a number of events and factors. The Campbell-Ewald agency entered the market with the intention of snaring the General Motors contract, however, it never succeeded in that pursuit and the branch was abandoned after encountering further difficulties with the Depression. JWT too encountered obstacles with the General Motors account but secured their financial viability through other business. Their operation was further hampered in recruiting high calibre personnel. Their New York staff were reluctant to migrate to distant Australia and local recruitment drew from an immature Melbourne industry.

JWT's Australian offices applied methods that were developed overseas, but rigid adherence to them proved to be a hindrance as Australian culture, attitudes and expression differed considerably to those of North America. While JWT offered experience of market research to their clients, few were prepared to buy it. Though viewed with some fascination, market research was expensive and both local business and advertising agencies were reluctant to venture beyond established practice.

The period between 1918 and 1929 was an era of exponential growth for the advertising industry, becoming a multi-million pound concern employing more men and women than before. Continuing expansion was driven by international companies seeking access to the Australian market and a growing domestic industrial sector. As a consequence, agency profits reached record levels.

Australian radio stations began broadcasting in 1925 with 'A' class stations drawing their revenue from audience subscriptions and 'B' class stations funded through revenue from commercial advertisements. In 1928 the A class stations were taken over by the government

to form the Australian Broadcasting Company (later Commission). Radio advertising had been slow to take off in the USA and Australian advertising agencies were similarly slow to recognise the power of the medium.

The Depression resulted in a sharp reduction in advertising expenditure, significant shifts in the message of promotions and revised promotional strategies. Sales in many consumer goods plummeted. In a stagnant and depressed market the Tooths brewing company substantially revised its advertising campaign, promoting bottled beer as a healthy drink, more along the lines of a staple food, opting to use brown paper bags and plain delivery vans to remove connotations of affluence from the public eye. While businesses generally spent less on advertising, even at the worst point of the Depression, many remained committed to promotion, confirming the centrality of the industry to business viability. People continued to spend and as the Depression lifted, consumption levels rose.

The lessons learnt from surviving the Depression were re-applied during World War II when the advertising industry experienced a similar downturn, exacerbated by increased regulation and war-time censorship. Advertising agencies re-worked their campaigns and re-organised their offices. Radio was recognised as the most powerful means of purveying a message and promoting sales. It played a key part in the government's wartime domestic communications and was central to the campaigns of the leading agencies.

In the post war period, the number of foreign companies operating in Australia escalated dramatically, attracted to a booming economy. With some successes in the South-East Asian markets as well as the domestic market, Australia's advertising industry inevitably attracted attention from international competitors. In 1959 McCann Ericksen became the first American agency to enter the Australian market in 30 years by purchasing the Hansen-Rubensohn agency. In the following decade, the shape of the advertising industry was assaulted by a ceaseless stream of takeovers, mergers and international arrivals which left the names of major agencies barely recognisable. In 1964, US company Jeff Bates announced a takeover of Australia's largest agency, George Patterson, to form a new agency named Patterson-Bates. Henceforth, foreign ownership defined the international context of the Australian advertising. Unlike previous decades, the presence of American and British firms brought clear changes in business acumen and style. They brought money, technical expertise, and the experience of intense competition in the New York and London markets.

The introduction of television broadcasting shifted the balance of power in the mass communication media. Television provided the perfect advertising medium, because it transmitted visual images. It took only seven years for television to overhaul its broadcast

competitor. Affluent consumers and cheaper television sets spurred its increasing success as audiences and advertising revenue grew. The 'Creative Revolution' swept through the American advertising industry during the 1960s but the Australian industry was slow to respond, despite its own international presence. A further decade passed before 'consumer consciousness' and market segmentation were accepted in the Australian context.

In a sense, the advertising industry perpetuated itself, combining the competitive nature of business with an ability to increase the volume of sales. As a result, it played a key role in defining and expanding consumer markets, consolidating its power and that of advertising channels such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television. From fledgling agencies in the 1900s, Australian advertising grew to a multi-million dollar industry with branch structures across Australia and overseas. It employed managers and its business became central to the management of other businesses.

While its prime justification was the ability to generate sales, its legitimacy was assisted by the development of industrial psychology, particularly in the 1920s.

5.2.2 **Management Consulting**[83]

During this period, management consulting firms were operating in the USA, France, The Netherlands, Finland and Great Britain.[84] In France, the first consultants were engineers acting either as internal or external advisers.

The 1930s saw the establishment of two management consulting firms with immediate importance for Australian consulting: the Bedaux Company (1930) and W. D. Scott & Co. (1938). Formed by the Frenchman Charles E. Bedaux after the outbreak of World War I, the Bedaux Company began to offer in the USA what became known as the Bedaux System of work measurement. It initially spread to Canada, then, in 1926, opened an office in London. After a slow start, it rapidly developed an impressive client list during the 1930s. It was also used in a number of European countries.[85]

The Australian Bedaux Company was able to secure some important clients including David Jones, Jantzen, Bonds, Waygood-Otis, Wormald Bros and the machine shop of BHP's Newcastle steelworks.[86]

Table 14 shows the varying international use of the method in 1937.

One early client of the Australian Bedaux Company was the Kraft Walker Cheese Co., makers of Vegemite and Kraft cheese. In 1932, Fred Walker introduced the Bedaux System of time-and-motion study into the factories and increased productivity.[87] Another was the

clothing manufacturer David Jones. Despite union protests, during the 1930s it timed workers using stopwatches.[88] However, the Australian Bedaux Company was unable to replicate the success seen in the USA, Great Britain and Europe and appears to have gone out of business within a few years.

Table 14   Number of firms using the Bedaux system in 1937

Country	Firms	Country	Firms
USA	500	Austria	5
Canada	28	Switzerland	4
Britain	225	Spain	2
France	144	Scandinavian countries	24
Italy	49	East European countries	25
Belgium	22	Australia	17
Germany	25	Other countries	17
Holland	39	Total	1,126

Source: Littler, C. R. 1982, *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies: a comparative study of the transformation of work organization in Britain, Japan and the USA*, Heinemann, London p 113.

Walter Scott had formed a small consulting practice in Sydney in 1938, with an emphasis on management accounting. By the end of the war, W. D. Scott and Co. was a forerunner in the field of budgetary control and had begun to examine standard labour costs. Scott recruited expatriate British industrial engineers with expertise in time study and work measurement, forming an industrial engineering branch in the firm. Following the war, revenue from industrial engineering overtook that from management accounting. W. D. Scott was Australia's first established management consultancy.

PA Consulting was an English company founded by a former consultant and board member with Bedaux, Ernest Butten. He visited Australia in 1948 to carry out a survey of a subsidiary of the British Tube Mills group in Adelaide. During this assignment, he formed an Australian branch of PA. Like Scott's, PA Consulting used scientific management techniques. It developed and used the Process Analysis Method of Training (PAMT) to train factory workers. It used the techniques of methods study, work simplification and time study.

By the late 1940s all three firms specialized in scientific management applications in industrial engineering. In 1947 Walter Scott attended the International Conference of Scientific Management (ICOS) in Stockholm and joined a network of the world's leading management consultants. He arranged for the American industrial engineer Harold Maynard to travel to Australia and train his engineers and selected clients in Methods-Time-Measurement (MTM).[89]

During the 1950s, Scott's and PA Consulting established a strong client base in textiles, metal fabrication, consumer goods, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, agricultural machinery, clothing, food processing, automotive components and heavy engineering. Scott's held a particularly strong position in the textiles industry with clients such as Bonds, Davies Co-op and Bradford Cotton Mills. PA Consulting attracted clients such as Australian Paper Manufacturers (APM) and ICIANZ and secured their market position by opening offices in Sydney and Melbourne. Both consultancies established training arrangements with local and overseas companies to develop their new consultants. [90]

In 1958, Scotts obtained the rights to the Clerical Work Measurement system, which provided a library of predetermined times for a range of basic motions, allowing an industrial engineer to estimate standard times to perform routine office tasks. In the 1960s, PA developed a competing method and, between them, the two companies secured clients in coal mining, hospitals, breweries, transport departments, finance and insurance companies and department stores. [91]

The expanding management consulting industry of the 1950s attracted a number of new entrants with varying specialties. For example, John P. Young & Associates focused on executive recruitment and selection, management training and development. Chandler & Macleod specialised in the use of industrial psychology techniques in recruitment, selection and appraisal of executive and middle management. Both were Melbourne-based and established in 1953 and 1959 respectively. [92]

A survey in 1957 identified 20 firms of varying size in the market. Table 15 lists 10 of these.

A number of management consultancies, such as W. D. Scott, John P. Young and Beckingsale forayed into the management education field, conducting courses for executives, sometimes securing the services of visiting American academics.

Accompanying the rise of the accounting firms after World War II, the focus of advice shifted to strategy and later to information technology. In the 1960s and 1970s, the major international accounting houses such as Arthur Andersen, Coopers & Lybrand, Ernst &

Winney, Price Waterhouse, Arthur Young and Peat Marwick established management consulting arms to their businesses and entered the Australian market.

Table 15   Australian Management Consultancy Firms, 1957

Consulting Firm	Formed	Approximate No. of Consultants
W.D. Scott & Co.	1938	70
Ibcon (Aust).	1947	<10
Personnel Administration (Aust.)	1948	65
Price Waterhouse	1952	<10
John P. Young & Associates	1953	50
Beckingsale & Co.	1955	<10
Commonwealth Industrial Consultants	1955	<20
J.R. Coghlan & Co.	1956	<10
P.E. Management Group (Aust).	1956	<10
Chandler & Macleod	1957	<10

Source: Wright, C. 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom: The Historical Evolution of Australian Management Consulting, 1940s to 1980s', *Business History*, Jan 2000 volume 42 issue 1 p 91.

Wright concluded that during this period, management consultants were key conduits for management innovation. They played an important role in the further global spread of management practices, not only in bringing overseas methods to Australia, but also in taking Australian practice overseas.[93]

5.2.3 The Rise of Industrial Psychology[94]

The NSW Chamber of Manufactures established the Australian Institute of Psychology in 1927. That event was the culmination of 15 years' discussion of various aspects of industrial management including piecework, scientific management, industrial fatigue, and using profit-sharing to motivate employees. Management discourse developed considerably during the 1910s and 1902s as overseas networks developed, resulting in the exchange of management ideas and practice. The rise of industrial psychology revealed the levels of Australian interest

and discussion of various aspects of business and management practiced domestically and abroad.

From 1912, articles appeared in *The Argus, Australasian Manufacturer* and other periodicals, commonly concerned with employee ownership and profit-sharing. In March, *The Argus* reported a scheme operating in the City Electric Light Company in Brisbane whereby employees became shareholders. A further article appeared in May describing the British experience of co-partnership or profit-sharing.

In August 1916, *Australasian Manufacturer* ran two editorials pertaining to industrial efficiency, and one in October on 'The factory of the future', which postulated facilities for employees such as club-rooms and sporting facilities. In May, it published an article examining piece-rates and profit-sharing, outlining Taylor's wage plan based on time studies. In July, it produced a further article entitled 'Why good management is a service', propounding the benefits of scientific management. In September, it printed 'Psychology of office furniture' discussing the importance of office surroundings and their effects on workers and customers. The following year, *Australasian Manufacturer* published a series of articles on the human factor in industry, industrial fatigue, scientific management and industrial psychology. The January 1917 edition carried an article headed 'New science of industrial management' emphasising that the management, training, reward and inspiration of workers must be studied practically and scientifically, while in March it ran an editorial and an article entitled, 'The new industrialism', relating to the address by J. G. Law of the Pearson Law Company to the Royal Society of NSW, describing innovation and productivity at his factory. In August it criticised an address by the NSW Railway Commissioner, in which he attacked the Taylor system of scientific management. The same issue carried a two page article on 'The Taylor system of scientific management'. In December it reported and commented on Bernard Muscio's recent lectures on industrial psychology.[95] In February and May it printed articles by the British industrialist, B. S. Rowntree. Further articles appeared in *Australasian Manufacturer* on profit-sharing and reducing accidents. Articles on the same themes appeared during 1918, with a January edition running an article on 'Management in Industry', and another entitled 'The meaning of scientific management' in May. The discussion of scientific management was thus frequent and insistent but balanced by British innovation and industrial psychology themes in the discourse.

The introduction of new concepts in 1919 marked a shift towards the personnel function. Articles included the English 'Whitley scheme' of industrial councils, new methods of interviewing and selecting, vocational training, and the role of ventilation in industrial

efficiency, in addition to the previous year's selection of topics. A February edition of *Australasian Manufacturer* contained an article entitled 'The successful employment department', which argued that a successful employment department selected and promoted men who studied, improved themselves, were contented in their work and co-operated with others. In June, an article appeared on 'Selecting the sales force', discussing selection methods for salesmen and recommending the use of payment by results. An October edition reported on the scientific management techniques of Frank Gilbreth. The introduction of selection techniques expanded the discourse further into industrial psychology and the personnel function.

1920 saw an increase in the number of articles reporting overseas cases and practice. In March *Australasian Manufacturer* published an article on profit-sharing giving American examples of employee share schemes, while in July it discussed the ideas of Dr Harry Kitson of the University of Chicago on how to make a sale using psychological methods. The application of psychology to sales techniques was a further important development as it heralded the 'science of selling' which gave some justification for the existing advertising industry, which had already developed from advertisement writing to full-service agencies. In September 1920 the *Australasian Manufacturer's* international focus returned to Great Britain, reporting the views of a leading British industrialist. That same month *The Argus* ran an article discussing a report on industrial fatigue presented to the British Industrial Fatigue Research Board.

Further articles on payment by results and profit-sharing appeared. The new concept of 'personnel management' was evident in May, with the publication of an article under the title of 'Human nature and personnel management', discussing how psychological principles could be applied to labour management.

The 'science of selling' was further promoted in 1923 with an article entitled 'The psychology of advertising' by H. T. Lovell in a publication called *Australasian Advertising Manual* and another article titled 'The psychology of salesmanship' by H. T. Lovell published in *Commonwealth Home.*

These articles demonstrated the expanding and progressive discourse of the early twentieth century. They indicate a degree of international diffusion through networks between Australia, Great Britain and the USA. They also showed that scientific management and industrial psychology were known and discussed from an early point, though the extent of diffusion of that knowledge is difficult to estimate without circulation records. While Wright concluded that the evidence of application of these techniques in practice was quite limited,

their value as discourse and indicators of international networks for the dissemination of ideas and practice has been largely neglected.

5.3   The Wars and the Depression

5.3.1   The War to End Wars

When the First World War broke out, Australians were enjoying a return to prosperity. Jack D'Arcy of Maitland had commenced his boxing career and unemployment was below 4%.

The ties between Australia and Great Britain had remained close, particularly in terms of trade. Great Britain was the main destination for the export of Australia's wool, gold, butter and beef, though increasing quantities of products, especially the base metals, went to Germany, Belgium and France. In the overall picture, 44% of Australia's exports went to Great Britain while 31% went to the other three countries.[96] Australia predominantly imported British manufactured goods. When Britain declared war with Germany, Australia became at war with Germany. In responding to Britain's call, Australia's first sacrifice was the growing German market for its exports.

The first battles fought close to home were at Rabaul and the German isle of Nauru, partly to protect Australia's lines of communication. In November, 1914 near the Cocos Islands, the Australian cruiser *Sydney* outgunned the German raider *Emden* producing a memorable early victory.[97]

But in April, 1915 Australian and New Zealand troops[98] landed at Gallipoli and suffered heavy losses. After an eight month campaign, the allied troops abandoned Gallipoli leaving behind 7,000 Australian graves. The ANZAC disaster initially shocked Australians. It was a time when:

> "Warfare was viewed as the sports field where the nation with the heroic qualities was victorious. Australian soldiers filled their homefolk with pride for another reason. The nation, reluctant to accept its convict past, greeted Gallipoli as the sign that it had redeemed its beginnings and come of age."[99]

Through sacrifice on the battle fields of the disastrous Gallipoli campaign and victory on the western front in Europe, Australia became a nation amongst nations.

The war affected the Australian economic environment, dislocating major industries. Shipping routes in the North Atlantic were impeded by the German navy; ships were scarce and the markets of Germany and Belgium were no longer supplied with base minerals. The

duration of the war was longer than expected and the costs correspondingly higher. Wages were unable to keep up with increasing prices and 1917 was particularly bad for strikes and industrial disputes.[100]

Overall, Australia's industrial base expanded and the war-imposed blockade on imports provided local manufacturers with opportunities for growth through import replacement.[101] BHP seized the opportunity with its Newcastle steelworks, while munitions, copper cable and carbide firms also advanced.[102]

In turn, the war affected managers in Australia. Industrial expansion and import replacement required local manufacturers to act, build and produce. Commissioning the BHP steelworks spawned a host of sheet metal fabricators, engineering firms and related industries.[103] Disruption to international shipping spurred import replacement, in turn placing greater emphasis on internal road and rail freight. The state railways had been built to freight primary produce from rural centres to coastal ports for loading onto ships. With their independent gauges running to the coast, the state railways did not provide an efficient channel for goods between states and cities.[104] The war effort required greater speed and reliability in areas such as munitions, supplies, transport, communications and training. Finance, materials, and labour were diverted from business to defence creating scarcities for some businesses. Others supplying clothing, food and supplies were under pressure to produce and deliver. Managers in all contexts, but particularly in manufacturing and transport sectors, faced and dealt with these various problems resulting from the war effort.

More than 300,000 Australians went overseas to fight, all volunteers. Business and managers no longer had their services – on farms, in shearing sheds, factories, engineering firms and on the railways. In the end, 59,258 Australians were either killed or died of wounds. The loss of their lives and working capacity was a dire cost to business, let alone to their families and communities. The USA lost far fewer soldiers.[105]

5.3.2 **The Inter-war Period and the Great Depression**

Many servicemen were killed, leaving war widows and children while some were wounded and remained disabled. As a consequence, there was a considerable demand for financial assistance, yet most states could ill afford to offer it because of the war's effects on the domestic economy. The able returned servicemen were offered farms and education to assist their repatriation. Unemployment rose unexpectedly to perhaps 13% in 1921[106] but in the years following World War I the industrial base diversified. The economy was assisted by population growth, immigration, and strengthened tariff protection.[107]

In October, 1920 the Communist Party of Australia was formed. This event was significant, not so much for the subsequent achievements of the organisation, but for the schisms in the community that occurred later and its division of the Labor party, which adopted the socialist platform in 1921.[108]

The war had delayed progress in establishing the new nation's capital but in 1927 a newly constructed (but temporary) parliament house was opened and the Federal Parliament moved from Melbourne to Canberra.

In 1929, the prices of shares on the New York Stock Exchange fell by about 40% in two months and the prices of Australia's main export commodities fell by half. Confidence plummeted and overseas capital dried up.

> "The unemployed appeared everywhere: queuing in their hundreds for one advertised
> job in a factory, camping in the town grandstands and rural showgrounds while they
> roamed the roads for work. The building of houses and shops almost ceased. By 1932
> the unemployment rate exceeded 30% - one of the highest in the world.[109]

In the worst year of the Great Depression, 1932, the Sydney Harbour Bridge was opened. It had been funded by British loans, awarded to a British engineering firm but built with Australian materials and labour.[110] Its construction provided the residents of Sydney with a spectacular drama on a grand scale. In the same year, the Australian Broadcasting Commission was formed as a promoter of music.

The depression initially hindered industrial development and resulted in further tariff protection, lower wages and a devaluation of the Australian pound in 1931. But by the mid-1930s the Australian economy had recovered, and continued to prosper during the remainder of the decade, with employment growth increasing by more than half in 1939. The strong British influence on business continued during the inter-war period but some American presence was also evident:

> "This period marked the continued importance of foreign manufacturers who
> introduced modern manufacturing methods, and a derivative industrial structure reliant
> upon British, and to a lesser extent, American technology and managerial skill."[111]

Merrett and Ville found that during the inter-war period companies used stock exchanges, rather than banks, to raise large sums of capital. Households invested significant sums of money in parcels of company shares at a time when trading banks were behaving in a very conservative manner, providing businesses with an important source of funds for investment in capital-intensive and science-based technologies. The introduction of the motor and

electricity gave impetus to new industries such as rubber, glass and metal fabrication, and significantly changed existing ones, thus stimulating business activity and investment. This was achieved, in many cases, by further use of the joint stock company in the mining, manufacturing and services industries. Merrett and Ville thus identified the use of equity by Australian business to finance capital-intensive activities and, in the process, recognised the emerging role of advisers such as Alex Jobson and J. B. Were and Son.[112]

5.3.3 **World War II**

In 1939 Sir Keith Murdoch, the Melbourne newspaper editor, staged an exhibition of modern European art, presenting nine Picassos and eight Van Goghs amongst several hundred works. In doing so, he brought some of the culture of Europe to Australia and particularly to young artists such as Sidney Nolan, Arthur Boyd, Albert Tucker and Russell Drysdale.[113] Later that year Hitler invaded Poland, igniting another European conflagration, the impact of which would find its way to Australia.

The Australian government responded on a number of fronts during the first 15 months of the war. It despatched airmen to Great Britain, warships to the northern hemisphere, an army to the eastern Mediterranean and raised a domestic effort to produce munitions and equipment. Australian soldiers mainly fought German and Italian troops in the North African desert.[114]

In December, 1941 the Japanese attacked the American fleet at Pearl Harbour and in February 1942, they captured Singapore taking 22,000 Australians as prisoners of war.[115] Four days after the fall of Singapore, Darwin was bombed. The Japanese advanced through Dutch Java, Sumatra, Burma, Timor, the Philippines and New Guinea, moving towards Port Moresby. In March 1942, General Douglas Macarthur, supreme commander of the allied forces in the south Pacific, arrived in Australia to organise a return assault on the Japanese. Far from Macarthur's famous speeches, on the Kokoda trail and at Milne Bay near Port Moresby, Australian soldiers repelled the Japanese, forcing them to retreat. In the following three years, Australian troops undertook the difficult tasks of driving the Japanese out of south-east Asia. This task remained incomplete when the atomic bombs fell on Japanese cities, forcing capitulation.[116]

The war effort resulted in rapid and considerable expansion of the manufacturing industry. Between 1939 and 1944, the overall manufacturing output increased by 36%, while in the metal industries the effect was more dramatic with employment almost doubling during the same period. As with World War I, disrupted supply lines created opportunities for local

companies to substitute imported goods with locally produced goods. Existing industries grew and new industries evolved. [117]

By the end of the war, Australia's defence strategy had shifted from reliance on Great Britain to partnership with the USA. An earlier cultural shift was evident with American music, cars and films during the inter-war period, but in 1940 an ambassador was posted to Washington.[118] Again the returned servicemen were offered farms and education to assist their repatriation; again the wounded, disabled, the war widows and their children needed assistance, which most states could ill afford.

Some of the main effects of the war were increased government regulation and shortages of labour. Blainey categorically asserted that this was a time when economic life was more strictly controlled than at any other time since the convict era.[119] The national call to arms, rather than the previous opportunities of work "up country" or prospecting for a fortune on the gold fields, produced labour shortages forcing employers to develop training methods to equip inexperienced labour, especially women, with relevant skills and knowledge.

5.4   Growth and Expansion[120]

Following World War II, the nation's political, economic and civic agenda shifted to repatriation and preventing further wars. The defeat of Hitler and the surrender of the Japanese removed the threats of aggression from those nations, but were replaced by the threat of the Soviet Union. Soldiers returned home and government instituted a number of social and welfare policies. The commodities of war were replaced with the commodities of peace.

In Australia, the war had been an opportunity for the captains of industry to work closely with the government and the armed services. Essington Lewis, in particular, became a very public figure in promoting the war effort. Following the war, maintaining the peace and advancing the standard of living became the foremost priorities. The steel industry, which had been so important during the war, turned its capacities to producing cars, tools, machinery and household goods. Public companies prospered in peacetime conditions and the salaried manager became more prominent in the boardrooms of larger organisations in particular. New suburbs were built and a predominantly urban nation became increasingly more so.

The military experience of the men and women, who served overseas and in Australia, was not easily forgotten. Many had faced the test and trauma of battle; some had been promoted to officer ranks; most had developed a form of *camaraderie* with their peers, either abroad or

at home. For many, the experience of war was something they had difficulty expressing to others, apart from those who had been there. The survivors remembered the fallen.

The military provided a context for leadership for its officer ranks. The war was more than combat, though combat was its coalface. The war effort included a range of functions - transport, clothing, supplies, warehousing, cooking, maintenance and repairs, recruitment, training, communications, logistics and medical services. It was a series of organisations within one large organisation, a myriad of networks within a much larger network. But this same military service had disrupted the aspirations of young men and women alike. Now that the war was over, they were free to resume their lives in a less fettered manner. But the world had changed, and they had changed with it.

5.4.1 Post-War Prosperity

In 1944, the federal Labor government issued a White Paper giving a commitment to full employment and economic expansion. According to Lansbury and Spillane, this paper prescribed the direction for government policy for the next 30 years.[121] Economic conditions following the war were generally favourable to business. The 1950s and 1960s saw economic growth reach unprecedented levels, with gross national product averaging 4-5% per year.[122]

World War II honed Australia's engineering skills. The machinery that produced motors for fighter planes was re-configured to making motors for cars. In November, 1948 the first Australian designed and built Holden came off the production line in Melbourne.[123] During the following year the Snowy Mountains Scheme was commenced.[124]

Australians held considerable pride in what could be made and done in Australia. They were inspired by heavy industry such as BHP's steel furnace or Geelong's oil refineries. The sight of black and white smoke billowing from funnels or waste gas burning from towers was appreciated with delight. Factories were regarded as a source of employment, independence and progress. Post-war tensions between the superpowers meant that the threat of further war was an ever-present fear and concerns about pollution were a thing of the future.[125]

During the period from 1945 to 1969, companies grew bigger and systematic work practices were increasingly adopted. Organisations became more bureaucratic and greater attention was placed on methods of work organisation. Directing managers gained greater social prestige and exercised control over larger companies. But blue-collar workers outnumbered white-collar workers until the 1970s.

The fear of war largely underpinned Australia's ambitious immigration program. It was championed by Arthur Calwell, Prime Minister Chifley's minister for immigration. Migrants were sought from Europe and the British Isles, and subsidised by the Australian taxpayer. The migration push was a success by any standard, for between 1945 and 1973 about 3.5 million migrants came to Australia.[126] Migration was again pivotal to both population expansion and skill acquisition for the economy.

Mining and wool continued to provide the main sources of wealth to the Australian economy, while manufacturing prospered under the umbrella of protectionism. For a time after the war, when shortages and rationing were rife, protectionism made little impact, but later it insulated Australian businesses from the effects of global competition.

Mineral wealth took many forms. Scheelite (tungsten ore) was mined from King Island and generated a source of wealth both during and after the war. From the beaches between Sydney and Brisbane came rutile and ilmenite, the sources of titanium. In 1957 alone, the output of those beach sands was worth £10 million. In the 1950s uranium was found and mined at Radium Hill, Rum Jungle, Mary Kathleen and other places. Bauxite (aluminium ore) was found in 1949 in Arnhem Land, at Wessel Islands in 1950 and at Gove and Weipa later in the decade. These relatively new metals stimulated Australia's export revenue during the 1940s and 1950s. In the 1960s oil, iron ore, nickel and phosphate dominated revenues.[127]

The resources economy was strengthened by high wool prices and the later discovery of further valuable minerals and petroleum. While these industries provided substantial export revenue, their capacity to generate employment was limited due to the highly mechanised nature of mining operations.

> "In retrospect, the 1950s and 1960s appear to be the Indian Summer of oldtime rural Australia. Prices of rural products were often high. Wool, which was to remain the dominant export until the late 1970s, was sold at freakishly high prices in the early 1950s, spurring the sharpest inflation since the goldrushes."[128]

Farm life had been singularly changed by one machine - the tractor. This invention had displaced not only the horse but also many farmhands, as one man with a tractor was capable of performing the work of many. While rural commodities generated export earnings for the Australian economy, they declined as employers.

In December, 1961 a payable oilfield was found at Moonie, 192 miles west of Brisbane. Early in 1966, the Marlin oil and gas field was found in Bass Strait about 200 miles from Melbourne. Kingfish and Halibut oilfields were discovered the following year. All the Bass

Strait finds were made possible through advances in offshore drilling.[129] Self-sufficiency in fossil fuels became a critical issue during the oil crisis of 1973-4. Australia was well positioned to deal with that crisis for by that time it was close to being able to supply its own needs.[130]

During the early 1960s, a number of iron ore deposits were investigated in Western Australia and the Pilbara mine names of Koolanooka Hills, Mount Tom Price and Mount Newman ignited the share markets once again. Railways were built to coastal ports and contracts were signed with the Japanese to ship huge quantities of red earth. In 1967 the largest cargo ever to leave Australia was despatched from Port Dampier - $1,000,000 of iron ore in the 104,500 ton ship *Sigsilver*.[131]

While the overall number of businesses grew, many companies significantly expanded, and more industries became dominated by one or two large firms. These included iron and steel, automobile, chemical, glass, rubber and paper manufacture, all of which were becoming increasingly capital-intensive and mechanised. Large employers included BHP (55,000 employees), General Motors-Holden (26,000), Dunlop (24,000), ACI (22,000) and CSR (16,000). However, employment in manufacturing remained predominantly in firms with less than 100 employees, while the average firm size remained at approximately 20 persons.[132]

5.4.2 The Spreading Branches

Growth and expansion occurred through the branch structures of various companies and organisations both before and after the wars. Government was an obvious example, with federal and state government establishing a variety of administrative units and services throughout the period. Its role and activities expanded with the building and staffing of schools, universities, hospitals, police, courts, power stations, and other public services during peacetime. During the wars, the apparatus of the nation's defence forces became the focus of government and grew rapidly. Its central agencies such as treasury, cabinet office and the parliamentary counsel expanded as money and law were further ingrained as institutions. Government undertook responsibilities for taxation, repatriation, industry protection and subsidies, economic management, employment, arbitration, wage fixing and immigration amongst a gamut of functions throughout the period. The growth of bureaucracy implied greater sophistication of administration and management as a result of wartime advances. [133]

The branch structures of many industries expanded during the period, and the pastoral and banking industries provide two examples. In both cases, growth in the number of branches

occurred before the wars and also afterwards. In addition, the role of head office changed as centralised governance took greater effect.

Stock and station agents worked within branch offices. During the twentieth century the number of branches expanded considerably, as evident in Table 16.

Table 16 **Australian branches of stock and station agents**

Year	Branch locations	Total branches	Big Five share (%)
1907	27	68	17.7
1915	57	165	15.8
1923	103	258	13.6
1931	96	246	18.7
1943	106	242	25.6
1954	362	1041	37.2
1963	413	1422	31.2

Note: 'Big Five' refers to Elders, Dalgety, Goldsborough Mort, New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency and Australian Mortgage Land & Finance.

Source: *Australasian Pastoralists Review* cited in Ville, S. 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs,* Cambridge University Press, Oakleigh p 35

During this period, the pastoral industry saw considerable expansion in the number of branches and the emergence of centralised governance. According to Ville,

"By the 1940s, therefore, pastoral agencies were beginning to look akin to the multidivisional company. What they lacked was a top level general office which made broader strategic decision. The General Manager normally operated head office with only a small staff and concentrated on national coordination and monitoring functions more than policy development. Before 1939 Goldsborough Mort's head office consisted of no more than the General Manager, an accountant, tax officer, and a few clerks, indicating the largely non-executive nature of its role. The largest state branch served as the Australasian head office and its strategic tasks and personnel overlapped with State-wide routines and responsibilities.

In 1944 Goldsborough Mort, under the impressive leadership of its new General Manager, W. E. M. Campbell, enlarged the policy-making group at head office. In 1946 Elders South

Australian office was administratively separated from the Adelaide head office of the company. This move did not appear to work successfully, since in 1953 the firm created an Internal Board of Management for South Australia comparable to that of other states."[134]

In the banking industry, following the contraction of the 1890s which reduced the numbers of banks and branches, the trend of expansion in the number of branches resumed. The growth prior to World War I is modelled in Table 17 while the expansion following World War II is presented in Table 18.

Table 17   Australian Bank branches 1900-1914

Year	Banks	Branches
1900	22	1,303
1905	22	1,439
1910	22	1,902
1914	23	2,051

Source: Butlin, S. J., Hall, A. R. and White, R. C. 1971, 'Australian Banking and Monetary Statistics, 1817-1945', *Occasional Paper No. 4A***, Reserve Bank of Australia, Sydney, 1971.**

Table 18   Australian Bank branches 1946-1970

Year	Banks	Branches
1946	14	2,473
1950	13	2,934
1955	11	3,292
1960	11	3,763
1965	11	4,433
1970	11	4,787

Source: Butlin, S. J., Hall, A. R. and White, R. C. 1971, 'Australian Banking and Monetary Statistics, 1817-1945', *Occasional Paper No. 4A***, Reserve Bank of Australia, Sydney, 1971.**

The branch manager of the bank was joined by other branch and agency managers in the pastoral industry, insurance companies and retail stores. The expansion of branches during this period affirmed the institution of the branch manager in a wider range of industries. Further, consolidation of regional markets into state and national markets began as mass

production and mass distribution became more common. A trend for companies to focus on state and national markets began late in the period, introducing further levels of management within company structures. Pastoral companies were not alone in their move to central governance. By 1970, centralised bureaucracy existed in both private and public sectors.

5.4.3 The Salaried Managers

Salaried managers became more prevalent throughout the period. The nineteenth-century managers of public companies, farms, sheep properties, bank branches, pastoral company branches, insurance companies, hotels, theatres, mines, engineering works, breweries, etc. continued. When managers left or retired, they were replaced; as businesses expanded their branches, new managers were appointed; as the range of businesses grew, managers were appointed to oversee their operations. Through these means, the numbers of managers increased affirming their presence as an institution within business.

Appendix 7 lists some of the more prominent managers of the period and the increasing variety of contexts in which they were employed. There were a number of continuing roles from the nineteenth century, and others that emerged with new industries. Increasingly, the occupation of 'manager' came to be listed as the father's occupation on birth records.[135]

There were numerous examples of successive managers in banks, insurance companies, farms, pastoral stations, theatres, mining companies, newspapers and vineyards, demonstrating the permanence of the manager as an institution in an increasing range of contexts.[136]

Newspaper managers like Eric Thomson Kennedy (1897 - 1974) were appointed, continuing a role established in the nineteenth century. In retail, there were music stores (Palings, Brashs), books, tobacco, clothing (Gowings), and department stores such as David Jones, G. J. Coles etc. In food and beverage, there were managers of wine companies, like Leo Buring and members of the Hardy family, supplying restaurants and hotels.

There were managers in contexts such as machinery sales, chemicals, rubber, electricity, radio, film, cinema theatres, and aircraft manufacturing. Radio was introduced into Australia in the 1930s resulting in studio managers like Hal Percy (1898 - 1949) and radio station managers like George Herbert Anderson (1897 - 1974); film companies had managers such as David Nathaniel Martin (1898 - 1958).

Advertising companies such as J Walter Thompson appointed managers to their agencies or branches, like Loyd Ring Coleman (1896 - 1970). Market researcher William McNair (1902 -

1979) was also employed as accountant and research manager. Electricity companies appointed their managers such as James Morwood (1901 - 1974) in Brisbane and Willis Connolly (1901 - 1981) in Melbourne.

Many managers like Frederick Burrows (1897 - 1973) left their careers in business to join the armed services during the wars.[137] Fewer resumed their careers in business after the war, as many were killed or seriously wounded.

The post World War II period saw managers in new roles and portfolios within companies, including advertising managers, sales managers and personnel managers. An indication of the growth in manager numbers is noted in Table 19.

Table 19   Growth of Managers 1947-1971

Year	Male	Female	Total
1947 (a)	45,409	4,505	49,914
1961 (b)	254,544	43,338	297,882
1971 (c)(d)	311,100	36,400	347,500

(a) Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (1947) *Census.*

(b) ABS (1961) *Census.*

(c) ABS (1987) *The Labour Force,* Catalogue 6204.0.

(d) ABS introduced the Census Classification and Classified List of Occupations (CCLO) in 1966, altering the counting rules for occupations, which were previously linked to industries.

Source: Mitchell, J. I. 1998, *Management Discourse and Practice in Australia*, Ph D thesis, School of Sociology, University of New South Wales p 15.

While these figures suggest a marked increase in the 14 years from 1947 to 1961, it should be noted that the count is of managers according to the ABS classifications that were revised substantially in 1961,[138] and they are not a count of employees called 'managers'. In any event, it suggests that the growth of managers was considerable and indicates that the trends of growth in the number of companies, branches and portfolios within the company were substantial. At some point in this period, the roles of restaurant manager, store manager, the warehouse manager emerged, and a customer wishing to make a complaint would ask 'to speak with the manager'. An early female manager was Mary Morrison, a 24 year old sales manager.

But there were many contexts in which managers were not present or very confined – the railways, post and telephone offices, schools, hospitals, courts, police, legal firms, and others.

The Management Rush

Many contexts continued the nomenclature of earlier times, using words like supervisor, governor, superintendent, foreman, leading hand, officer-in-charge or senior. Many of these were in government organisations or professions, where technical and university qualifications became increasingly important in defining membership and accreditation. In other contexts, the manager remained the head of the agency, branch or firm, reporting to the owner(s).

Managers supervised the day-to-day operations of companies, businesses, branches, workshops, etc. On sheep stations the manager bought and bred stock, purchased fencing materials, hired shearers, arranged the sale of the wool clip and dealt with finance, often with the assistance of the manager of the local pastoral agency or bank. With the advent of electricity, managers mechanised the shearing sheds with new stands. The manager of a stone quarry or an engineering plant would oversee the staff, repair and replace machinery, order materials, arrange the delivery of products, and oversee finances and accounting procedures. Wages and taxes were paid. Manpower, materials, machinery and money (the four Ms) were the main elements for the manager of this period. But the complexities of regulation, administration, knowledge and information were emerging by the end of the period.

For much of this period, as had been the case in Great Britain, management remained a matter of practice, lacking a formal and structured education system.[139] That pragmatic, applied approach was the hallmark of Australian society generally. During the period, in many contexts, the operation of the company or business was learned on the job and could not be learned elsewhere.

Managers were employed in a wider range of contexts as new industries emerged, particularly in the professions, service industries and administration. But few managers held an educational qualification in management in 1970. Most were trained on the job, accumulating experience and knowledge over years of service to a firm. Patronage, family connections, and seniority marked employees for promotion, but educational qualifications became more important as education and professional memberships grew after World War II. For the ambitious, the private sector held many opportunities. People changed jobs and employers less often than today and people looked to big business and heavy industry to solve unemployment. But business was exposed to a boom-bust cycle and heavy industry had embarked on a path of increased use of technology and decreased labour.

The comparison between the start and end of the period showed marked change, with the rise of professions, government agencies, bureaucracy and large companies. The advent of compulsory schooling during the late nineteenth century made a considerable impact on

literacy and numeracy levels, opening the gamut of administration and record-keeping for a host of clerks. The rise of white-collar work was a feature of this period. In 1901, there were few opportunities for business education or management training. In the vast majority of cases, documentation of roles, duties and procedures simply did not exist, particularly in small business. But the 1950s saw the advent of the personnel function, management training and then management education throughout the 1960s.

5.4.4 **Positions Vacant**

The newspapers of the 1950s and 1960s carried many advertisements for managers in the Positions Vacant columns of the classified pages. Table 20 indicates the number of advertisements for managers in a small sample of Sydney Morning Herald (SMH) newspapers on the first Saturday in March. The full data set is contained in Appendix 8.

Table 20   Advertisements for Managers in SMH 1954 - 1969

Date	Men and Boys	Women and Girls	Total
6th March 1954	11	1	12
7th March 1959	25	2	27
7th March 1964	12	1	13
1st March 1969	68	3	71

Source: *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

While this was a very small sample of advertisements from a prominent newspaper in one capital city, nonetheless, it indicated a number of features discussed in this chapter. The advertisements for 6th March 1954 showed a mixture of general manager positions and managers of business functions. The 11 advertisements included four managers, one manageress and one assistant manager, as well as five managers of particular functions - one administration, one advertising sales, two sales, and one spare parts manager. They were in a range of industries and contexts - a number of the positions were in workshops, factories and retail businesses, with others in manufacturing, publishing and transport businesses.

Advertisements for managers recurred in 1959, 1964 and 1969 while a single advertisement for a general manager appeared in 1959 and 1964 but not 1969. The edition of 7th March 1959 showed a range of managers of particular functions – one advertising and an assistant advertising, two assistants, two with national responsibilities, three factory, two production, one personnel, four sales and a service manager. But the range was greater again on 1st

March 1969, recruiting management consultants, management trainees and two trainee managers, two marketing, one office and two warehouse managers. An advertisement for a secretary-manager of a licenced club appeared in 1959 with similar advertisements appearing in 1964 for a hotel manager and two secretary managers in 1969.

There was a much more limited but persistent demand for the position of manageress. A manageress was sought for a country club in 1954, for a drapery department in 1959. A millinery buyer and manageress was wanted in 1964 and a manageress of publishing in 1969. The position of secretary to the general manager was also advertised on 7th March 1959.

Of the 27 advertisements of 7th March 1959, four carried the name of a consulting company dealing with the recruitment process. Consulting companies also appeared in advertisements in the editions of 7th March 1964 and 1st March 1969. As discussed in section 5.2.2, during the 1950s a number of management consulting companies including John P. Young & Associates and Chandler & Macleod focused on recruitment. Both these companies were named with advertisements as were management consultants W. D. Scott with the remaining firm being Burns Philp, a prominent food trader.

The advertisements of 1954 contained no mention of the company's name, merely stating the industry or nature of the business. The 1959 edition contained six advertisements in a total of 27 (22.2%) listing the company's name, the 1964 edition contained two in a total of 13 (15.4%) and the 1969 paper had eight in a total of 39 advertisements (20.5%).

Some of these indications must be tempered according to the limitations of the sample size and the usual problems when sampling vacancies,[140] but it appears that while general managers continued to be recruited, functional manager categories and contexts were increasing.

5.4.5 American Investment and Influence[141]

While this chapter has earlier outlined the influence of American technologies, advertising agencies, management consultants, and management movements, Brash's work provides some understanding of the effect of American investment following World War II and pursues the theme of American influence on Australian companies.[142] Using Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics data, he examined the relative levels of American, British and other investment in Australia as reproduced in Table 21.

Table 21   Private Overseas Investment in Companies in Australia 1948-1964

Year	USA and Canada (A£millions)	United Kingdom (A£millions)	Other (A£millions)	Total (A£millions)
1948	6.4	29.7	2.3	38.4
1949	4.1	35.2	3.2	42.5
1950	10.3	53.1	5.1	68.5
1951	20.3	43.3	4.9	68.5
1952	30.6	47.0	8.6	86.2
1953	2.0	21.1	2.3	25.4
1954	17.3	44.3	7.3	68.9
1955	39.5	57.0	8.6	105.1
1956	31.9	71.9	13.3	117.1
1957	27.5	61.5	15.7	104.7
1958	27.2	61.1	15.2	103.5
1959	46.8	66.0	12.5	125.3
1960	62.9	105.1	25.8	193.8
1961	87.8	112.0	35.0	234.7
1962	71.5	62.8	14.1	148.4
1963	92.1	103.4	26.0	221.5
1964	96.0	96.5	21.9	214.4

Source: Brash 1966, *American Investment in Australia* **p 8.**

American investment capital investment in Australia remained less than British capital from 1948 to 1964, but grew from £6.4 million to £96 million to almost equal British investment levels.   As a consequence, American and Australia developed an increasingly important relationship around capital investment following World War II.[143]

American companies had predominant interests in manufacturing, but made less investment in mining and services.   Venture operations included extraction of copper, silver, lead, zinc,

bauxite and coal, oil exploration, advertising agencies, accounting firms, engineering design and construction, accounting and cotton-growing.[144]

Brash specifically addressed the management of American-affiliated companies in Australia and made a number of findings. There was a clear preference for senior managers to be American rather than Australian. Less than half the board members[145] were American but the vast majority of those were living in America. He also observed that the boards of many Australian subsidiaries were purely nominal entities, established to comply with local law.

However, American employees were also well spread throughout the subsidiary organisations. Many held roles as technical leaders or trainers, particularly in the early days of establishing the subsidiary. Some affiliates reported their activities to the American parent company in minute detail, while others had far less rigorous demands, usually those with greater local autonomy. Often the initiative for major capital outlay or any major management decision came from local management. Some reported using American management techniques, but Brash noted the problem that advanced management techniques originating in America had been widely disseminated across the industrialised world and many companies were using these, irrespective of American ownership. A small number of firms indicated that their employees were sent to America for management training.[146]

Brash concluded that:

> "Despite some evidence to the contrary, it is nevertheless beyond doubt that very many of the large wholly American subsidiaries operating in Australia have been substantially influences by American management techniques. In a limited number of cases, executives of these firms regard the American influence as one designed primarily to standardize the procedures used by affiliates throughout the world, and not of great benefit in itself. A few companies even resent the amount of detail which American techniques compel them to evaluate, but for the most part, the benefit is both real and appreciated. A number of companies said that it was the necessity to meet reporting deadlines in the U.S. which had forced them to improve efficiency."[147]

Brash further contributes his contemporaneous awareness of management and its contribution to the running of the business. But his focus was clearly on management practice, techniques and systems, rather than management education.

5.5 Journals and Training

A number of trade publications and journals commenced and promoted innovative practices during this period. In addition, industrial training germinated and developed, leading to foremanship courses in technical colleges in the 1930s and the subsequent formation of the Australian Industrial Management Association in 1940. That organisation was the forerunner to the Australian Institute of Management, which came to be regarded as the cornerstone of the management education industry. Both publications and training were influential in the development of work practices in medium to large companies in industries such as manufacturing, retail and transport.

5.5.1 Trade Publications and Journals

Management was the subject of articles in various trade publications and journals launched during the period listed in Table 22.

Early publications related to engineering and manufacturing included *Commonwealth Engineer* (1913), *Australasian Manufacturer* (1916), *Coach and Motor Builder* (1926). *Australasian Manufacturer* highlighted the potential applications of scientific management as early as 1917.[148]

The launching of *Rydges: the business management monthly*, a publication aimed at the wider business market occurred in 1928. It was published continuously until 1987 when it was incorporated into *Business Review Weekly (BRW)*.

The growth of the personnel function was reflected in publication of *Bulletin of Psychology and Personnel Practice* (1945), and the later *Personnel Practice Bulletin* (1949). Other publications included *Current Affairs Bulletin,* which was first produced by the Army Education Service in 1942, and *Labor News* (1943) which was first published by the Federated Ironworkers Association.

The trade journal *Manufacturing and Management* was established on 15 July 1946 encapsulating the early nexus between the two entities in its title. It was published until 1957 when it was incorporated into *Australian Factory.* The Australian Institute of Management's (AIM) own publication, *Management News* was first printed in 1949. *Management News* and *Manufacturing and Management* were the two mastheads for the proliferation of management concepts after the war. Some other publications to commence during this period included *The Australian Financial Review* in 1951, *Australian Factory* in 1957, *Industrial Engineer* in 1958, and *Australian Manager* in 1961.

Table 22 Management Trade Publications 1910-1970

Year	Publication	City
*1913	Commonwealth Engineer	Melbourne
*1916	Australasian Manufacturer	Sydney
*1926	Coach and Motor Builder	Melbourne
*1928	Rydges: the business management monthly	Sydney
*1942	Current Affairs Bulletin	Sydney
*1943	Labor News	Sydney
*1945	Australian Factory	Melbourne
*1945	Bulletin of Industrial Psychology and Personnel Practice	Melbourne
*1946	Manufacturing and Management	Melbourne
1949	Corporate Management	Sydney
1949	Management News	Sydney
*1949	Personnel Practice Bulletin	Melbourne
*1951	The Australian Financial Review	Sydney
*1957	Australian Factory	Melbourne
1958	Industrial Engineer	Darlington
*1959	O & M Journal	Canberra
1960	Management Digest	Adelaide
1961	Australian Manager	Sydney
1963	HRM: Human resource management Australia	Melbourne
1967	Management Guide to the Economy: Australia-New Zealand	Sydney
1970	Health Information Management	Melbourne

Source: Macquarie University Library Catalogue Search Results found for: 'management' OR 'manager' in Title and 'Australia' in Keyword, Serials; * other sources. See Appendix 15 for Management Trade Publications 1910-2009.

As indicated earlier, industry journals reported extensively on the uses of new technologies, methods and practices in scientific management, industrial psychology and personnel management fields. The long-running *Rydges* conveyed not only scientific management but also ideas on industrial relations, industrial psychology, human resource movement, systems theory and organisation development. It was a source of both management theory and practical advice for the business manager. As such it presented various management ideas as a means of addressing business problems.

Trade publications provided an important forum for innovation and communication. Their overseas content demonstrated the development of international networks from early in the twentieth century. A detailed study of their content, circulation and readership would provide an important chapter in the diffusion of management practice, but is beyond the scope of this study.[149]

5.5.2 Training

Apprenticeships and on-the-job learning had been the dominant forms of skill and knowledge transfer. But with the arrival of quantity production techniques and the shortage of labour during the Second World War, training methods were developed as a means of effectively developing task knowledge and behaviours. Training initiatives were developed locally and also imported from abroad.

Some early adopters of training programs were David Jones and BHP. In 1919 David Jones ran a series of tutorial classes in retail administration while BHP introduced a formal system of staff training in 1929.[150] But these initiatives were the exceptions rather than the rule at the time, with most firms relying on informal practices.

In the 1930s Australians took steps to formalise training in foremanship. In 1936, E. P. Eltham, Chief Inspector of Technical Schools for Victoria, submitted a report entitled *Technical Education Systems in Other Countries* to the Education Department of Victoria upon returning from a trip abroad. This and other government reports resulted in the establishment of the William Angliss Foods Trades School, with the financial assistance of the Rotary Club and the Chamber of Manufacturers, and the formation of an Advisory Committee on Foremanship Training within the Education Department of Victoria in 1937.[151]

In March, 1938 the first part-time 'Foremanship' course was conducted at the Melbourne Technical College by N. B. Tamlyn of General Motors-Holden. Only foremen and sub-foremen nominated by industrial concerns were admitted and, following strong demand, 35 students were accepted on the course. The subjects for that course are listed in Table 23.

Table 23   Subjects in the 1938 Foremanship Course

Elementary Economic Principles of Production
Principles of Industrial Organisation
Leadership in Industry
The Principles of Foreman Leadership
Personnel Control
Administrative Control Function
Production Control
Material Control
Costing
General Review of the Course

Source: Rogers, L. 1998, *A History of The Foundation and Development of The Australian Institute of Management,* **The Australian Institute of Management, Sydney.**

Upon completion of the 'Foremanship' course, students expressed enthusiasm for the program to be extended. The program continued for an additional year under the name of 'Industrial Management Part 1'.[152]

The students then suggested the formation of a Foremanship Association to advance the standard of the course to higher standards. In January, 1939 the Melbourne Technical College Foremanship Association was formed.   Following the completion of the 'Industrial Management Part 1' course, 'Industrial Management Part 2' was proposed to meet the demand for management instruction. The rapid growth in the number of students enrolled in the three courses resulted in the appointment of a full-time instructor/organiser. The Chamber of Manufactures agreed to provide £500 towards salary costs.

The Melbourne Technical College Foremanships Association later became the Australian Industrial Management Association in 1940, the Institute of Industrial Management in 1941 and the Australian Institute of Management (AIM) in 1947.   The foregoing account established the link between AIM and training activities at its inception.   As Rogers expressed:

"Inseparable from the history of AIM is the history of the formation and development of training in supervision and management techniques in Australia, a remarkable story

of inspired effort which unquestionably has had a very far reaching influence in stimulating improved management in Australian enterprises. The value of this art or science has proven incalculable in its contribution to higher overall efficiency and vastly improved methods in the training of personnel and in achieving better human relations."[153]

By 1943 a fourth year had been added, entitled 'Executive Training' and students who completed all four years were awarded a certificate in 'Management and Executive Training'. A number of organisations were early supporters of the AIM, supplementary to the Chamber of Manufactures. These were International Harvester Company, Pelaco, McKay's Sunshine, ICIANZ, BHP Ltd, Shell, General Motors-Holden, the Tariff Board and the Department of Education.

In addition to these domestic efforts, overseas approaches to training were applied in a number of firms. American wartime industry had produced the Training within Industry (TWI) program, a formalised approach to training developed in response to shortages of labour, and the need to train large numbers of munitions workers, often women. During World War II, TWI was delivered through technical colleges to supervisors through three courses: Job Instruction, Job Methods, and Job Relations with a fourth course in Job Safety added later.[154]

A number of Australian organisations implemented TWI during the 1940s including Bonds, who engaged an American with considerable experience. A full-time TWI instructor was later hired by the AIM.[155] In 1951, the technical college management schools held a conference and adopted a standard syllabus for the management certificate, including the topics of economic background, management principles and techniques of organisation, statistical method, legal and psychological aspects of business, human relations in management and the personnel, financial, production and other aspects of management. Most states offered courses over four years on a part-time basis, while the Melbourne course extended over six years, leading to a diploma in management.[156]

Management was thus 'trained' before it was 'educated' and the transition from technical colleges to the universities occurred throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

5.6   Management Education

5.6.1 **Management Education Overseas[157]**

As outlined at the commencement of this chapter, the USA established its first five graduate business schools between 1881 and 1908 while the first case study was taught in an MBA course in 1912 at Harvard. Canada established an MBA degree at the University of Western Ontario in 1948. Its first doctoral program commenced in 1961 and by the late 1970s, every major provincial urban centre in Canada had at least one institution offering an MBA degree.[158]

In the United Kingdom, management education and development had been offered through the British Institute of Management, Cranfield University, the Administrative Staff College at Henley-on-Thames and others since the 1940s,[159] though the Cranfield School of Management was not formally founded until 1967.[160] The London Business School and the Manchester Business School were founded in 1965. The former began its first executive program and then its first full-time degree the following year. But it was another 21 years before it awarded its first MBA, in 1987. From 1966 to 1979, London and the Manchester remained the only business schools, though other institution such as Cranfield and Henley continued to play and import role.[161]

In 1958, INSEAD business school was established at Fontainbleu, in France. A few years later, IMD was established in Lausanne, Switzerland.[162]

This overview of the diffusion of the business school and the MBA degree provides comparisons for the Australian case.

5.6.2 **Management Education in Australia**

From Training to Education

Perhaps the first instance of management education in Australia was at Sydney University in 1916, when lectures in industrial psychology were presented. These concentrated on scientific management.[163] But similar instances were isolated. Before 1945, in contrast to the USA, the education of foreman or supervisors existed in a rudimentary form.

> "...the preparation of people for management was not identified as the specific purpose
> of any educational programs, although some managers had undertaken tertiary
> education in the sciences, liberal arts or the professions. Most universities had
> undergraduate courses within faculties of commerce or economics which dealt with

managerial problems only tangentially, alongside the development of functional skills and particular disciplines such as accounting and economics".[164]

For example, the Bachelor of Commerce was established at the University of Melbourne in 1924, with the subjects of Industrial Administration and Industrial Relations included in the curriculum.[165]

But after 1945, some tertiary education institutions began to make a more specific contribution to the education of managers.[166] Byrt argued that Australia's development of management education was part of the increasing world-wide influence of the USA. The USA emerged from World War II with a reputation for scientific, industrial and military achievement and efficiency. It was prominent in the post-war re-building programs of countries including Germany and Japan, exporting food, capital, skills and machinery. Its list of exports included management systems and education. The Harvard model of case study analysis as well as its curricula and the MBA were adapted to Australian conditions.[167]

The 1950s marked some significant milestones in the development of management education. In 1950 the Melbourne Technical College was operating its School of Management and by 1957 had produced 360 graduates.[168] In 1955, the University of Melbourne established its Summer School of Business Administration, the first university course in Australia to specifically focus on management. The Harvard case study method was first taught by Hal Craig, who held a Harvard doctorate.[169] In 1957 the Australian Administrative Staff College was established near Melbourne, providing a residential program of management training.[170] It was modelled on the Administrative Staff College at Henley in England which provided residential short courses. The stimulus for the college came from Sydney solicitor, Geoff Remington who canvassed the idea of an educational institution devoted to the education of managers. The University of Sydney showed little interest and instead, the first Principal of the Henley College, Noel Hall, came to Australia for a five week visit in September 1954. Hall spoke with a number of institutions, various managers and interested parties. Following the visit, the Australian sponsors decided to form the Australia Administrative Staff College. By 1955, the College was incorporated as a company with a governing council and Essington Lewis as its chairman. The premises of the College were purchased at Mt Eliza on Port Phillip Bay, about 50 kilometres from Melbourne. In 1957, Melbourne offered the choice of two residential executive management education programs.[171]

In the 1960s the American approach, and in particular the Harvard model, was evident in the offering of the Masters of Business Administration degree by the University of New South Wales and the University of Melbourne in 1963. The University of Adelaide offered a Master

of Business Management that same year.[172] In 1969 Macquarie University established its Graduate Diploma in Business Administration course.

The universities were the bastions of the professions and the transition of business education from technical colleges to universities was a significant milestone in the journey from occupation to profession. The academic professoriate had been the gatekeepers of the professions since the middle ages.[173] While Australia had taken some decades to establish management study within the universities, its progress was comparable to Great Britain and other countries of Europe. While slower than Great Britain to form its business schools, it was quicker to offer the Masters of Business Administration. The Australian universities were responsive to growing needs for management education at a time when Great Britain was debating various reports and proposals for national business schools.[174]

The University of New South Wales had established chairs in Business Administration, Hospital Administration, Economics and Accounting within the Faculty of Commerce. Neville Wills was appointed to the Foundation Professorship in Business Administration. The MBA course was originally a combination of the quantitative Carnegie-Mellon and the Harvard case study approaches, but became more Harvard in style. The New South Wales School developed strong links with the business community and raised money for Chairs in Marketing and Finance, supplementing an original Chair of Organisational Behaviour.

The University of Melbourne appointed Cambridge academic John Willett to the re-named Chair of Commerce and Business Administration in 1961 and he took up the appointment in October 1962. The Melbourne MBA was intended as a degree in general management, studying finance, economics, organisational behaviour, quantitative methods and computers.

The Adelaide MBA received financial support from five large industrial organisations. Its explicit intention was not to establish a course of study along an American pattern or to provide skills in the functional areas of management. It was to provide an advanced qualification for economics and commerce graduates and those from other faculties who had pursued employment in business.[175]

The Cyert Inquiry

Late in 1969, the Commonwealth government commissioned an 'Inquiry into Post-Graduate Education for Management'. The report of that committee, known as the Cyert Report, was completed in four weeks early the following year and tabled in March 1970. It was a landmark document both in the history of management education and the formation of a national business school. The Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry was Richard M. Cyert,

Dean of Carnegie-Mellon University in the USA. The other three members of the Inquiry were also academics from the USA.[176] The report discussed the availability and quality of postgraduate management education in Australia and proceeded to make recommendations on the action necessary to meet the future needs of Australia for the highest quality education of this kind.[177]

The general management programs at the postgraduate level offered by Australian universities in 1970, are listed in Table 24.

Table 24   Management Programs Offered by Australian Universities in 1970

University	Qualification Title	Duration
Adelaide	Master of Business Management	Equivalent 2 academic years and completion of dissertation
Macquarie	Graduate Diploma in Business Administration	2 years part-time only
Melbourne	Master of Business Administration Doctor of Philosophy	Equivalent 2 academic years and completion of project report
Monash	Master of Administration Doctor of Philosophy	Equivalent 2 academic years and completion of thesis
New South Wales	Master of Business Administration Diploma in Administration Doctor of Philosophy	Equivalent 2 academic years (Project report now optional) 2 years part-time only

Source: *Report of the Committed of Inquiry into Post-graduate Education for Management* (**The Cyert Report) 1970, Government Printer, Canberra p 3.**

The authors considered the question of whether to have one or two business schools and nominated one centre of excellence, then countenanced the question of whether it should be located in Canberra, Melbourne or Sydney. They recognised the need for each of those cities to contain more than one business school. They also advocated the continuation of the existing business schools in the various cities. The national centre of excellence needed to draw high calibre academic staff and offer a full-time MBA for students at a postgraduate level.

The centre's basic goal was to enhance the effectiveness of Australian professional management. It would equip men[178] with important managerial roles in public and private

sector business, assisting promotion. Other roles would be to produce researchers and academics and to develop educational materials specific to the local setting, such as case studies, business games, simulations, etc.

Some expected that the report would follow the direction of the (British) Franks report of 1963 which had recommended the establishment of business schools at both London and Manchester.[179] John Willett of the University of Melbourne advocated a 'two universities policy'[180] and the dominance of Sydney and Melbourne over other capital cities was patently evident. However, the report recommended, *inter alia,* an increase in the volume of funds put into management education and the establishment of initially one 'school of excellence' in postgraduate management education to be situated in a well-developed centre of business activity as an integral part of a university. It further recommended that the development of the national school in the University of New South Wales should proceed, along with encouragement of promising programs in other universities. The Master of Business Administration was proposed as the major program and professional degree. Amongst its assertions was the following statement of the importance of management training and, by inference, the importance of managers:

> "Postgraduate management training may well prove to be the critical factor in sustaining further economic development but the quality of such training will be importantly affected by related educational activities in institutions."[181]

Remarks about the central role of managers in economic prosperity and the critical role of management education were to be repeated in the two subsequent government enquiries.

A detailed study of the inclusion and development of management studies and subjects within the universities, their teachers and students would provide an important chapter in the history of management education, but remains beyond the scope of this study.

The establishment of business degrees in the universities was an important step but the founding of the first national school of management education 'excellence' took a further six years. The nomination of the University of New South Wales was a blow for the University of Melbourne, which had taken many of the early steps and was equally advanced, if not ahead of its Sydney counterpart. It forced the Melbourne-based education providers to be self-reliant and to use their courses as a means of funding further development.[182]

5.7   Prominent Managers

During this period, two Australian-born men established reputations as management academics, making significant contributions through research and publications. Both studied the human and social factors in the industrial setting. Another man made his name as Australia's leading industrialist and, with the advent of World War II, applied his skill to manufacturing munitions in the war effort.

5.7.1   Guillame Delprat (1856-1937)

Delprat's career continued to rise during the early twentieth century. Both in 1907 and 1911, he travelled overseas to Europe and the USA, examining various steelworks. The latter trip was for six months and, upon return, he persuaded the BHP board to invest in iron and steel. In 1912, he appointed an American steel expert, David Baker, as Manager and proceeded to build a steelworks at Newcastle. The works commenced operation in 1915 when they were officially opened by the Governor-General, marking it as a moment of national importance. Delprat had been prominent in negotiations with the state and commonwealth governments and during World War I was on the Board for Construction of Aeroplanes and the Arsenal Construction Committee. He was also a member of the advisory council to the Commonwealth Bureau of Science and Industry. Delprat stepped down as general manager in 1921, and was succeeded by Essington Lewis.[183] His career showed the rising prominence of the salaried manager with overseas mining and consulting. Gaining promotion within BHP to become General Manager, but was never elected to the Board. He applied new technologies to mining and diversified the company's operation to steel production by adapting capital-intensive technology from abroad. His role in the war effort of World War I increased his public profile.

5.7.2   Essington Lewis (1881-1961)

Essington Lewis studied to be a mining engineer at the South Australian School of Mines and Industries and subsequently commenced a career in that industry in 1904 with BHP. Lewis was a 'man's man', formerly an outstanding athlete, technically minded, analytical, 'hands on' and results focused. [184]

He was appointed as assistant manager of the Port Pirie smelters in 1913. He remained in South Australia until the smelters were sold and then moved to Melbourne in 1915, where the company's headquarters was located. He soon began to spend more time at the steel plant at Newcastle in NSW and under the guidance of the General Manager of BHP, Guillame

Delprat. Lewis's three brothers served overseas in World War I but his own efforts to enlist were blocked by Delprat. In 1919, he acted in Delprat's position and was then appointed assistant general manager on a salary of £2,500 per year. The following year, he visited scores of steel plants and iron mines in the USA, specifically examining the practicality of converting pig-iron into steel and installing new coke ovens. Upon submitting his report of the trip, Delprat stepped down and Lewis was appointed general manager at a salary of £4,000, the first Australian to hold the position since 1886.

When Lewis was appointed, Australian steel faced robust competition from imported steel. In 1922, Lewis closed the furnaces, then re-built the plant and made various changes to the systems and management before re-opening in 1923. In 1926, with the title of managing director, he was elected to the Board.

He continued to make overseas tours about every five years and, during his tour of 1934, realised that Newcastle was considerably more advanced than its European rivals. During that year, he visited Japan and expressed concern as to the rapid expansion of Japanese steel and other strategic industries. In 1935, he was instrumental in the formation of the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation and took other measures to hasten Australia's preparedness in the event of war.

During World War II he was business consultant to the Department of Defence, and later he was offered the position of director of munitions, heading the new Department of Munitions. As such he was responsible for production of all weapons, explosives, ammunition, small arms, aircraft and vehicles and all machinery and tools used in producing such munitions. He held a seat on the Defence Committee and had the same access to War Cabinet as the chiefs of staff. He had considerable powers - to acquire materials and buildings compulsorily, to issue contracts without tender, to delegate and revoke responsibilities at will - becoming a veritable 'Director of Industry'. With these pressing responsibilities, he had stepped down from the board of BHP in 1938. When John Curtin became Prime Minister, he added to Lewis' responsibilities by appointing him as Director-General of the Department of Aircraft Production.

Lewis spoke on the national radio network in 1940 and made himself available to the newspaper editors for interviews the same year. He held government appointments and undertook his war responsibilities until May 1945, though his main tasks were completed during the previous year. In 1943, he was appointed as Companion of Honour, having refused recommendation for a knighthood.

Prior to World War II, Lewis had been a critic and opponent of government, politicians and the labour movement, but the war effort engendered a deep respect for several Labor leaders and recognition of the role of central government and regulation in developing an independent and prosperous nation. His rise to 'steel-master' was largely due to his technical knowledge of engineering processes and the ability to lead others. But his success in the war effort lay more in the ability to harness and direct the knowledge and efforts of others.

His influence in industrial development and prosperity was evident after the war in BHP's mechanization of the coal industry, expansion of iron ore mining, and in projects outside BHP, such as General Motors-Holden's first all-Australian cars in 1948, long-range weapons projects in South Australia in 1946, and other achievements. He served as chairman of the Industrial Design Council of Australia and of the Australian Administrative Staff College at Mount Eliza, Victoria, and as an honorary fellow of the Australian Academy of Science. Hard-working, paternalistic, unconcerned as to fashion, prudish, unworldly yet immensely wealthy, taking few holidays, he was more comfortable in the company of men than with his family. He died on horseback on his Victorian property in 1961. The simple text that had ruled Lewis' life was found among his papers: *I am work*.

Like Delprat, Lewis, career took him from BHP to a prominent role in the war effort. He, too, was a technical innovator, but, unlike Delprat he gained seat on the board of BHP in 1926 and later became a large shareholder, thus making the transition from backroom to boardroom. Lewis also extended his interest to management education. In many ways he became a prototypical career manager – successful within his industry, anti-union, prominent in government affairs, and diversifying his interests to science and education – a path that many followed subsequently. But he also remained a man of his time – earthy, hard-working and patriotic.

5.7.3 Bernard Muscio (1887-1926)

Unlike Delprat and Lewis, Bernard Muscio established an outstanding academic career. He was born in 1887 and entered Sydney University in 1907 where he studied philosophy. He graduated as Bachelor of Arts with honours in 1910, then in 1912 as Master of Arts with honours and the University medal in logic and mental philosophy. He was awarded a travelling scholarship and subsequently studied philosophy and psychology at Cambridge University in England.

In 1916, he returned to Sydney and gave a series of public lectures on industrial psychology at the University of Sydney covering the topics of fatigue, vocational selection and methods of

work, recounting recent empirical research undertaken in the USA, Britain and Europe. These lectures were repeated in 1917[185] then published in Sydney and re-printed later in London.

In 1919 he returned to Cambridge as organizing secretary and lecturer for the Industrial Fatigue Research Board. He was active in organizing and conducting the Cambridge Summer School of Industrial Administration. He edited his book of lectures and published them in 1920 as *Lectures in Industrial Administration*. He also wrote a further nine reports for the board founded on surveys of current thought, experimental investigations and studies in factories. His subjects included vocational guidance tests, fatigue measurement, motion study and other subjects, publishing his work as articles in the *British Journal of Psychology* or as monographs. He returned to Sydney University as the Challis Professor of Philosophy in 1922 and died in 1926.

His published lectures have been regarded as the second British textbook on management and he inspired the pioneer of British industrial psychology, Edward Elbourne. His papers on industrial management were somewhat of a departure from his studies in philosophy but flowed more from his interest in psychology. Clearly, he shifted attention to the human aspects of the worker – fatigue and physiology. He was included in the *Golden Book of Management* (1956) published for the International Committee of Scientific Management. His contributions were made in both Sydney and Cambridge, though his legacy has probably been recognised more in Great Britain than in Australia.[186] In his relatively short lifespan, Muscio was influential in the field of industrial psychology and subsequently regarded as a pioneer of management theory. Overseas study was an important facet in the international perspective which characterised his work.

5.7.4 **Elton Mayo (1880-1949)** [187]

The most prominent Australian in management history during this period was (George) Elton Mayo, who, like Muscio, emphasised the human and social factors in industry. After a prestigious academic training, he became foundation lecturer in mental and moral philosophy at the new University of Queensland in 1911 and later held the first chair of philosophy there from 1919 to 1923.

He won a Rockefeller grant to travel to the USA and undertook research at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, investigating the high labour turnover at a textile mill. In 1926 he was appointed associate professor at the Harvard School of Business Administration and professor of industrial research in 1929. Through the Department of Industrial Research

at Harvard, he undertook the famous Hawthorne Investigations into personal and social factors determining work output at the Western Electric Co.'s Chicago plant.

Mayo wrote three books and a number of articles during an academic career of almost 30 years. His books included *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (1933) and *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (1945). His Hawthorne studies are cited in practically every management text book, but his scholarly contribution was broader. He wrote about the importance of social relationships at work. While the technical and mechanical development of work had advanced rapidly during the past 100 years, the social organisation of work had been disturbed and new social arrangements needed to be developed. He also recognised that while authority requires action of others, it is also dependent on the co-operation of the individual in assenting to orders and accepting the social organisation of work. His arguments were relevant both to industrial relations and other forms of human co-operation.

His name and reputation stand high in management thought but his work, like Frederick Taylor's, has far broader meaning and application than is recounted in management texts. However, his Hawthorne studies have perhaps been overstated both in their importance and their interpretation. Western Electric Co.'s Chicago plant was an innovative and unusual employer and Mayo's forceful and ambitious personality contributed significantly to his prominence.[188] In many ways, he was a forerunner to later forceful personalities with controversial ideas and strong oratory skills.

5.7.5 Fred Emery (1925-1997)

Born and educated in Western Australia, Fred Emery pursued an academic career as an honours student and lecturer at the University of Western Australia, then as a lecturer and doctoral student at the University of Melbourne. In 1951-53 he had secured a UNESCO fellowship in the social sciences, basing himself at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London. There he met Eric Trist and became interested in the concept of socio-technical systems.[189] He obtained his PhD in 1953 and in 1957 returned to the Tavistock Institute.[190]

Emery and Trist collaborated to develop systems theory through a number of publications including *The Causal Texture of Organisational Environments* (1965) and *Towards a Social Ecology* (1972). From this work, Emery developed his more comprehensive Open Systems Theory (OST). Further collaborative writing occurred with the Norwegian scholar, Einar Thorsrud, and his wife, Merrelyn Emery.

He was a visiting Professor at Wharton University and spent an extended period of time at the Centre for Advanced Studies in the Behavioural Sciences at Stanford University before joining the Australian National University as a Senior Research Fellow in 1969, remaining there until 1979 when his scholarship expired. From that time, he became an independent scholar, continuing to publish and consult.

The extraordinary breadth and depth of his thinking were perhaps best conveyed in the three works, *Toward a Social Ecology* (1972), *On Purposeful Systems* (1972, with Ackoff), and *Futures We're In* (1977). In 1981, he edited two volumes of readings called *Systems Thinking* which remains a definitive resource on the origins and development of open systems thinking.

Emery became Australia's foremost and prominent management thinker and was courted by various governments and organisations, as an independent academic. He was awarded the inaugural Elton Mayo Award by the Australian Psychological Association and the Doctor of Science degree *honouris causa* from Macquarie University in 1992. His career accumulated academic, government and business accolades, providing a template for future academics with an applied focus.

5.7.6 The Business Knights[191]

By the last years of the Menzies era (1941-1966), the professional manager of a big public company was likely to carry the title of chairman of directors and hold a knighthood.[192] As stated earlier, Nettle argued that during the 1960s a relatively small number of men held directorships in a number of companies, forming a 'Directorial Club' which maintained a significant degree of control over Australian owned companies. Directors who held knighthoods were often referred to as 'business knights'.

For six years, the sole peak body for company directors was the Institute of Directors in Australia (IDA), formed in 1961. Constituted as a branch of the London-based Institute of Directors, this body promoted ideas about the role and function of directors which were common at that time in the British Isles, rather than those in the USA. In 1966, the then President of the IDA, Sir Robert Crichton-Brown, stated that the value of directors lay not so much in their technical qualifications, as in their personal qualifications. Another prominent director, Sir John Dunlop, believed that directors should be chosen for their character rather than their knowledge of specific disciplines and regarded the board-management relationship as akin to a marriage where attempts to define respective roles provided a source of potential conflict. These views were consistent with those of Sir Frederick Hooper of the English Institute of Directors who regarded the director as an informed amateur whose value was not

related to the number of hours spent at work, but in terms of his personal leadership qualities. These views contrasted with the American approach that the role of the directors was a specialist function limited to monitoring of operational management.[193]

However, the views of the IDA were not uniformly held by all company directors. Disquiet grew about an 'old boys' network' operating within the organisation and some believed that the IDA was run to favour the business knights, with their multiple directorships. These concerns resulted in the formation of the Company Directors Association (CDA) in 1967. This organisation was established to provide for the needs of the working executive director rather than the vocational board man, and espoused ideas more aligned with the American approach. Importantly, the CDA advocated the idea of directorship as a profession which could be learnt. It conducted educational courses and accredited graduates as chartered directors.[194]

Control of companies remained in a small number of hands during the 1960s. One study found that the 20 largest shareholders accounted for 57.7% of the total equity in companies, while the great majority of shareholders owned the balance. A further finding was that the single largest shareholders accounted for 40.6% of the capital.[195]

Nor had family or founding owners been completely overtaken. Management consultants Beckingsale and Co. found that in 46% of the large companies surveyed, the founder of the company was still a member of the board and that two out of five board chairmen were either substantial shareholders or representatives of substantial companies.[196] In a later study, McMichael found that 25% of company founders were still board members while 40% of companies indicated that the board controlled over half the stock.[197]

Ownership concentration was highest with overseas companies operating in major industrial sectors such as motor vehicles, petroleum, chemicals, non-ferrous metals, electrical engineering and food processing.[198] Rolfe investigated ownership concentration in Australian companies and found that the largest 50 predominantly Australian-owned companies were linked by one or more common directors to 275 other companies. This was particularly evident in financial companies, but also in breweries, coal and gas, concrete pipes, electrical appliances, rubber and glass. Rolfe also made links between prominent families and companies, eg the Baillieu family with the Collins House Group, the Darling family with BHP.[199]

Directorial interlocks limited the overall number of Australian company directors and provided a mechanism for the maintenance of a community of interests among an elite. The

social circles of Australian capital cities were not very large in 1960 and school networks were strong. In 1961, Encel demonstrated the common educational and social backgrounds of directors and executives, identifying membership of clubs and private schools, and residence in Melbourne's Toorack or Sydney's North Shore.[200] It was not until the 1970s, when the level of institutional ownership increased, that the control of the directorial club of the business knights waned, and directing managers gained not only control of operations, but also the board.

5.8   Chapter Summary

The first 50 years of the twentieth century contained cataclysmic events in the World Wars and the Great Depression, which dominated the social, political and economic agendas and presented enormous challenges for business and the broader society. The seeds of a consumer society were planted early in the century, but the wars and the depression forestalled strong economic growth and diminished material prosperity. During the wars, Australian businesses directed production towards the war efforts and grasped import replacement opportunities, while during peacetime they promoted a growing range of consumer goods and services to consolidating markets. Australia paid a heavy price for its commitment to World War I but recovered during the inter-war period by expanding its manufacturing base and adopting other elements of modernity including mass advertising, mass distribution, management consulting, assembly-line technology, radio and business-related services such as accounting, legal, and stock-broking.

The decades following World War II were a golden age for manufacturing and industrial management as Australia advanced as a modern consumer society. The newspaper, the radio, the cinema and finally the television brought news and entertainment to families living in suburban homes, complete with a car in the garage. The wars promoted a proud and independent society, but whose strategic allegiance shifted from Great Britain to the USA and whose cultural influences were also gravitating in that direction. But Australia's economic, political, social and cultural ties with Great Britain remained strong.

The directing manager's rise to power was propelled by various changes as big business grew, modernised and became more complex. Companies expanded with the advent of capital-intensive heavy industry and mass production technology. Advances in road transport and mass communications consolidated regional and state markets, changing the scale and scope of Australian business and the role of the salaried manager. Large companies began to accept career managers onto their boards and the directing manager grew powerful as organisations

became more bureaucratic, the power of the rich owners waned and ownership became more diffuse. The rise of big business and the rise of the directing manager occurred conjointly and were significant events of Australian history during this period.

As the economy and the society changed and as business expanded and diversified, management practice became increasingly complex throughout the period. Managers were further institutionalised as companies expanded their branch structures, evident in the banking and pastoral industries among many others. As organisations became more technically intricate, managers were appointed to functional areas, notably from the 1950s, when advertising, sales, production and personnel functions became more common. The influence of management consultants and management education increased.

The manager's practice remained embedded in the context of the business, varying from a sheep station in outback Queensland to a suburban Melbourne theatre to a winery in the Barossa Valley near Adelaide. Businesses operated within the characteristics of regional and state markets and broader social, economic and political events which, in Australia's case, continued to constitute a unique context. Managers employed in small and large businesses dealt with local problems, responding to the shortages of war and the opportunities of peace. Practice was repeatedly changed by technical innovation and advances in production, transport, advertising and communication.

From early in the twentieth century, Australian business participated in international networks, notably in advertising and management consulting. Trade journals reported management innovation such as scientific management and industrial psychology. Overseas practice was diffused through industry networks, the recruitment of managers from abroad, the diffusion of overseas technology, business travel, study tours and as foreign companies established Australian branches. Overseas networks played a key role in management consulting, training and education and promoted convergence of international practice.

The Australian advertising industry developed rapidly and became integral to managing companies selling household goods. The advent of cinema, radio and television provided new media for companies to advertise consumer goods, supplementing the popularity of newspapers and billboards.

The establishment of the Management and Executive Training qualification in 1943 marked the first Australian management qualification and showed an integral coupling of management with industrial manufacturing. Management training developed after World War II in the industrial context, but for most of the period training occurred on the job.

The Management Rush

After World War II, quantity production techniques, scientific management and industrial psychology received greater acceptance. Management consultants were an important source for the development and dissemination of management ideas and techniques. During the 1960s the management consulting industry operated in various capital cities and provided services in areas including scientific management, recruitment and training, accounting and administration. The industry grew with further international presence and shifted its focus from the shop floor to the board room. Management education developed significantly within the universities and in 1963 three capital city universities offered the Masters of Business Administration degree, adapting the American model of postgraduate business qualification.

By the end of the 1960s, career managers occupied the boards of Australia's large companies. Senior, middle and functional managers held roles within company hierarchies and management consulting companies and management education had established their place within commercial and educational institutions. But they existed in a broader society where the platforms of industry protection, wage arbitration, state paternalism and imperial benevolence remained strong.

CHAPTER 6: THE RISE OF MANAGEMENT

A Changing Society

The World Wars were the major events of the twentieth century. They resulted in unprecedented death, the destruction of cities and environmental obliteration. They changed the balance of power, raising the USA to the status of the leading military power. They changed the course of history by channelling resources and efforts into a war economy rather than peacetime pursuits. The resources, skills and industries most needed for the war effort advanced, while many other businesses simply disappeared or were displaced until after the war. The World Wars spurred the manufacture of steel, vehicles, munitions, food processing, clothing, communications and transport. They also changed management. Australia joined the ranks of the industrial nations and its managers were engrossed in the problems of mass production – capital, materials, inventory and distribution.[1]

In the battles for South East Asia and the South Pacific, the USA prevailed where the British had failed, and from that point, Australia became increasingly more receptive to American culture and American technology. Management discourse and education came increasingly, though not exclusively, from the USA.

A more turbulent market economy in the 1970s replaced the relative political stability of the Menzies government and the resources economy.[2] Many well-documented social, economic and political events occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. Like the corresponding decades of the nineteenth century, it was an age where technology spurred many changes in Australian culture, while government played an active role. Traditional industries like mining and wool created wealth as engineering produced technological wonders akin to the age of the steam engine. Australians again occupied the world stage with their achievements in the arts, sport and social reforms, and Australian scientists, too, were lauded.

The world and society began to change, seemingly at an ever-increasing pace. Technological revolutions in transport, communications, and information technology (IT) occurred. Airline travel became quicker and more affordable. Telephones became commonplace. Cars and household goods became cheaper and more plentiful. Information technology changed the nature of work and rose to be a major industry. People talked of the world becoming smaller and phrases such as 'the global village' became popular.[3] There were social revolutions such

as the 'sexual revolution', the 'gender revolution' and the 'green revolution'. The 'generation gap' emerged and mass popular culture gained momentum. The world grew smaller but the range of choice grew more diverse.

It was a period of boom and bust. There were 'bull' and 'bear' stock markets, oil shocks, and a serious recession began in 1987. Some entrepreneurs of the 1970s became the business failures of the 1980s. Alan Bond[4] was imprisoned and Christopher Skase fled to Majorca,[5] but the media moguls, Kerry Packer and Rupert Murdoch,[6] went from strength to strength.

The 'cult of the self' developed in Australian society. Humanism provided an alternative to the established religions. The existence of God was repeatedly challenged and the authority of the church was assailed, particularly when moral issues such as abortion, the role of women and overpopulation became prominent.

It was a period increasingly characterised by uncertainty and anxiety - inflation, strikes, oil shocks, periods of high unemployment, industry contractions, business closures and the looming threat of the 'cold war'.[7] Managers of businesses worked in an economic, political, social and psychological environment that was rapidly evolving.

Amongst this vibrant flurry, another revolution occurred in Australian society – the *management rush*.

6.1   Economic, Political, Social and Technological Revolutions

6.1.1   The Whitlam Factor

Whereas participation in World War II had united most Australians, the Vietnam War divided the nation. The decision to enter the war was not contentious, but as the nature of the conflict unfolded through journalist reports and television footage,[8] doubt began to grow. Sir Robert Menzies retired as Prime Minister in 1966 and the longest period of conservative coalition government ended with the election of the Whitlam Labor government in 1972. In an ambitious program of social reform, the Labor government introduced sweeping changes.

Australia's remaining troops in Vietnam were recalled and conscription was abolished. Pursuing a reform agenda, the new government introduced programs of nationally-funded education, health, legal aid and cultural grants. The Whitlam government re-positioned Australia in the world by establishing diplomatic links with China and granting independence for Papua New Guinea. It established a new Department of Aboriginal Affairs, staffed mainly by aboriginal people. Multiculturalism replaced the 'White Australia policy', with family

migration overshadowing skilled migration. South-East Asia became a more common source of migrants. The traditional role of women was questioned as women entered the workforce and tertiary education in greater numbers. The birth rate began to decline. Divorce became easier to obtain. The Australian Arts Council funded the plastic and performing arts at record levels. Medibank, the Legal Aid Commission and free tertiary education were established. Union power grew stronger and the central arbitration system remained in place to protect the living standard of the wage and salary earner. Government asked serious questions of business, in terms of both social responsibility and funding government expansion. Big government reigned as the Labor government sought to reform Australian society and restore it as a model society as had existed at the turn of the century. The big question was how to pay for it.[9] But a secondary problem was the establishment of large bureaucratic units and management systems to administer these programs.

The Whitlam government needed economic prosperity to continue, but a number of changes and shocks occurred, prompting responses from businesses, government and managers. The first major shock was when Britain entered the European Common Market in 1973. This effectively ended the preferential trade relationship between Australia and Great Britain. In the same year, government reduced tariffs by 25% and re-valued the currency upward. Further shocks occurred with the sudden rise of the price of crude oil, producing inflation in oil-dependent advanced economies. In three years, government expenditure doubled.[10]

With the abolition of tuition fees for university courses, enrolments increased by thousands and resulted in rapid expansion of the universities. Degrees with vocational paths to the 'professions' of medicine, law, engineering, veterinary science, physiotherapy, audiology, speech therapy, occupational therapy, psychology and teaching were popular. There was also a gamut of sociology, philosophy, political science, anthropology and other arts graduates who, in the main, had no obvious vocation. Many walked directly from the university classrooms to the ranks of the unemployed. Increased education gave further stimulus to the services sector. The new government policy promoted the notion of access to tertiary education as a right for all Australians and created a broader and better educated society. Tertiary education would provide greater opportunities for business and management education. But increased government borrowings and rapid social change in various areas alarmed more conservative groups such as business, employers and returned servicemen.[11]

The Labor government faced considerable economic problems largely unprecedented in peacetime Australia. Oil shocks gave rise to inflation and high interest rates, raising the cost of living. Trade unions frequently invoked industrial action, striking for wages and

conditions, or in support of another union or imposing 'green bans'[12] on areas of cultural importance. Strikes were common and disruptive to productivity and everyday life. The unions' wage claims placed further pressure on employers and inflation. At the same time, unemployment rose to over 250,000 in 1975.[13] Political instability escalated to the extraordinary dismissal of the Labor government by the Governor-General in 1976.

Whitlam's ambitious reform agenda had turned the electorate's gaze both inwards on its own history and culture and outwards to the world. Histories of Australia gained popular interest in a period of cultural renaissance.[14]

From 1975 to 1983, grazier and Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, sought to control inflation, wages and unions. The pendulum swung back to business and production, but Fraser continued many of Whitlam's changes. His government also pursued the traditional economic management policies including control of the currency exchange rate, protecting local industry, central wage arbitration, and state paternalism. But his government was beset with economic problems, such as inflation and industrial conflict.

Australian society was changing and business needed to change with it. Education and greater opportunities in the workforce were changing the social status of women. Large bureaucracies in both government and large companies were common. Management education and consulting businesses were growing. Significantly, in 1977, the first MBA students enrolled at the AGSM. The psychological and linguistic shift from businessmen to managers was gaining further momentum.

6.1.2 The Overthrow of the Business Knights

The performance of the business knights came under increasing pressure and scrutiny in the 1970s through parliaments, government tribunals, the AIM and the Company Directors Association. While government responded to these pressures by tightening company law and increasing the accountability of directors, the structure of ownership significantly changed with institutions such as banks, insurance and superannuation companies increasing their shareholdings.[15]

In the 1970s, the dominant directors in most of the very large companies were professional salaried managers. They had supplanted the old rich shareholders. Salaried managers occupied the chair and many other seats in the boardroom. They held their seats not because of the shares they owned, but because of their technical and managerial skills as salaried employees. Most of the shareholders in large public companies had abdicated as rulers and the board of directors nominated its successors. By 1976, big businesses in the private sector

were owned by public companies rather than by wealthy individuals. The public company had come to be regarded as the epitome of private enterprise and the professional manager had established a career path to the board.[16]

The professional or career manager had overthrown the business knights and was enshrined on the board of the large public company.

6.1.3 The Motor Car, the Television and the Computer

Three household commodities underpinned lifestyle and business changes of this period. In order of importance and invention, they were the motor car, the television and the computer.

Throughout the twentieth century, the motor car increased the mobility of the workforce, extending opportunities for employment from the local to the remote. The motor car gave impetus to suburbs, to homes with garages and driveways, to shopping malls with car parks, to holidays away from the cities, to a range of lifestyle choices. As cars became cheaper to produce, they ceased to be a luxury item and became a necessity for workers, home makers and students. The motor car, van and truck competed with trains and planes as modes of distribution of goods, with the advantage of being able to deliver from door to door. While trains and aeroplanes could freight goods vast distances at faster speed, delivery at either end of the journey required road transport. With the ascent of the motor car, came economic dependence on fossil fuels.

While the television gained popularity as a source of news and entertainment, its commercial power lay in advertisements. As television sets were accepted into households, the owners of television channels grew wealthy on advertising dollars. Business realised that television promoted brands and sold products. In reaching the lounge rooms of the suburbs, it also reached the wallets of consumers. It quickly surpassed radio as the most pervasive and influential media channel.[17]

The computer began to change both business and society in the 1980s. Databases with remote access terminals in business branches across the state or the nation t established information technology as a mandatory asset for medium and large organisations. Banking was transformed by automatic teller machines (ATMs). The adoption of computer technology was a cornerstone of business strategy in the 1980s and resulted in far more spectacular change in the 1990s with electronic funds transfer, PC networks and the internet. The allure of computer technology was so strong that, by the end of the century, the richest man in the world arose from the computer industry and a PC could access information on almost any subject known to mankind.

The media barons were extremely powerful as gate-keepers to advertising, news and entertainment for the mass market and there were more cars on Australian roads than ever before. The television consolidated regional and state markets, creating the prospect of mass marketing at state and national levels.[18] Australia was becoming a national market and big business was again becoming even bigger. While federation prevented the state governments from merging, the private sector had no such limitation. With increased scope and scale for business and a turbulent economic and social environment, management in Australia changed profoundly.

6.2   The Management Rush

While much of the rise of management can be explained in rational and structural ways, some cannot. The rise of management was neither planned nor anticipated, just as the wool rush of the 1830s and the gold rush of the 1850s were neither planned nor anticipated.

6.2.1 Changing Agendas[19]

The 1980s marked the most significant events in the rise of management in Australia. The traditional protected economy gave way to a form of open market economy. Consensus politics and productivity-based enterprise bargaining displaced central wage-fixing in the industrial relations arena. The agendas for business and the broader society changed markedly during this period with market economics and economic rationalism[20] gaining supremacy, heralding an age of business and 'globalisation'.[21] Improved technology such as computers and air travel spurred changes to business.[22] The floating of the Australian dollar, de-regulation of the financial markets, changes to company law and taxation, and the abolition of central wage-fixing markedly altered the economic environment. Simultaneously, the broader society became increasingly concerned with heritage and wilderness conservation, environmental protection, equality, diversity and social justice.

The rise of management in Australia occurred at the same time as a number of revolutions – sexual, gender, 'green', transport, communications, and information technology. These resulted in substantial social and attitudinal shifts. Many of the revolutions had begun during the previous two decades, but the 1980s marked a meeting point for them all. As macro-economic policy settings changed, another movement flourished. The number of managers increased, business schools began to multiply and expand rapidly, the management consulting industry grew, and businessmen began to speak another language, the language of management.

The Hawke-Keating Labor government was elected in 1983. Its economic policies moved the traditional protected economy to a more market-based services economy. Participating in an open market economy with overseas competition was promoted by government as a good and necessary thing. The Hawke-Keating government all but abandoned class warfare rhetoric in favour of economic rationalism.[23] The government proposed a mix of economic prosperity, environmental conservation, low unemployment, affordable education and a strong health and welfare safety net. The politics of vested interests were overcome, albeit temporarily, with the politics of common interest, namely, economic growth and industrial stability.

Kelly argued that the Hawke-Keating government policies overcame the legacies of 'Australian Settlement', with its five platforms of 'White' Australia, industry protection, wage arbitration, state paternalism and imperial benevolence.[24] Lloyd regarded the transition as a peaceful regulatory shift, which produced substantial change but also preserved the formal governance regime.[25]

After election to power, the Hawke-Keating government proclaimed the importance of competition and productivity. Prime Minister Hawke convened the first of a series of summits between government, business and the trade unions to arrive at a consensus agreement. The agenda for these meetings canvassed the traditional items of wages and living standards but extended to future directions, tariffs, protection, and training. In the process the government established an 'Accord' between the three parties, providing a departure from traditional conflicts and a new framework for managing the economy. The government secured the co-operation of both business and the unions, reigning in the extremes of each. The summit shifted the basis for wage rises from cost of living adjustments to productivity. It changed the direction of industrial relations from arbitration to productivity and, in so doing, pointed a spotlight on management. Managers found themselves in a more competitive environment and were forced to adopt new ways of making profit.[26] Bottom-line focus was a skill learned by many companies and managers during this decade while some companies found they were no longer competitive.

Another crucial change was de-regulation of the financial markets. The four most important milestones in the de-regulation of the financial market and their dates are contained in Table 25.

Table 25   Milestones in Financial De-regulation

Year	Milestone
1978	Campbell Committee Report recommends de-regulation of the financial markets
1983	Floating of the Australian dollar on the international currency market
1984	Regulating interest rates through the Australian Reserve Bank
1984/5	Granting banking licences to trade in Australia to overseas banks

Sources: Various sources.

The second and third of these shifted government macro-economic management policy from regulation of monetary policy to fiscal policy, aligning with Keynesian economics.

The stock markets also changed markedly during the 1980s. In 1980 the Australian Stock Exchange Indices (national price and accumulation indices) replaced the separate Sydney and Melbourne Indices. In 1985 stock exchange membership was de-regulated and the fixed scale of commission was abolished, changing the composition of the market. Australia's first Second Board Market opened in Perth. In 1985 the Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited established the Australian Financial Futures Market. Two years later the national Australian Stock Exchange (ASX) and National Guarantee Fund were formed amalgamating the six state stock exchanges and their fidelity funds. The 1980s also saw the launch of computer-based trading for a limited range of ASX-listed stocks.   In 1989 the Australian Options Market and the Australian Financial Futures Market merged.[27]

Trading in the stock markets steadily powered through a 'bull phase' between 1985 and 1987. The ASX All Ordinaries Index took five years to gain 200 points and reach the 1,000 mark in 1985 but then only two years to reach 2,000 points in 1987.   In October of that year it underwent a downturn shared by all the major markets and then took a further 13 years to reach 3,000 points in 2000 (see Appendix 11 and Appendix 12).

The legislation governing companies was reviewed and changed. In 1981, the *Companies Act* was passed by the commonwealth government. In 1989, the *Corporations Act* was passed as a national law, without the need for state co-operation.   It was accompanied by the *Australian Securities Commission Act*. Under these Acts, companies were registered and administered under commonwealth law, rather than state law, as they had previously. This centralised and simplified the registration and reporting requirements of companies. Changes to taxation legislation included the Capital Gains tax in 1985 and the Fringe Benefits tax in 1986.

The Hawke-Keating government did more to curtail the power of the unions than the Fraser Liberal government. In replacing confrontation with consensus, the union movement lost its main adversarial role.

For an economy that had been regulated since 1788 and protected since the 1860s, the realities of unrestrained overseas competition came as a shock. In many ways the summits and their Accords reflected a more mature society, even a managed society, where planning and common interest harnessed the politics of greed, power and self-interest.

While the government could deal with domestic issues, it had little control over offshore events. Through restrictive protection and migration policies, Australia had sought to insulate itself from overseas pressures. Some had proved inescapable – the World Wars and, more recently, the oil price shocks. Exposing the Australian economy to international market forces carried inherent risks, not only to the government but also to businesses and employees.

The same economic doctrines were proclaimed by both President Ronald Regan in the USA and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom. The English speaking allies were again assembling around a common cause, this time the adoption of neoclassical or 'free-market' economics. Kelly argued that the economic success of the Hawke-Keating government was replicated in other mid-sized economies such as New Zealand, France, Italy, Spain and Sweden.[28]

Neoclassical economics, market forces and economic rationalism became the foundations of contemporary advanced economies. These platforms were generally conducive to business, particularly big business. The lowering of international trade boundaries allowed big business to get even bigger, moving from national to international then global scales. Technological advances in telecommunications and information technology heralded an era of grand possibilities and enormous change. Kelly typified the 1980s in the Australian context as 'the end of certainty'.

6.2.2 **The Power of the Mass Media**[29]

While the power of the mass media to shape attitudes and awareness had been established in earlier decades, during the 1980s that power grew to the point that the mass media industry became the most influential body in Australian society, in some ways, more powerful than government and big business.[30] The media industry was pivotal to the changes in business and public life that occurred during the 1980s and to the present day and an important conduit for advertising.

Towards National Networks

Australia entered the 1980s with a fragmented and regionalized mass media ownership structure. The mass media of the time consisted of print media (such as newspapers and magazines) and the electronic media (including radio and television). At the beginning of the 1980s, Australian mass media broadcast only to local audiences including the capital cities such as Adelaide, Brisbane, Darwin, Hobart, etc. and regional areas such as Newcastle, Wollongong, the Gold Coast and East Gippsland. Early in the decade, owning a television station was not only a licence to broadcast, but also was regarded in some circles as a licence to print money.[31] This was largely because of the effectiveness of television in capturing a viewing audience and television advertising then promoting product sales.

During the 1980s, the media moguls, notably Kerry Packer (PBL), Christopher Skase (Prime) and Rupert Murdoch (News Limited) set about establishing media networks linking cities and regions across Australia. Creation of these integrated networks concentrated the ownership of television, radio and newspapers within each medium.

Changes in technology provided for changes in the way content was assembled, produced and delivered. Satellite broadcasting replaced co-axial cable links and enabled live visual and audio footage to be broadcast across the nation. Content became repeatable and recyclable. Centrally controlled national networks transformed the concept of national mass communication into a reality. Through satellite technology, the press release of a politician or the interview of a sportsman could be broadcast across the nation during the evening news. The establishment of national networks became particularly important to marketing and advertising businesses. This was the case not only in Australia but also in other countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom and the USA.

Until 1987, it was possible for one owner to have newspaper, magazine, radio and television interests in the same region, thereby effectively controlling virtually all the content of bulletins and broadcasts in that area. In order to reduce this power and limit the incursion of foreign ownership into the media, in 1987 the Hawke government introduced the *Broadcasting (Ownership and Control) Act* (No. 2) 1987 No. 183, 1987 establishing Australia's cross media and foreign ownership laws requiring that no one operator control all three forms[32] of mass media in a given area.[33]

The Mass Media Spotlight

With the advent of nationally networked mass media, both in electronic and print forms, media management became increasingly important to public figures such as politicians and

sportspersons. As the power to dictate agenda and influence public opinion was realised, media relations became more important for business. Company spokespersons, like politicians and lobbyists, were sought for statements and interviews.

The media became the predominant public forum for news and community debate. In the 1980s, as economic debate gained greater prominence in the public forum, media interest spread to industries, companies and their representatives. Peak body spokespersons such as the President of the ACTU, the President of the (then) National Farmers Federation, and prominent business people such as the chairman of BHP, the managing directors of the major banks, even the Governor of the Reserve Bank began to appear more frequently in the media. The ability to handle media press releases and interviews became a key competency when recruiting a new managing director or chief executive officer.

The power of the media to transmit a single message to the entire nation created a single stage on which to appear. While there was intense competition between networks in a battle for ratings and advertising revenues, each offered the opportunity to talk across state and regional boundaries. National networks consolidated city and regional markets, providing bigger audiences. Faced with this change in the nature of the communications and therefore the marketing environment, business was forced to 'get big or get out'.[34] By providing a message to a national market, the media networks did more to change the Australian business context than any political party or policy. Only big business could meet the cost of national media advertising. Since colonization, the states and territories had legislated to protect and restrict trade but in the 1980s the mass media established one voice to the nation.

Business, through national marketing, could now utilize the national distribution networks on the roads, the railways and in the air.

6.2.3 Managers Arrive in Numbers

The rise in the number of managers coincided partly with the growth of white-collar workers following World War II. The emergence of the white collar worker as a dominant figure in the workforce was one of the most important features of post-war Australia. The combined white-collar groups (including professional, administrative, clerical and sales) increased from approximately one-third to almost half of the total labour force between 1947 and 1980 while the blue-collar workers (including the skilled trades, production workers and labourers) declined by 42% to less than one-third of the total labour force during the same period. Within the white-collar groups, the 'professional, technical and related category' showed the greatest increases, expanding by more than 400%. Growth in the number of white-collar

workers occurred in many other advanced societies during the post-war period.[35] These statistics reflected expansion of the tertiary and quaternary sectors and contraction of the manufacturing sector as employers.[36]

McCloud and Siniakis undertook a statistical analysis of ABS data pertaining to the occupational category of 'manager', as displayed in Figure 2. The ABS published data four times each year, in February, May, August and November.

Figure 2   Managers in Australia 1979 - 1989
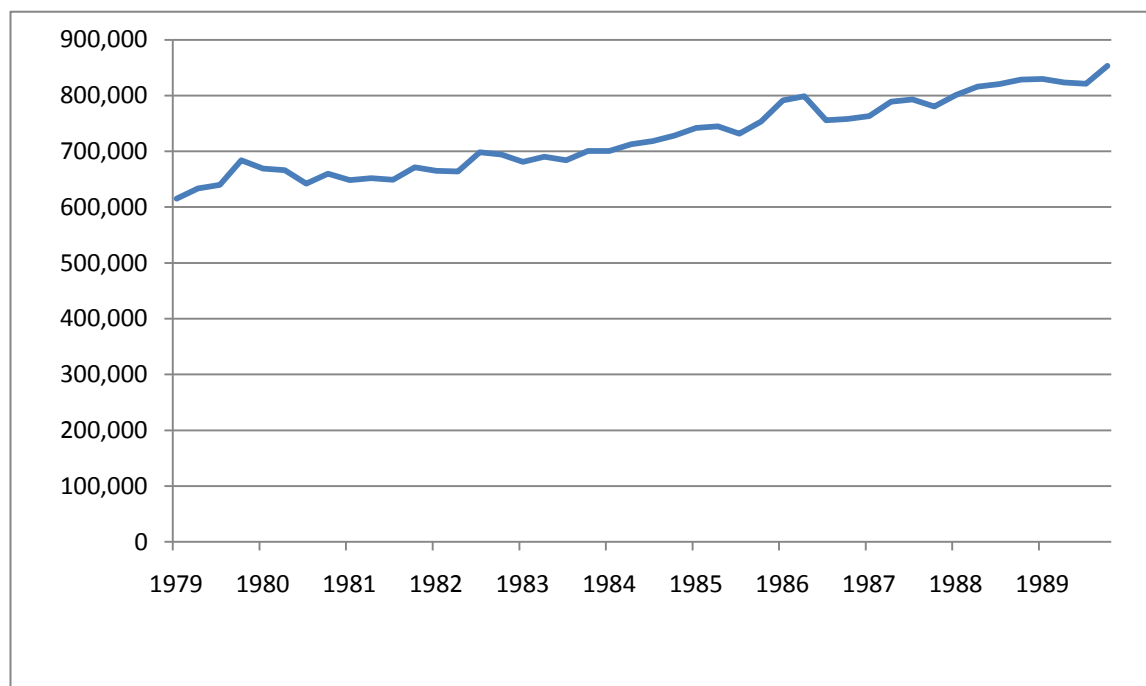
Source: McCloud and Siniakis 1993, 'Trends in numbers of management students and managers 1970s-1990s'. Australian Bureau of Statistics data.

They estimated that the number of managers had increased by 45% between 1979 and 1993 from 615,000 to 890,300 and predicted that the population of managers would increase by 12% over the subsequent five years to 977,200 by February 1998. [37] Extrapolating their prediction further suggested around 1,000,000 managers in the workforce by the year 2000.[38]

As McCloud and Siniakis explained, there was a clear point of discontinuity in the ABS data for managers and they presented, in fact, a merging of two separate data sets. The reason for the discontinuity was a change of counting procedure introduced by the ABS in June 1986.

Prior to June 1986, the ABS used a two-tier taxonomy where Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers were the broadest classification group and consisted of:

- Administrative, Executive and Government Officials
- Employers, Workers on own Account, Directors, Managers

For June 1986 and subsequently, the ABS used a four-tier taxonomy where Managers and Administrators were the broadest classification group and consisted of:

- General Managers
- Specialist Managers
- Farmers and Farm Managers
- Managing Supervisors (sales and services)
- Managing Supervisors (other business).[39]

The difference between the count in May 1986 and the count in June 1986 was in excess of 250,000 and one of the tasks of the statisticians was to model the data so as to present a continuous time series. The method adopted was to bring the level of the first data set up to that of the second set. This was justifiable, since the second set reflected a revised and improved method of counting of work participants either called mangers or whose function was to manage.[40]

Even with inconsistencies in the methodology, these figures demonstrated the increasing popularity of management, affirming the rise of management as a vocation and its increasing prominence.

The sex of the manager was captured from August 1986 and is displayed in Figure 3.

Figure 3 Sex of Managers in Australia 1979-1993
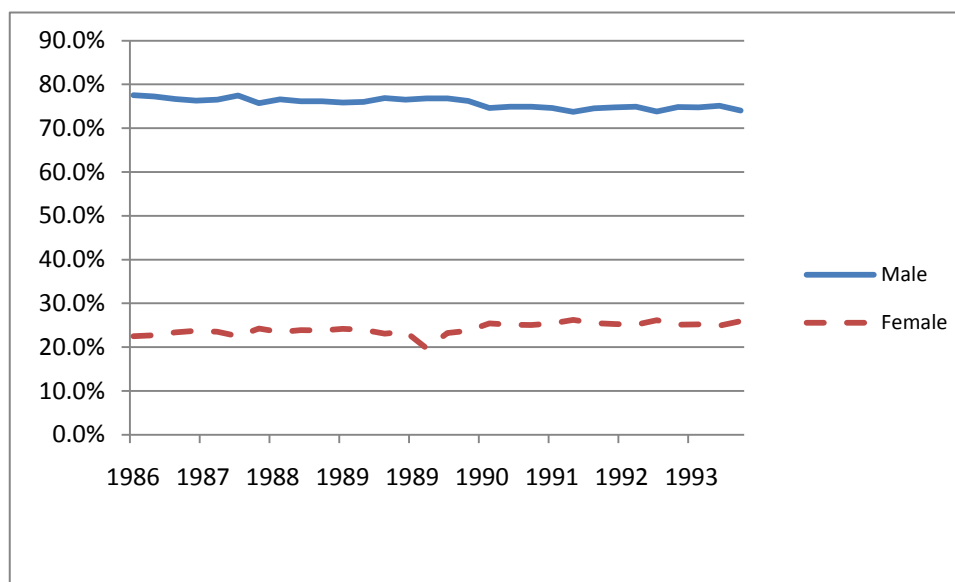
Source: Source: McCloud and Siniakis 1993, 'Trends in numbers of management students and managers 1970s-1990s'. Australian Bureau of Statistics data.

Figure 3 indicates only a very slight decrease of males and corresponding increase of females in manager roles over the seven year period extending into the 1990s.

The increased number of managers contained two further trends of relevance, supported at this time more by anecdotal than empirical evidence. The first was a tendency for the term 'manager' to be applied to less senior roles within public companies. Managers of public companies in the 1970s and earlier tended to be senior personnel at or near the top of the organisation. But in the 1980s, staff at less senior levels began increasingly to be regarded as managers. In the new millennium, people regularly differentiate between executive management, middle management and front line management, but those distinctions were not always in the common parlance. A manager now may have five or more managers above him/her with the board of directors or organisational head presiding over the 'management team'. The brief survey of the *Sydney Morning Herald* to 1974 showed some evidence of increased numbers of managers of functional areas, the emergence of assistant manager positions and consultants.

The second and related trend was a change in the language of job titles. The title of 'manager' became more popular and other titles waned in popularity. Prior to and during the 1970s, it was common for a person to hold the title of 'supervisor', 'overseer', 'foreman', 'officer-in-charge', 'senior ...', 'chief ...', 'co-ordinator', 'head ...' or 'leading ...'. But during the 1970s and thereafter those labels faded in popularity and the title 'manager' gained favour. Changes both in job labelling and description were taking place in a shift to the 'human resource movement'. Prior to the 1980s, that concept had little meaning in the Australian workforce, with 'staff and salaries' or 'personnel and payroll' being the predominant labels for functions related to the recruitment, training and remuneration of staff. The philosophical shift from employee to human resource was a profound one. 'Employee' denotes a legal relationship (stemming from the master-servant relationship), while 'human resource' implies that humans are one of many resources - capital, assets, materials, knowledge – all part of the business. The latter is a far more utilitarian concept.

The fashion of job nomenclature warrants further research. It is rare to hear of an 'overseer' or a 'head ...' but, prior to the 1980s, such titles were common. In recent years, the title of 'Director', previously reserved for company directors, has gained popularity. Arguably, the Head of Finance of the 1970s became the Finance Manager of the 1980s and the Finance Director of the 2000s. The Chief Personnel Officer of the 1970s became the Human Resource Manager of the 1980s and the Human Resource Director of the 2000s. The Salesman or Sales Representative became the Client Relations Manager and is now often advertised as a Business Development Manager. Substantial re-labelling within the workforce occurred during the 1980s.[41]

6.2.4 **The Rise of Management Education**

There have been three major federal parliamentary enquiries into the status of management education. These were the Cyert (1970), Ralph (1982) and Karpin (1995) reports. Each was intended to review the current situation and establish future directions for national policy and government action. Each was influential in promoting the importance of management education and increasing its standard and availability.

Following the Cyert Report, discussed at length in Chapter 5, a further six years passed before the founding of the Australian Graduate School of Management (AGSM) in the University of New South Wales in 1976. The AGSM became Australia's first national business school and the flagship of management education.

The AGSM

The Interim Board of Management for the school was established in 1974, with the General Manager of CSR, Gordon Jackson, appointed as Chairman. Professor Phillip Brown from the University of Western Australia was appointed as Director for a period of five years from June 1975. The *Staff List and Organizational Directory 1976* listed Professor Brown as the sole member of staff but by 1997, he had recruited a Secretary, and Admin Assistant and academic staff. The 1977 staff list is outlined in Table 26.

The naming of the school as 'management' was a departure from the American and British convention of founding 'business' schools. The University of New South Wales had earlier established a graduate school of business alongside the AGSM. The 'management' school was an addition to the university, separate and self-contained.

Its initial emphasis was on research and the doctoral program, emulating the Chicago model.[42] The staff list confirmed that three of the professors, including the Head of School were alumni of Chicago University.

In 1977, the AGSM accepted its first students, 48 MBAs and eight PhD students. It also ran three executive programs including an eight week residential program for managers, a series of short courses from three days to two weeks in duration, and the Directors Conference, introduced in 1981.

Table 26 AGSM Staff in 1977

Position	Name
Director and Chairman, Board of Studies	Philip Ronald Brown BCom *UNSW* MBA PhD *Chicago*
Admin Assistant	Matthew Percy Ross Percival BA *NSW*
Secretary to the Director	Angela Friedrich
Professors of Management	Raymond John Ball BCom *UNSW* MBA PhD *Chicago*
	Philip Ronald Brown BCom *UNSW* MBA PhD *Chicago*
	John Stringer MA *Camb*
	Howard Thomas MSc *Lond* MBA *Chicago*, PhD *Edin*
	Dianne Yerbury LLB Lond, Tech Sci *Manch* PhD *Melb*
Associate Professors	George Foster MEc *Syd* PhD *Stan*
	Phillip Yetton BA *Camb* Dip Indust Admin *Liv* MS PhD *Carnegie-Mellon*
Senior Lecturer	Robert Bryan Vermeesh, LLM *Syd*
Lecturer	David Francis Midgley BSc *Salf* MSc PhD *Brad*
Analyst Programmer	Ian Leslie John Stone BSc *NSW*
AGSM Librarian	Pamela Ann Taylor BA *Syd* Dip Lib *NSW* ALAA
Librarian	Susan Rae Hornby BA *Syd* Dip Lib *NSW* ALAA

Source: *Staff List and Organizational Directory 1977*, **University of New South Wales, Kensington.**

It offered 69 subjects plus 14 research and individual study subjects. The compulsory MBA subjects in 1982 are contained in Table 27.   The inclusions of Industrial Practices, Management in Society and Corporate Policy stand out as adaptations to the Australian context, while the notable omission is Economics.

Table 27   AGSM Compulsory Subjects

Number	Name
85.101G	Accounting Information
85.131G	Price Theory and its Applications
85.211G	Business Law
85.301G	Human Behaviour in Organizations
85.401G	Industrial Practices
85.501G	Marketing Concepts and Strategy
85.601G	Quantitative Methods
85.612G	Operations Management
85.713G	Management in Society
85.715G	Corporate Policy

Source: *AGSM 1982 Handbook*, University of New South Wales, Kensington.

The impact of the AGSM on management education and broader management practice during the 1970s was limited for a number of reasons. It operated for only three years in the decade, so the numbers of students and graduates either on degree or executive programs was limited. There was also some criticism of the curricula being overly mathematical and academic, rather than practical.[43]

Management education remained in its early stages and it was not until the 1980s that Australian universities embraced the *management rush*.

The Ralph Report

The Ralph Report was commissioned by the federal Minister for Education in April, 1980 and was headed by John Ralph, a senior executive. Its mandate was to examine the availability of management education for middle and top management; assess the effectiveness of such courses; examine the issue of self-supporting funding; examine the special needs of small business; and make recommendations to the Tertiary Education Committee in respect of the general nature and availability of courses in management education.

The report noted the dramatic expansion of management education that had occurred since the Cyert Report. A total of 13 universities and 26 colleges of advanced education offered at least

49 management programs. The Ralph Report proposed a framework of national schools and regional schools as a way of organising university management education. It recommended that a second national school be established at the University of Melbourne and that the MBA offered by Deakin be scaled back to a post graduate diploma. The Deakin MBA was the only external MBA program in Australia at the time.

The report defined a manager as:

> "a person whose major role is to carry out the tasks of the organisation through other people, for whose work he is accountable."[44]

Amongst the Report's assertions was the following statement of the importance of managers and management education:

> "The reason for public concern about the capabilities of managers, whether in the private or public sector, lies in the effect that decisions taken by those managers have on the economic performance and the resultant standard of living of the whole country. The creation of national wealth depends on the productive deployment of the available natural resources, human resources and capital ... management education is an important component in the long-term improvement of management performance."[45]

The University of Melbourne opened the second national management school, called the Melbourne Business School, but the other recommendations were not implemented.[46]

During this period, management education expanded markedly, particularly from 1970 onwards. While private sector providers like the Australian Institute of Management and the Australian Administrative Staff College had played a significant role in management education, the universities established their role as the leaders in this area with flagship national business schools at the Universities of New South Wales and Melbourne. As traditional institutions of research and knowledge, the universities offered managers both intellectual tools and academic credibility. Perhaps most importantly, they assisted the professionalisation of management in both real and symbolic senses. Extensive programs, like the MBA, provided students with analytical tools, case studies and methods of problem solving from local and overseas sources.

The number of MBA providers between 1967 and 1990 is contained in Table 28 as follows:

Table 28   Number of MBA Providers 1967-1990

Year	Number	Year	Number
1967	3	1979	10
1968	4	1980	12
1969	5	1981	14
1970	5	1982	15
1971	5	1983	15
1972	7	1984	15
1973	8	1985	15
1974	8	1986	16
1975	8	1987	17
1976	8	1988	17
1977	10	1989	23
1978	10	1990	29

Source: *Enterprising Nation* **(The Karpin Report) 1995, Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.**

The data illustrate the trend of expansion in management education during the period.

McCloud and Siniakis also undertook an examination of business course higher education data to determine existing enrolment trends and make forecasts about future levels of management education.   The higher education data also presented some problems of discontinuity. They found that between 1979 and 1993, the number of higher degree business students increased by 403% from 2,504 to 12,590. The growth in enrolments was steady during the 1980s but sharply increased in the early 1990s. Females accounted for 25% of the total masters by coursework students in 1988 and 29% in 1993, indicating a moderate increase.

The data for other than higher degree business student numbers and bachelor degree business student numbers showed growth between 1979 and 1993. In the case of the former, business student enrolments increased from 47,583 in 1979 to 107,490 in 1993. The growth slowed after 1991. In the case of the latter, between 1979 and 1993 the number of bachelor business

students increased from 38,940 to 95,678. The fastest growth occurred between 1987 and 1991, tapering off thereafter.[47]

During the 1980s, the universities embraced the *management rush*, establishing programs and increasing enrolments. Management gained popularity both as a vocation and a field of tertiary education. The business school provided business with something it had lacked for some time - intellectual credibility through systematic learning. It raised the businessman to a higher level akin to other aspiring 'professions' that required a university qualification. But unlike the health 'professions' and teaching, a manager only required a promotion or a change of title to practice, not a degree.

The newly-acquired 'professionalism' and perceived higher status of management assisted management consultants to promote their expensive advice. The tradition of the 'servants of power'[48] opened a new chapter.

6.2.5 The Rise of Management Consulting[49]

As stated in the previous chapter, during the 1960s and 1970s, the major international accounting houses such as Arthur Andersen, Coopers & Lybrand, Ernst & Winney, Price Waterhouse, Arthur Young and Peat Marwick established management consulting arms to their businesses. During the 1970's the role of management consultants began to shift from shop floor and labour management issues to a broader range of boardroom concerns. While some of those companies had clear links to the USA, others, like Price Waterhouse, had clear links to Britain.[50] KPMG had origins in the Netherlands, Great Britain, Germany and the USA.[51] Prior to the 1980s, a number of local and international management consulting companies including Andersen Consulting, Coopers & Lybrand, Ernst & Whinney, Arthur Young, KPMG, McKinsey & Company, PA Consulting, Price Waterhouse, WD Scott & Co. occupied positions in the Australian management consulting industry.

During the 1980s the Australian management consulting industry grew dramatically. Wright estimated that its revenues grew from less than $90 million to over $1.3 billion. This occurred partly because of fundamental economic changes such as de-regulation, partly because of the advance of information technology and, importantly, because of the need for advice as to how to survive the various environmental changes occurring for businesses. The large consulting firms marketed themselves, justifiably or otherwise, as experienced change managers.[52]

Their overseas connections and reputations were particularly valuable as Australian businesses were forced to become more competitive both nationally and internationally. The

management consulting industry of the USA was established earlier than its Australian counterpart, so were the USA's business schools and the management education industry. Consequently, there was a body of knowledge, practice and English-language discourse available and ready to be disseminated in the Australian context. But the USA was only one source of management consulting and education practice as, by the 1980s, both those industries were operating with international networks. Table 29 shows the consultant numbers and revenue for the 10 largest management consulting firms in 1985.[53]

Table 29   **Leading Australian Management Consultancy Firms, 1985**

Consulting Firm	No. of Consultants	Annual Billings
PA Australia	165	$21 m
Coopers & Lybrand/ W.D. Scott	165	$19 m
Price Waterhouse/ Urwick	140	$15 m
Arthur Andersen	120	$12 m
Peat, Marwick & Mitchell Services	80	$12 m
Touche Ross Services	80	$8 m
IBIS/ Deloitte, Haskins & Sells	65	$6 m
McKinsey & Co.	25	$5 m
Arthur Young Services	40	$4 m
Pappas, Carter, Evans & Koop	16	$2 m

Source: Wright, C. 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom: The Historical Evolution of Australian Management Consulting, 1940s to 1980s', *Business History*, Jan 2000 volume 42 issue 1 p 100.

The range of services offered by large and small management consultants diversified. As happened overseas, Australian management consulting became increasingly segmented between the consulting divisions of the large accounting firms, executive and strategy consultants such as McKinseys, and a diverse range of smaller specialist consultants in areas such as human resource management and organisational change. Given their larger client bases, as well as the significant overseas resources of their parent companies, the consulting divisions of the accounting majors became increasingly dominant not only in information technology and computers, but also in 'general' consulting areas such as production and

financial control, organisational efficiency, marketing and personnel. The accounting firms also made in-roads into the public sector, providing advice on a growing range of public policy areas. In a series of take-overs and mergers during the early and mid-1980s, the 'Big Nine' became the 'Big Eight'. W.D. Scott merged with Coopers & Lybrand, and Price Waterhouse added Urwick International to its growing management services division.

By the late 1980s, the 'Big Eight' had become the 'Big Six' and were estimated to account for 20% of an Australian management consulting market with an annual turnover of $1.3 billion. These estimates imply that the total management consulting market was in the order of $6.5 billion with small and medium consultants capturing a market share of 80%.

Wright summarized:

"While the management consulting industry continued to undergo major structural change through the arrival of new entrants and the merger of existing companies, in general the contemporary structure of the industry had been established based around a small core of large global consulting firms, and a growing periphery of small, specialist providers."[54]

The basic structure of the industry established in the 1980s remains today.

6.2.6 Journals and Publications

This period saw the publication of a number of important Australian management journals and publications. Table 30 presents the number of new periodicals published in Australia, many with either the word 'manager' or 'management' in the title.[55] It shows the growth of new periodicals during the 1980s following lower levels of new publications during the 1960s and 1970s.

Table 30   New Australian Management Periodicals 1910-1989

Decade	New Periodicals	Decade	New Periodicals
1980s	16	1930s	0
1970s	6	1920s	2
1960s	4	1910s	2
1950s	4	Total	41
1940s	8		

Source: Macquarie University Catalogue and other sources.

The new publications for the period 1971-1989 are contained in Table 31.

Table 31   <u>**Australian Management Periodicals 1971-1989**</u>

Year	Publication	Location
1975	Management forum	Armidale
1976	Australian journal of management	Sydney
1976	Technical paper (CSIRO Division of Land Resources Management)	Melbourne
1978	Land resources management report /Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, Australia.	Nedlands
1978	Land resources management technical paper.	Melbourne
1982	Land resources management /divisional report from the CSIRO Division of Land Resources Management.	Wembley
1982	Water management series /Australian Water Resources Council	Canberra
1983	Technical report series /Field Management Branch.	Melbourne
1984	Macquarie University Labour-Management Studies Program	North Ryde
1984	International journal of management	Geelong
1984	Western Australian wildlife management programme	Perth
1984	Range management newsletter / The Australian Rangeland Society	Kalgoorlie
1985	Australian journal of emergency management	Mt. Macedon
1985	Working paper series (Australian Centre in Strategic Management)	Brisbane
1985	Women in management series	Kingswood
1986	AIM / Australian Institute of Management	North Sydney
1986	Working paper (Queensland Institute of Technology. School of Management)	Brisbane
1987	Money management	Chatswood
1987	Streamlining: personnel management	Canberra

1988	Working paper series (Queensland University of Technology. Key Centre in Strategic Management)	Brisbane
1989	Waste management and environment	Balmain

Source: Macquarie University Catalogue and other sources.

The Australian Manager

The Australian Manager by William Byrt and Peter Masters in 1974 was a landmark publication. It provided the first comprehensive digest of management for the Australian context. The first edition pre-dated the AGSM while the revised edition was released the same year as the Ralph Report. It showed Australian management in transition.

These authors provided some thought-provoking comments by describing Australian managers as:

> "... dependent on government; lacking in boldness and initiative; dependent on overseas sources for capital, ideas and techniques; reasonably but not highly educated; masculine in fact and outlook; conservative; fearful of radicalism in economics and politics; egalitarian socially and at work; practical; pragmatic; opportunists rather than planners; non-intellectual and some are anti-intellectual; interested in leisure, social activity and family; critical of politicians and holders of formal authority; versatile; materialist; non-aggressive; manipulative in managerial style; low in Machiavellian characteristics."[56]

The revised edition of *The Australian Manager* (1982), however, did not include these remarks and there was no explanation offered as to why they were not repeated, nor a substitute description proffered.[57]

Byrt and Masters defined their view of management and managers at the time, describing an 'ideal type' of manager.

> "The ideal manager, then:
> - formulates strategy,
> - implements strategy,
> - makes decisions,
> - organises people,
> - manages people, and
> - carries out professional, technical or operative work.

In order to carry out these functions he or she may forecast, plan, organise, command, co-ordinate or control."[58]

Thus they saw the manager in a similar manner to Henri Fayol, but with the important difference of carrying out professional, technical or operative work. Managers were working in both generalist and specialist roles.

Byrt and Masters also recognised the varying practices in job nomenclature:

"In Australia, the managers of organizations may be designated managers or executives. They carry titles ranging from, at the top, Chief Executive or Managing Director, Divisional Manager, Marketing, Production or Finance Manager, Superintendent, Supervisor to Leading Hand."[59]

But, most importantly, they argued that these people *really were* managers, irrespective of their title, because of the functions they performed. The transformation of thought and language was underway.

The Australian Manager clearly stated that management was not a profession, in the sense that the law is a profession, and argued that Australian managers do not form a political class, critiquing Chandler and other proponents of a 'managerial class'. It articulated the job of the manager as occurring at the institutional level and the technical level.[60] The book canvassed the organisation, systems theory, human resource management, industrial relations and manager education. The final chapter entitled, 'The Future Manager', outlined Australia's unique resources position, the continuing rise of big business through takeovers, the changing values within Australian society, the 'cult of self', fragmentation of markets, and a generally turbulent environment. It included both domestic and overseas theory, research and examples.

The textbooks for management students were typically American prior to 1990. From the mid 1980s, some publications were crafted as an Australian edition of an American text[61] while other Australian academic authors took up the task of defining 'Australian management' and 'management in Australia' from an early point.[62] The 1990s would see management education using a much higher proportion of locally-generated content.

The 1970s and 1980s were a seminal period in the development of management discourse, with various journals and monographs building a local body of research and discussion. These were supplemented by articles in local trade and other publications focusing on the role of management.

6.2.7 **The Rise of Management Rhetoric**

If the function of language is to describe experience - of people, objects and events - then as experience changes, so too will language. The events of World War II changed experience, particularly the application of nuclear power and, after the war, the fear of communism. Language changed with the experience of these events. The words nuclear and atomic became familiar and a reference to 'the bomb' could only mean the atomic bomb, symbolized by a mushroom cloud. The rise of management education and the rapid growth of management consulting in the 1980s did much to change the language of business.

At a time when the old economy was passing away and a new economy was emerging, there were significant conceptual and language changes in business and the public domain. Much of it was *talk*; *talk* that was very important in re-defining experience. The 1980s was rife with *talk* - about competition, productivity, efficiency, sustainability and effectiveness. Economic rationalism became the prevailing *ethos* for government policy, resulting in the beginning of an overlap of political and business language that became a permanent merger. The Hawke-Keating government seemingly abandoned Labor's traditional fight against corporations and embraced business leaders as friends. As economics became the main game, the language of economics and business began to permeate public discourse.[63] The language of management followed the language of economics.[64]

The leading business schools had more than 20 subjects to teach. They ranged from economics to finance to marketing to accounting to human resource management. Each of these subjects set forth its doctrines, its key concepts, and its jargon. The subjects borrowed heavily from overseas studies and from other disciplines such as economics, psychology and sociology.

Management became both the *techne* and the *rhetoric* of business. *Techne* is the method, skill, craft or practice and *rhetoric* is the art of persuasion. Management or business administration education was clearly focused on the methods of administering businesses in various industries. Management education and consulting were rife with persuasion as to their importance, their value, their necessity.[65]

6.2.8 **Australian Managers' Values**

Study of the differences between societies and cultures is as old as comparative history, but the articulation and study of differences in values developed considerably during the 1960s and 1970s when researchers in the field of psychology began to explore areas formerly

studied by historians, anthropologists and sociologists. Research interest in the values of managers strengthened during the 1970s when G. W. England undertook a study of private sector managers comparing American, Australian, Japanese, Korean, and Indian counterparts.[66]

While culture is generally regarded as a broader and more diverse concept, values have been conceptualised as thematic, underlying, durable elements. They are considered to be more stable than attitudes, more independent than beliefs and as a relatively permanent perceptual framework which shapes and influences behaviour.[67] Researchers have been primarily interested in defining differences that exist when various cultural or social groups are measured.[68]

G. W. England concluded that Australian managers were relatively higher in humanistic values such as loyalty, tolerance and employee welfare; skill, ability, efficiency, productivity and achievement; but low in leadership; organisational growth; profit orientation; risk; competitiveness; and conflict, force and prejudice. Overall, Australian managers scored relatively high as moralists (idealists) but low in terms of pragmatism and very low on an emotional dimension. Compared to American managers, Australian managers were more moralistic and humanistic than pragmatic; and less concerned with organisational growth, profit maximization, achievement and competition. Australian managers in the 1970's appeared to be idealistic and humanitarian rather than exploitative and pragmatic compared to their international counterparts.[69]

Hofstede conducted an immense research project using 116,000 questionnaires with over 60,000 respondents, comparing IBM employees in 40 countries on the dimensions of 'power distance', 'individualism', 'uncertainty avoidance', and 'masculinity/femininity'. Australian IBM employees were found to be typically low in 'power distance' and very high in 'individualism' with a lower than average 'uncertainty avoidance' and higher than average 'masculinity'. Consequently, Australian IBM employees could be described as individualistic egalitarians.[70]

In 1980, Spillane replicated Walker's 1959 survey of attitudes among business executives and trade union leaders towards causes of industrial conflict. [71] Walker had found that both groups tended to attribute conflict to external events such as legal and economic factors. But in the follow-up study, Spillane found that while economic issues remained important, the emphasis had shifted to psychological factors. Managers attributed industrial conflict to greed, lack of co-operation and poor team spirit among employees, while union leaders blamed the autocratic, selfish and unco-operative attitudes of management.[72] While Spillane

concluded that the findings were consistent with the dominant value of individualism, they illustrated a tendency for managers to psychologise industrial conflict and to attribute causality to factors within the individual in addition to factors outside the individual.

Lansbury and Spillane referred to a survey conducted by McNair Anderson Associates for Sentry Holdings Limited in 1978 where 420 Australian managers were questioned about their social and industrial attitudes. Although the managers supported the principle of involving employees in job-related decisions, they saw little likelihood of improvement in industrial relations and could suggest little other than better communication to improve the situation. A follow-up study in 1981 compared Australian managers with their counterparts in the USA, the UK and Japan. It showed Australians to be less concerned about declining productivity, more satisfied with the nation's economic performance and less willing to make sacrifices in their lifestyle to achieve economic growth.[73]

6.2.9 The Transformation of Business[74]

Responding to the turbulent conditions of the 1980s, businesses embarked on paths of transformation to varying degrees across industries and sectors. In 1989, Dexter Dunphy and Sam Stace conducted research in 13 companies operating in the service sector, examining changes in business strategies and structures that occurred during the 1980s. They constructed case studies and published their findings in *Under New Management*.[75] In 1989, CCH Australia (CCH) conducted a survey of 545 public and private sector organisations, reporting that 58% of responding organisations had changed their fundamental mission within the past two years. 65% had made significant changes to their business strategy and 62% had made changes to their corporate goals and objectives. These fundamental or strategic changes indicated realignment or repositioning the organisation with its environment.[76]

CCH also reported that 40% of organisations had made major structural changes within the past year while 65% had made such changes within the past two years. Re-structuring took the form of divisional structures, flatter organisations or radical devolution.[77] The report found that companies making structural changes were likely to conduct surveys of employees' values and beliefs, hence seeking some measurement of attitudes or culture.[78]

The CCH survey also demonstrated a demand for increased performance. 71% of responding companies indicated that their business activities were expanding while only 39% reported that they were expanding their workforce. 5% reported reduced business activities while 18% were reducing their workforce.

Prior to the 1980s, recruitment, personnel, payroll and training were largely seen as independent operational requirements. They rarely operated in a co-ordinated manner or within a single personnel department. While there was considerable management literature and consulting expertise on how to develop strategy or implement sizeable organisation restructuring, little attention was paid to developing methods to implement change or involve the typical personnel functions.

During the 1970s, the newly forming academic field of strategic management began to address this problem, becoming interested in strategy development and implementation. Early writers sought to bring together previously disparate literature on strategy, organisation development, personnel management and general management. In the workplace, the synthesis of strategic management and personnel functions resulted in the formation of human resource departments whose activities began to be linked to strategic plans. In Australia, the mining industry led the recognition to incorporate human resource management plans in business strategies. In creating new organisations and communities, often in remote areas, it designed detailed human resource plans in conjunction with other plans to establish mining operations.[79]

The 1980s saw important changes to the management of company workforces. Early in the decade, organisations began to demolish the centralized bureaucratic personnel divisions. During the late 1980s company management began to devolve these functions to line managers at business and divisional unit levels.[80]

The pressures of the 1980s produced radical changes in many businesses and industries. These are well illustrated by examples from the transport and finance industries, both of which were subject to government de-regulation.

In the transport industry, the federal government mooted privatisation of its airline and de-regulation of the air transport industry. In 1986 it flagged that the 'two airline policy' would end in 1990. The same year the management of TAA developed a strategic plan. Its intentions included targeting the high-yield business market and proposing a name change to 'Australian Airlines'. TAA management also formulated strategies to implement the strategic changes including human resource and communication strategies. In a rapid transition, 1987-8 became the most successful year in the organisation's history.[81]

Macquarie Bank, a financial organisation based in Sydney, emerged from the former Hill Samuel Australia to become a highly successful organisation during the 1980s and beyond. From the domain of merchant banking, it established Australia's first cash management trust

in 1980, then, with the de-regulation opportunities of the 1980s, diversified into specialist markets such as foreign exchange, bullion and commodities. In the mid 1980s it ventured into retail domestic banking, equity investments, stockbroking and leasing. Growth occurred principally by development with some acquisitions in specific areas.[82] Macquarie's organisational development path was a series of steps pursuing growth by diversification.

Westpac Bank was formed in 1982 with the merger of two of Australia's oldest banks, the Bank of New South Wales and the Commercial Bank of Australia Limited to form Australia's largest financial institution. The structure of the bank moved to a product-based divisional structure and the renaming was accompanied by a market re-positioning. An organisational development intervention by Canadian consultant W. J. Reddin guided implementation of the merger. It focussed on managers, emphasising team building, goal setting and appraisal, and management development programs. A second wave of change occurred from 1983 to 1987 when Westpac diversified into related financial services markets by developing business in profitable niche markets (e.g. life insurance) and acquiring service companies (e.g. Mase Westpac (bullion), Westpac Merchant Finance (New Zealand capital markets and corporate banking), Ord Minnett (stockmarket, futures), Westpac Pollock (USA primary dealer), AGC Ltd. (finance) and Partnership Pacific Ltd. (merchant banking). As a consequence, Westpac expanded domestically and internationally, attempting to operate increasingly in a global market.

Australian business became more efficient and competitive both domestically and internationally during the 1980s. Companies were forced to take risks or respond to competitive pressures. In the process they embarked on often radical changes in strategy and operations such as corporate re-structuring, entering new markets, scything unprofitable business units and products, re-locating production facilities interstate or overseas, takeovers and mergers. The focus on management was intense. Both the senior managers of companies and the management practice throughout the organisation were under immense pressure to perform, particularly in the private sector. In some ways, business faced the perennial problems of survival and profitability, but regulatory changes lowered tariff walls and brought international competition. By the end of the decade, business was transformed and it had learned that further changes would occur in the years ahead.

6.2.10 Prominent Managers

Fred Emery, Dexter Dunphy and Sam Stace

During the early 1970s, a new breed of academic consultants emerged under the banner of the Organisational Development movement. A small group of consulting academics promoted and introduced a range of workplace reforms based on overseas theories of human relations and socio-technical systems. The Australian interventions centered on the ideal of increasing employee participation in organisational decision making. Amongst these consultants were Fred Emery, a pioneer in the area of socio-technical systems with over 10 years' experience with the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London and Dexter Dunphy, head of the Department of Behavioural Science at the University of New South Wales. These men were advocates of work re-organisation and employee participation techniques such as joint consultative committees, employee attitude surveys, communications workshops and semi-autonomous work groups. Their innovation was a departure from typical analytic approaches seeking to increase employee efficiency or decrease unit labour costs. Their approach can be regarded as a forerunner to later development of a more strategic approach to human resource management, which linked personnel issues to broader business and investment strategies. They continued their consulting careers throughout the 1980s developing organisations as human systems.[83]

In *Under New Management*,[84] Dexter Dunphy and Sam Stace outlined the changing demands of the 1980s economic environment, the business strategies chosen to succeed in that environment, the organisational changes required to implement business strategies and the human resource strategies and practices needed to implement organisational change.

As much as this was a means of disseminating research findings, it was also the foundation of a new Australian tradition of management discourse. Following on from Peter Drucker's *Age of Discontinuity*, they characterized the 1980s as an age of corporate change.

The two authors articulated a situational model of organisational change strategies, developing four types of change across two axes – scale of change and style of change management. They supported their typologies of Participative Evolution, Charismatic Transformation, Forced Evolution and Dictatorial Transformation with local case studies.

They subsequently established the Centre for Corporate Change, conducting research, publishing papers and consulting with organisations until December 2006. While the closure of the centre coincided with the sunset of the academic careers its founders, it also signalled that corporate change programs had become an integral part of business operations.

<u>**Corporate Cowboys**</u>

The 1980s was an era of monumental collapses for some 'corporate cowboys', notably Alan Bond and Christopher Skase, whose exploits in business first led to fame and then to infamy. For Bond, the defining event was the 1987 financial crisis during which the Australian stock exchange index dropped 25% on 20 October and then declined by a similar amount the following month so that it effectively shed 50% of its value in six weeks. Subsequently, Bond Corporation announced a record $US980 million loss before going into receivership. Overall debt for the company at the time was around $US10 billion, with sales of around $US9.5 billion.[85] The collapse of the company was Australia's largest ever business failure. Two years later in 1989, Skase's flagship company, Quintrex, went into receivership, unable to pay its creditors. The following year Skase left Australia and took up residence in Majorca in Spain, where he successfully avoided attempts to extradite him to Australia until his death in 2001.[86] Both these entrepreneurs had pursued a path of large-scale acquisitions and asset sales to generate cash in the short term, but were unable to maintain positive cash flow in the longer term.

Questionable lending practices of the banks were exposed causing scrutiny of the regulation of large-scale acquisitions and mergers. These failures had a subsequent impact on the banks' lending policies and liquidity. The Westpac bank was particularly damaged and almost became a secondary casualty, taking a number of years to repair its balance sheets. The former Bank of New South Wales had survived the various recessions of the 1800s, the crash of the 1890s and the 1929 depression. But its relationship with Alan Bond nearly ended its long history.

6.3   Chapter Summary

The rise of the salaried manager was one of the significant events in Australian history. During the 1970s, salaried managers occupied the chair and other seats in the boardroom because of their technical and managerial skills as salaried employees rather than because of their share holding. Private sector big businesses were owned by public companies rather than wealthy individuals and the public company was regarded as the epitome of private enterprise. But the academic discipline of management was practically unknown in Australia in 1970.

The rise of big business, a sound manufacturing base, the consolidation of mass consumer markets and the influence of international networks triggered the *management rush* during a period of significant social and economic change. The Hawke-Keating government promoted

de-regulation, competition and performance, overturning the old order of protectionism and regulation. It implemented policy and legislative changes in trade, foreign competition, industrial relations, the financial markets, companies and media ownership. As national advertising and marketing channels developed, businesses seized opportunities to increase their scale by entering other cities, regions, states and territories. Companies increasingly operated on a national scale across a broader range of consumer goods and raised capital to fund larger marketing, production and distribution operations. Firms grew through acquisitions, mergers and the construction of new facilities. Most importantly, business adopted and invested in the institutions of management education, consulting and discourse.

During the 1980s, the number of managers increased markedly. Managers displaced former positions such as officers-in-charge, superintendents, chiefs, heads, governors, supervisors, foremen and leading hands. The management education industry flourished during the 1980s as the number of MBA providers more than doubled and bachelor and higher degree enrolments increased. The management consulting industry grew dramatically with revenues increasing by a factor of 10 or more. This was largely due to fundamental economic changes such as de-regulation and advances in information technology which propelled businesses into programs of radical change. Management consultants not only played a significant role in transforming the shape and performance of businesses, but also were instrumental in promoting and expanding the language of business. Continuing as part of an international industry, they played an important role in the diffusion and exchange of management ideas. The 1970s and 1980s were a seminal period in the development of management discourse in Australia, with journals and monographs building a local body of research and stimulating discussion.

While the rise of the salaried manager had occurred over a period of some 170 years, the *management rush* occurred within a decade.[87] It was a linguistic and conceptual revolution that produced a change of consciousness as the language of management quickly permeated business. The titles of positions changed and students emerged from new business schools with academic qualifications. Management consultants provided their analysis, options and solutions to company executives, collaborating on business strategy. The language of management dominated the workplace. Management education, consulting and discourse were adopted widely in the workplace, transforming business.

CHAPTER 7: MANAGEMENT DOMINATES

7.1   Introduction

7.1.1 Re-Structures, Strategic Plans, PCs and Management

The *management rush* of the 1980s ushered in the rule of management in Australia through the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. Economic and management agendas dominated Australian political and public discourse, management schools increased their enrolments, and management consultants continued to prosper. The theory and case studies of business schools became the practice of big and medium-sized business.[1] Managers applied the techniques of strategic planning, financial management, human resource management, marketing and organisational studies. Management consulting firms worked with medium to large companies to re-shape their businesses with re-structures and strategic plans and the rhetoric of management abounded. The workplace became awash with 'best practice', 'benchmarking', 'strategic planning', 're-structures', 'business process re-engineering', and 'quality management' as it was transformed by projects to make it more efficient, more productive, more profitable, more contemporary.

Technology was pivotal in the process, with computer and communication technologies frequently applied to business problems. As a consequence, both the workplace and the broader society became saturated with information and more fragmented. While technology was prominent in transforming the productivity of organisations, a focus on performance-based remuneration was also important.[2] Recessions and downturns occurred between October 1987 and 1993, forcing businesses to focus intensely on bottom line, reducing staff numbers, salaries and costs simply to survive. Focus on money and productivity resulted in wider adoption of performance-based remuneration.[3] While strategic planning, re-structures and business improvement projects led the heady cycle of reformation, performance targets kept workers keenly focused on the immediate and the tangible, *viz*. money. Productivity and performance were the foremost priorities for management during the early 1990s.

While television remained the prime source of news, entertainment and advertising, the PC penetrated the workforce, the university, the school and the home. PC networks grew bigger and then connected to the internet, joining the television as the second principal means of

obtaining information and entertainment from the broader world. Australians embraced both the PC and mobile phones rapidly.

In a context where economic survival, technological change and productivity were central to business, management assumed a pivotal role. Large and medium sized organisations needed expansive and comprehensive methods to plan and control activities. They required a language to communicate both internally and externally about marketing, finance and operations. Growing management education and consulting industries provided that language and thousands of business students and employees willingly learnt it. The number of managers in the workforce increased further, and management discourse pervaded public discourse. Management became the language of business and then permeated the broader society.

7.2 The Market Economy Prevails

Throughout the 1990s, the US economy remained the largest of the world's economies by a considerable margin. For a time, the Japanese economy looked like it might usurp that of the USA, but it faltered and went into recession early in the decade.[4] The USA continued to consume an inordinate amount of the world's resources, including borrowed money, and its big companies took opportunities to participate in foreign markets. Information technology and its accompanying expertise became a critical export for the USA. While the USA remained the dominant military and economic power, attention was increasingly being paid to two more populous nations, China and India, whose economies were developing rapidly along an industrial path.

The early 1990s continued the Hawke-Keating economic reform agenda. In the United Kingdom, the Tory party held power, and in the USA, the Republican party until 1992. During the decade, all three countries implemented economic governance policies based on neo-classical economic principles and economic rationalism and all three governments were defeated at the ballot box.[5] As in the previous decade, market forces, not governments, were seen as solutions to economic and even social problems. Governments of advanced economies had switched to regulating interest rates and were imposing broad-based tax regimes across company earnings, wages, salary, fringe benefits, fuel excise, transactions, goods and services. The doctrine of smaller government became popular as state instrumentalities were privatised, corporatised and de-regulated.[6] In the 1980s economics, business and management were the keys to economic survival but in the 1990s they formed a trinity of prosperity.

Prior to its electoral defeat in March 1996, the Keating government introduced a Superannuation Guarantee requiring all employees to pay into superannuation schemes. One effect of this policy was to redress a worrying decline in personal savings.[7] Over time, the Superannuation Guarantee provided superannuation fund investors with a growing pool of money to invest in shares and other capital markets, thus allying fears of an Australian recession triggered by a lack of capital.[8] Increased levels of investment capital stimulated the stock market, both in raising the demand for blue chip stocks and increasing interest in more speculative businesses, notably in information technology and bio-tech industries.

The Howard-Costello Liberal/National Party coalition government replaced the Keating-Dawkins Labor government in 1996 and strengthened the 'new economy', espousing doctrines of GDP growth and economic prosperity above social and environmental values.[9] They too promoted a return to smaller government, but a more conservative morality with less tolerance.

The new government demonstrated many similarities compared to its predecessor,[10] but it differed in extending the principles of capitalism further into social policy, challenging the women's movement, aborigines, ethnic groups, the unemployed, and other groups seeking greater participation in society, by removing or reducing their funding.[11] A more conservative and fearful political agenda was further pressed by the 'shock jocks' of talkback radio, a procession of public personalities, professing righteous indignation over government ineptitude, corporate 'steamrolling' and 'dole cheats'. Their voices, reading prepared scripts laced with emotive language from early in the morning, became the barometer of public opinion, dutifully monitored by state and federal politicians.[12] Conservatism and fear built upon each other, within the government's flagship agenda of conservative economic management.

The Howard-Costello government was returned to office in 2003 with an increased majority in the lower house and an outright majority in the upper house. With an unexpected and fortified power base, it set about reforming the industrial relations legislative framework. For most of the twentieth century, the states had regulated both companies and industrial relations. The Hawke government had reformed the former using Commonwealth legislation and had effectively ended central arbitration. Now the Howard government set about further reforming industrial relations, shifting the balance of power towards the employer, in both employment contracts and dismissal rights.

As the new millennium decade moved into 2007, evidence of a change in public attitudes became clearer in Australia and other English-speaking nations. In the UK context of

declining credibility and popularity, Tony Blair handed over the Prime Ministership to Gordon Brown in June 2007. The Howard government was soundly defeated at the election of October 2007 and the Prime Minister lost his seat. In the USA, President Bush's popularity sunk to all-time lows and the leading Democrat Presidential candidates were a woman and an African-American man. During the same month, the US economy faltered and a year later it was in crisis. In January, 2009 President Obama was sworn into office following a landslide victory and immediately took action to stabilise the American financial system and rescue the US economy. After a campaign that delivered hope to a besieged nation, decisive economic intervention was needed.

7.2.1 **The New Economy**

The great challenge for economists was to overcome the boom-bust cycle that had prevailed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[13] During the 1990s, government economic policy continued to converge on neo-conservative settings in the USA, the United Kingdom, Australia and other modern democratic countries.[14] The cornerstone of the 'new economy' was the use of market forces rather than government intervention or judicial arbitration. The effect of these policies was to reduce the scope of responsibility for government. The 'new economy' also constituted a form of self-conscious economic management.

Privatisation, corporatisation, and de-regulation were applied to government railways, utilities, facilities, financial services and media ownership.[15] The confines of government regulation were loosened, if not abandoned, as market forces were applied to enhance competition, efficiency and performance. Regulation was removed in trade, tariffs, money markets and foreign investment as the federal and state governments implemented their economic management agenda. Business in Australia was given what it had always preferred, less government regulation and interference, reduced union power and a limited arbitration commission, allowing business to expand, grow and generate profit for its shareholders.

The scale of business in Australia compared to the USA or the UK remained much smaller, but the trend towards smaller government was very similar. The Howard-Costello government continued the Hawke-Keating initiatives of the 1980s, but went further to remove the brakes of government, the union movement and the arbitration system from the wheels of industry. Howard had launched his 2004 campaign, asserting his party's superior economic credentials.[16]

As Table 32 indicates, in GDP terms,[17] the decade began quietly in Australia with a recession early on, but from that point it steadily surged ahead. The early 1990s provided tough conditions for business, with re-structures, sackings and redundancies common.

Table 32   Australian Gross Domestic Product 1990 - 2006

Year	$ millions	% Increase	Year	$ millions	% Increase
1990	408,849	-	1999	645,058	6.14%
1991	417,028	2.00%	2000	689,262	6.85%
1992	438,097	5.05%	2001	735,714	6.74%
1993	460,133	5.03%	2002	781,675	6.25%
1994	486,607	5.75%	2003	841,351	7.63%
1995	518,144	6.48%	2004	897,642	6.69%
1996	545,698	5.32%	2005	967,454	7.78%
1997	577,373	5.80%	2006	1,046,365	8.16%
1998	607,759	5.26%			

Source: http://www.oecd.org   Accessed 21/04/2008.

The Australian stock market attracted increased volumes of capital invested in public listed companies, with a surge of money after 2000, as Table 33 shows. Within seven years the ASX doubled in size, having taken around 14 years to achieve the previous doubling.

As business grew bigger so did management. Management capability was at the centre of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, and the 2003 Rugby Union World Cup, both hosted in Australia. As the scale and scope of projects and business increased, so did management capability in Australia.

Table 33   ASX All Ordinaries Index 1,000 Point Milestones 1985 - 2007

Year	Index Points	Years to gain 1,000 points
1985	1,000	>20
1987	2,000	2
2000	3,000	13
2005	4,000	5
2006	5,000	1
2007	6,000	1

Source: ASX 2008, 'Australian Share Price Movements',

http://www.asx.com.au/products/pdf/share_price_movements.pdf Accessed 10/10/2009.

7.2.2 Privatisation and Corporatisation

The Australian government applied a market economy *ethos* to its instrumentalities through privatisation and corporatisation. The Commonwealth and State governments created an impressive list of authorities that were removed from public regulation and re-positioned in the marketplace. Any authority that raised revenue was a candidate, but the main targets were telecommunications, utilities (electricity, gas and water) and transport (airlines, railways and couriers).[18] Government was re-invented[19] as a market entity, a service provider with revenue opportunities and stakeholders. Wherever possible, competition was introduced to promote efficiency.

The impacts of these market-based policies were seen in the share capitalization of the Commonwealth Bank, the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories, Qantas and Telstra, the creating of autonomous authorities such as (in NSW) the State Electricity Commission and the Australian Gas Light Company (AGL), and the separation of divisional arms of organisations such as the Roads and Traffic Authority (RTA) and National Rail.[20] Managers in both private and public organisations were faced with the challenges of 'new' organisations: transitional, re-structured, re-capitalised, acquired, and merged organisations.

Market-based policies were less evident in the health, education and justice sectors operated by the state governments. Here, revenue opportunities were expanded by increasing the powers of the Courts and the Police to impose fines[21] providing government with money to offset the expense of services. Government departments in health, education and justice

sectors engaged management consultants, developed business cases, liaised with agencies of management review and underwent management re-structures. [22]

In the welfare sector, the Howard government made significant changes. The traditional non-government welfare providers such as branches of the major church denominations were invited to tender for some services that had traditionally been provided by the Federal Government.[23] The cultural changes in non-government organisations were marked as 'corporate' welfare competed for business. Programs and services were defined, contracted and reviewed according to management metrics.[24]

In some instances, including federal, state and local governments, application and processing fees were introduced. The tax base was broadened from income tax, company tax, sales tax[25] and fuel excise to include transaction taxes (for money transferred in and out of bank accounts). The final broadening of the tax base occurred with the introduction of the goods and services tax (GST) during the Howard-Costello government. As the economy grew, taxation revenue increased, providing government managers with larger and larger budgets.

7.2.3 The Information Technology Revolution[26]

PCs, Networks and the Internet

The 1990s saw the rise of the PC, computer networks and the internet in what amounted to a technology revolution. With advanced technology came information, communication, design and productivity revolutions, providing the infrastructure for larger de-centralised and international organisations.

While mainframe computers, networks and PCs had been operating in advanced economies for some years, during the 1990s they combined to form a powerful platform of information and productivity tools. PC networks permitted sharing of information between computers.[27] Electronic mail further enhanced communication, enabling computer users to correspond and send electronic files to each other. During the 1990s the world wide web was extensively commercialised and upgraded to become a conduit for a greater range of communications across the wider community.

PC networks came at a time when big business was constrained by the limits of information technology. Expanding those limits beyond state and national geographical boundaries provided a platform for big business to grow considerably. By the end of the century, the scope and scale of big business was at unprecedented levels in Australia and elsewhere.

The Management Rush

Without the ability to share information through networks and the internet, the expansion of de-centralised and international organisations would have occurred very differently, if at all.

The onset of PC networks had many effects. It changed the nature of communications in business and the wider community. Just as the telephone had established a conversation between two remote callers and thus curtailed the practice of letter writing, so too did the speed of email further limit that practice.[28] Through email software, documents were sent across the country and abroad in a matter of seconds.

The internet became the source of a universe of information and later, when more secure, commercial practices commenced in the form of on-line transactions. With the advent of the twenty-first century, the internet continued to grow rapidly in both the services it provided and the information it offered. It became a standard channel of retail activity with on-line purchasing available internationally. A customer with a computer and a credit card could order merchandise from anywhere in Australia or any number of countries abroad.

<u>Other computer technologies</u>

Computers impacted on some industries more than others. Those industries that relied on volumes of simple transactions, such as finance, were quick to adopt new technology. Share markets introduced computer based systems of trading. Banking and insurance businesses similarly became reliant on computers to process transactions. Beginning with Automatic Teller Machines (ATMs), they later introduced Electronic Funds Transfer at Point Of Sale (EFTPOS) and then personal internet banking as a means of reducing the cost of transactions. As one competitor pioneered a technological direction, the others followed.

The development of Computer Aided Design (CAD) tools changed the work of many roles including graphic designers, architects, engineers, and draftsmen. Software enabled these 'professionals' to draw and model work, previously drawn by hand, on the PC. Similar innovations later extended to publishing, manufacturing and media industries. Books, magazines, catalogues and leaflets were loaded into publishing software to govern print runs. The specifications of plastic products were similarly loaded into manufacturing software to govern prototype development and production runs. Film-making utilised computers to overlay special effects and produce cartoons. Eventually, radio and television programs were broadcast using computer software.

The computer transformed most workplaces, but not all. The hairdresser, the beautician, and the restaurant may have computerised ordering, billing and stock management, but their work remained relatively unaffected. So too with the greengrocer, the delicatessen, the carpenter,

the plumber, the electrician and many others whose work was not confined to an office and revolved less around information and data.

The consolidation of systems in the financial services industry resulted in manifest efficiencies and reduced the requirements for both cheques and cash. The fortnightly pay packet had disappeared in the 1980s when electronic funds transfers to workers' accounts came into effect. Account balances were increasingly less often held as physical cash at banks or custodians, but were electronic records stored on a database. Cash requirements were reduced further as electronic transactions replaced physical cash transactions. A considerable shake-up of banking and transactions occurred when Australian retail stores introduced EFTPOS. While initially limited to a means of paying for goods, it later facilitated cash withdrawals, placing the large supermarket chains in competition with the banks as major dispensers of cash.

Microprocessor technology was applied to a number of mechanical devices including cars, videos, aeroplanes, navigation systems, then household appliances such as televisions, refrigerators, and sound equipment. These technological innovations were typical of an age when engineering and science continued to stimulate advances in product design and efficiency. Software increasingly replaced electronic hardware, notably in the telecommunications industry.

Call centres were introduced, telemarketing combined telephone communication with PC software, bandwidths increased, mobile phones and laptop technology began to converge. The technology trend was irreversible. Humans found more and more ways to apply and modify computer technology.

Technology investment and management

The last years of the twentieth century saw unprecedented levels of investment in computer technology driven by two major factors. The first was known as the 'millennium bug'.[29] The extent of this problem generated a massive number of system replacements and upgrades.[30]

The second was a need to replace older technology with new generation systems based around the PC. Throughout the decade, the combined functionality and marketing power of Windows™ dominated the PC market to the extent that it principally eclipsed its rivals.[31] The company that produced Windows™, the Microsoft Corporation, along with its owner, Bill Gates, profited enormously during the decade to the extent that the latter became the wealthiest man in the world, surpassing royalty, other industrialists and media barons.

The management of this technology posed major challenges for managers in organisations.[32] The purchase and implementation of systems was a significant capital outlay. Some systems simply did not work, while others delivered less than expected. Systems had to be maintained, upgraded, integrated and sometimes replaced. For medium and large organisations, information technology management was a significant investment both of capital and skill.[33]

7.2.4 Globalisation Favours the Big

Arguably the most striking feature of the period was the size and growth of big business in Australia. Table 34 presents the total asset value of the 10 largest companies in Australia in 1986 and 1997, demonstrating those changes. The scale of asset value shifted from $millions in 1986 to $billions (ie $millions x 1,000) in 1997. So, for example, the asset value of Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd. increased from $16.549 million in 1986 to $37.1 billion ($37,100 million) in 1997.

Table 34   Total Assets of Top 10 Australian Companies in 1986 and 1997

1986		
Company	**Rank**	**Total Assets $m**
Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd	1	16.549
Conzinc Riotinto Australia	2	8.616
News	3	8.460
Mt Isa Mines	4	4.104
Colonial Sugar Refining Company Ltd	5	3.732
Shell	6	3.689
Coles	7	3.635
Bond	8	2.828
Alcoa	9	2.591
Comalco Industries	10	2.580

1997		
Company	**Rank**	**Total Assets $b**
News Corporation	1	54.5
Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd	2	37.1
Telstra	3	26.5
Conzinc Riotinto Australia	4	25.6
Qantas	5	10.4
Coca-Cola Amatil	6	9.5
Western Mining Corporation	7	8.6
BTR Nylex	8	8.3
Colonial Sugar Refining Company Ltd	9	7.4
Amcor	10	7.2

Source: Fleming, G., Merrett, D. and Ville, S., 2004, *The Big End of Town: Big Business and Corporate Leadership in Twentieth-Century Australia,* **Cambridge University Press, Melbourne Appendix C.**

Fleming, Merrett & Ville reported that, for the top 100 companies in 1986, the mean total assets was calculated as $1.416 million compared to the mean total assets of $4.4 billion in 1997. That represents an increase by a factor of 3,000. Their similar analysis of the top five financial firms is presented in Table 35.

The growth of public listed companies occurred in conjunction with rapid growth in the overall stock market. In 1990 the All Ordinaries Index was roughly 1,400 points. By the year 2000, it had doubled in overall size and doubled again by 2007, breaking the 6,000 point milestone (refer to Table 33).[34]

As mentioned earlier superannuation funds increased their investment levels in the share market and access to increased levels of local capital was an important feature of big business during the 1990s and the 2000s. Many companies actively sought equity funding through additional share issues and company floats through the Australian Stock Exchange. Increased capital was also achieved by borrowing from banks and occasionally through debt issues. Big business grew considerably bigger and the stock market rose accordingly in Australia, the USA and the United Kingdom.[35]

Table 35   Top Five Australian Financial Firms in 1986 and 1997

1986		
Firm	**Rank**	**Total Assets $b**
Westpac	1	60.7
ANZ Bank	2	56.6
Commonwealth	3	43.9
NAB	4	42.4
AMP	5	22.3

1997		
Company	**Rank**	**Total Assets $b**
NAB	1	202.0
ANZ Bank	2	138.2
Commonwealth	3	130.5
Westpac	4	119.0
AMP	5	60.1

Source: Fleming, G., Merrett, D. and Ville, S., 2004, *The Big End of Town: Big Business and Corporate Leadership in Twentieth-Century Australia,* **Cambridge University Press, Melbourne Appendix B.**

Business also grew more complex, particularly crossing international borders. While foreign trade and manufacture had existed for centuries,[36] and multinational companies were a feature of the twentieth century, the 1990s saw the emergence of the trend to manufacture in one country for the purpose of exporting to continents across the globe. This was evident in the rise of South Korea and the People's Republic of China, whose influence on world supply became evident in automobiles, electronics, textiles, and electrical goods.

7.2.5 Business Turns 'Cool'

Thomas Frank argued the rise of market forces as an important chapter in the reign of capitalism. During the 1990s, rebellion and revolution themes of the 1960s were deliberately

injected into American corporate culture, advertising and brands. That decade was an era of great media monopolies, the consolidation and concentration of networks in broadcasting, advertising, publishing, banking and transport. Big business grew bigger, marketing and advertising multiplied and became more sophisticated, brands became more prolific as previously vacant spaces displayed advertising and logos. The messages of advertising carried the meaning of the new worker in the new organisation – progressive, adaptive, skilled, innovative, free-thinking, independent and stylish.[37]

> "They presented everything from four-wheel-drives to lemonade as the beloved accoutrements of youth rebellion, consumed to a Jimi Hendrix guitar solo, a favourite passage from Kerouac or the sassy rhymes of 90s street culture. Cordless drills that finally let you be yourself. Perfume dealers who liken themselves to indigenous peoples. Software makers determined to give power to the people. Alternative stockbrokers."[38]

The messages of disadvantage and social action were also purveyed with product.

> "Benetton has managed to equate its brand with the fight against racism, Apple with that against technocracy. Pepsi owns youth rebellion, the Body Shop owns compassion, Reebok owns nonconformity and MTV underground credibility. We have brand names for social justice, not movements."[39]

These marketing strategies were effective; American companies declared the profits to prove it. Frank made the argument both evocatively and rationally, citing many examples of the transformation of corporate mercenaries to social saviours – how 'computer geeks', accountants, lawyers and share traders became the trend-setters of business. He cited corporations where marketing re-invented organisations in the public mind, transforming unpopular juggernauts into slick, responsive business partners. Perhaps these shifts in perception were merely a resurgence of Madison Avenue's proven abilities to transform soap powder into personal support, but the changes in acceptance spread wider than consumer goods. Frank claimed that American business turned 'cool', free market economics became the accepted doctrine, and going to work was the means to a more prosperous lifestyle.[40]

The 1990s also saw a change of image for business in Australia. Prior to the 1983 Accord between business, trade unions and the government,[41] Australian business was perceived as needing to change, rooted in the past, conservative rather than progressive. During the 1980s, government began the process of de-regulating the economy and exposing business to increased competition. The following decade, as in the USA, the business environment

continued to change rapidly, 'success' became a buzzword, computers and communications revolutionised the nature of business, and trading in a global context featured. Market solutions became 'good' and profit became 'OK'. Australian business turned 'cool'. Popular sympathy shifted from trade unions to management.

As Australian business remained exposed to international market forces, companies became more focused on marketing, getting results and profitability. As they adopted new technology, as government and companies grew bigger, spending more and gaining technical complexity, management became something to aspire to, something to learn about, the vehicle to productive and profitable companies, the road to a successful career. As business became a success story, in the public mind, management became part of that success story.

7.3   Management Dominates

During the 1990s the language of economic rationalism and management moved beyond business and further into the political and public landscapes, pervading public discourse. Economic rationalism provided the broader market orientation while management organized business and the workforce. By the end of the century, 'economic management' and 'managing the economy' were stock phrases for political speakers. The prominence of economics, business and management maintained a powerful work culture. By the year 2000, there were possibly over 1,000,000 managers in the Australian workforce[42] and management continued as an institution, both in business and the universities.

The prosperity of the 1990s and 2000s was mainly achieved in four ways: through working longer hours;[43] through increased workload; with efficiencies through the information technology revolution; and also, to some extent, through speaking the common language of management. It also benefited considerably from a recovery in the prices of commodities, notably gas, coal and iron ore in the early twenty-first century.

The public company remained the epitome of the business world with its Chairman and Managing Director reporting annually to the shareholders. For many companies and the banks in particular, that report was usually good news, welcomed by both large and small investors.[44] Australia's largest companies became less characteristically Australian and more like a typical western business model, having adopted the business approaches common to other western corporations.[45] The language and operation of businesses across oceans became more similar;[46] they all spoke the language of management.

7.3.1 **Benchmarking and Best Practice**

An emphasis on benchmarking and best practice in both government and private sectors was evident early in the decade. In 1993, the Monash Benchmarking Group in conjunction with the Federal Government's Best Practice Program published a report that outlined the use of benchmarking in Australia's top 500 businesses. Later that year, the Best Practice Program and the National Industry Extension Service published the Benchmarking Self-Help Manual.[47] The following year saw the publishing of *Benchmarking Australia*, a book that provided a comprehensive and systematic guide to benchmarking for Australian businesses. Benchmarking techniques entailed measurement, comparisons and model development.[48] In some ways the Australian emphasis on benchmarking was not surprising, given its strong bureaucratic and administrative tradition.

Best practice models became popular with human service delivery sectors such as health, education, justice and welfare, where service professionals sought to raise standards, improve processes and practice with greater uniformity. Where budgets were relatively fixed and increased expenditure had to be justified, best practice was an important *rationale*.

7.3.2 **The Ubiquitous Market Survey**

Surveys and focus groups had been used by the social sciences through much of the twentieth century.[49] In academic circles, the survey proved to be a useful but limited research tool, containing a number of inherent methodological weaknesses relating to sample size and the construction of questions, amongst other limitations.   Nonetheless, the use of surveys and questionnaires resulted in many research papers and journal articles propounding measurement of attitudes, feelings and opinions, even personality.[50]

Surveys became widely used by market researchers to gain information about various aspects of consumer preferences and behaviour. In the USA and the UK, surveys and focus groups were adopted by the advertising industry during the 1920s and became stock-in-trade tools by the 1960s. The advertising industry in Australia was slower to adopt these tools. Resistance to using market research began to wane during the 1950s[51] and by 1970, the McNair Survey had established itself as the authority of radio and television audiences by means of listener and viewer surveys.[52] These surveys formed the basis for setting advertising charges, which varied according to the size of the respective listener and viewer audiences.

The methodological reservations of academic circles did not impede the growth of market research in the business context either in Australia or overseas. Crawford outlined how the

advertising industry progressively increased its use of market research from the 1960s to the point that it became an essential service to business, government and advertising agencies in the 1980s.[53]

Throughout the 1990s the use of surveys increased as advertising and market research budgets expanded. Surveys also became popular within and beyond organisations as a means of gauging employee views. Shareholders, subscribers, customers, ratepayers, might be polled to find their views of various issues relevant to the management of organisations.[54]

By the twenty-first century, any household with a telephone was likely to be contacted and quizzed about their political opinions or consumption habits. Then the electronic media began to conduct its own polls, requesting that people phone one number or another to register a 'Yes' vote or a 'No' vote on a given issue. Polls also became a feature of internet use and newspapers. The range of topics broadened as radio and television invited their audiences to phone in or log onto their websites to register their views.

It was an era of opinions and management recognised that opinions mattered and marketed their products and services accordingly.

7.3.3 The Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills

American business had long established its business schools, its management *gurus*, journals and management discourse, dating back to the late nineteenth century. These thrived in an environment where business and money-making were an integral part of the culture. As business prospered, management flourished as occupation, profession and discourse. In Australia, the embrace of management as profession and discourse came much later and the rule of management was largely heralded by a government report.

In the March 1991 Economic Statement, Prime Minister Hawke announced the development of a management skills strategy. As a consequence, in 1992 the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills was established to consider the needs of Australian industry and commerce to be competitive internationally and to produce recommendations to strengthen skills and develop leadership qualities. In February 1995 the report of the Task Force entitled *Enterprising Nation: Renewing Australia's Managers to Meet the Challenges of the Asia-Pacific Century* and known as the Karpin Report was tabled in the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia. This Task Force followed the 1988 report of the Employment and Skills Formation Council and The Australian Mission on Management Skills which, in 1991,

visited a number of European countries, the USA and Japan. Management was clearly on the Prime Minister's agenda and proclaimed as a major platform, essential to Australia's commercial competitiveness in the 'Asia-Pacific century'[55].

Its terms of reference are listed in Table 36.

Table 36   Karpin Report Terms of Reference

1	Examine and provide information to business and government on world-wide enterprise trends and best practice in the development of managers, including supervisors or first-line managers.
2	Promote and encourage awareness of the importance of leadership and management skills to enterprise productivity, innovation and international competitiveness, and recommend measures for fostering enterprise commitment to the continual development of managers.
3	Examine and report on the management training and advisory needs of small and medium sized businesses and advise on strategies to meet those needs.
4	Initiate and oversee a review of higher education award and non-award programs, the inclusion of management content in other programs at graduate and undergraduate levels and the administration, resourcing and delivery of management programs in higher education.
5	a) Identify and advise on measures to improve management and supervisory curriculum and delivery by TAFE and other training providers. b) Identify and advise on measures to strengthen curriculum and to improve the provision of relevant training in small business skills by TAFE and other training providers. c) Advise on the implications of such measures to improve the quality and effectiveness of leadership and management skills in Australia.
6	Provide advice on other measures to improve the quality and effectiveness of leadership and management skills in Australia.

Source: *Enterprising Nation* **[The Karpin Report], 1995a, Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills p 5.**

The report was three years in the making and cost Australian taxpayers over $6 million to produce.[56] It was the most comprehensive single public study of Australian managers ever

undertaken, consisting of 27 projects undertaken by management consultants, academics and combinations of the two. Only five research projects were undertaken by universities with the vast majority being completed by research and consulting companies including Coopers & Lybrand, Rand Corporation and Boston Consulting Group, in itself, demonstrating the advanced standing of management consulting companies in Australia by the 1990s.

The purposes of the report included the promotion of management's importance to enterprise productivity, innovation and international competitiveness. Its focus was largely on education, training and curriculum development. The notion of 'best practice' was prominent and the differentiation between leadership and management skills was made. The Karpin Report placed management discourse and management 'spin' in the public domain as never before.

The research program examined five broad research questions contained in Table 37:

Table 37   Karpin Report Research Questions

How does Australia currently develop managers?
How good is Australia at developing managers?
How do other countries develop managers?
What does the future demand?
How can Australia improve?

Source: *Enterprising Nation* **[The Karpin Report], 1995b, Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills Research Report Vol 1.**

The papers within the report tackled some difficult areas, seeking to compare Australian practices in developing managers with those of other countries to identify areas for improvement. Inevitably they developed criticism, exposed inadequacy and found weaknesses in order to propose solutions.

The authors of the report made some startling claims. The initial paper, written by the research project's Director David Midgley began his discussion of the Australian economy, Australian managers and management development with:

> "Australia first derived its wealth from agricultural commodities, subsequently developed a manufacturing sector and in the 1960s created a vibrant mining sector."[57]

While Midgley quickly moved from this introductory remark to a sounder and more expansive analysis of contemporaneous economic and demographic data, the starkness and

inaccuracy of this opening sentence should not pass without comment. As this dissertation has previously outlined, Australia's gold and other mining activities began in the 1850s and had a profound impact on wealth, migration, investment and company development. Australia was arguably the world's first service based economy,[58] a feature more notable than many others.

The appendix to Midgley's initial paper supplied the following definition of management:

> "Primarily a set of formal and explicit tools and techniques, based on rational reasoning and testing, that are designed to be used in remarkably similar ways across a wide range of business situations."[59]

Such a definition is, remarkably, both too narrow and too broad. Could one describe the professions of teaching or medicine or engineering in such terms? Or could one describe all professions in this manner – tools and techniques used in similar ways in a wide range of situations? Isn't management simply the method of business, how things get done?

The report included a paper entitled 'Experienced insights: Opinions of Australian Managers, Ideals, Strengths and Weaknesses' which outlined findings from a literature review. The authors stated that:

> "A review of the literature reveals a somewhat negative perspective of Australian managers. For example, in its *1992 World competition report*, the OECD rated Australian management as "ineffectual", ranking 19th of the 22 member countries."[60]

They then reproduced the findings of the *Leadership Report 1992* undertaken by researchers at Monash University. Table 38 describes the perceived strengths and weaknesses of Australian business leaders. Other studies such as the *Benchmark Study* generally support these findings.

The authors unfortunately failed to reference the small but growing literature relating to Australian managers and business leaders. This small amount of material is, in itself, significant in highlighting the limited tradition of local management discourse. Nor did they recommend that their limited sample of material should be interpreted with caution.

Table 38   Karpin Report Perceived Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths	Weaknesses
Non-elitist/egalitarian attitudes	Lack vision/short-term orientation
Introduce innovative work practices	Indecisive/few risk takers
Responsive/adaptable	Poor team players
Open communication	Image conscious
Forthright/aware	Unempathic behaviour

Source: *Enterprising Nation* **[The Karpin Report], 1995a, Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Vol. 1 p 530.**

The authors omitted to explain by what method they came to these findings. Given that they were "perceptions", presumably they were the result of a survey methodology. Was this a survey of workers as to their perceptions of business leaders? Nor did the authors explain what these phrases mean or whether there is a difference between the perceptions of Australians business leaders and Australians in general. Further, the authors did not elaborate the relevance of the perceived characteristics of Australian business leaders to Australian business managers. Are leaders a sub-set of managers? What do they have in common and how do they differ? Many basic questions remain unanswered.

Given Australia's history of economic prosperity, academic, scientific and sporting achievements, it is no surprise that some of its business leaders are amongst the world's best. The limited amount of management literature similarly indicates this. Given Australia's isolation from other advanced economies, Australian management practice developed slowly with considerable variation. It was highly contextualised, idiosyncratic and quirky, but often innovative.

The report covered and researched a broad range of issues. It was critical of Australian managers and business leaders, and particularly of management education. In many ways it was a ground-breaking document, displaying new approaches to applied research problems. But, in other ways, it failed to replicate the rigour of research in the social sciences and, when scrutinised, was found wanting. Its *genre* was closer to market research than academic journals and its focus was management practice, not theory.

Its central conclusions were that Australia's best managers were amongst the best in the world, but there simply were not enough of them. Most Australian managers, when assessed against market 'expectations' and 'needs', lacked quality in such areas as entrepreneurship, global orientation, people skills, strategic skills, management development and teamwork skills. Their perceived strengths were the attributes of being hard-working, flexible and innovative. The proposed solutions were, *inter alia,* a re-vamping of the management education industry as the report contended that the future success of Australia as a nation and an economy lay with Australia's managers.

> "Good managers are the key to a more competitive economy and higher performing enterprises".[61]

It made 28 recommendations canvassing areas such as developing a positive enterprise culture through education, upgrading vocational education, training and business services, capitalising on the talents of diversity, achieving best practice management development, and reforming management education.

While subsequent discussion of the Karpin Report questioned its method and the degree of implementation of the enquiry's recommendations, its assumption of the pivotal role of Australia's managers in economic and social prosperity has remained unchallenged.[62] While profiling Australian managers' perceived attributes, strengths and weaknesses, it made little or no suggestion as to the history or development of these attributes. While the statistical and demographical aspects of the report illustrated historical trends, the same cannot be said of the market surveys. However, the lack of time-series data did not prevent the writers from projecting targets for the implementation of recommendations such as 'capitalising on diversity'.

Had the report undertaken any investigation of the history of Australian management or culture, an explanation of how the current situation arose might have been possible. Had the report undertaken an investigation of the values of Australian managers beyond the Boston Consulting Group's 'Emerging Senior Manager Profile',[63] then an articulation of the difficulty of achieving targets may have followed. Without these investigations, it merely presented a snapshot of the present situation and recommended strategies to address perceived deficiencies. There was some merit in this approach, but the lack of historical analysis and examination of values that underpin the behaviour of Australians and Australian managers rendered it superficial and exposed its recommendations to the risk of being ignored and resisted.

The Karpin Report was typical of many government reports and much of the management literature of the time, ignoring the historical dynamics that explained the present environment. Such an approach reflected the failings of much management literature in the Anglo-American world by presenting management in an *a priori* fashion, assuming 'managers' to be a homogeneous group of people across nations and cultures. It met little critical challenge, provided a platform for the expansion of business schools at minimal cost to the taxpayer and was promptly consigned to posterity through references in lectures, articles and finally, student assignments. As Barry, Dowling and Tonks pointed out, there is a history of governments commissioning reports into management education but not implementing the recommendations of the reports.[64]

The Report confirmed that Australian management discourse had arrived, but it was largely undertaken by private management and research companies, composed of practitioners making their income from the field on which they were commenting. If nothing else, the sheer volume of material and the scope of discourse were evidence that a critical mass of management expertise was present in Australia and could undertake such a project.

The three reports into management education Cyert (1970), Ralph (1982) and Karpin (1995) had essentially confirmed the view of the importance of management in economic and business success, and the role of management education in developing managers. While methods and findings varied, they agreed on the need to expand management education and raise its standard.

7.3.4 The Waterfront Dispute: The First Industrial Assault

From the inception of unions and the arbitration system in the nineteenth century until the 1983 Accord, Australian industrial relations had defined management and the unions as adversaries and allowed both sides to complain of the excesses of the other. After the 1983 Accord, the rhetoric continued as management played an ongoing role in the industrial forum.

The waterfront had been the crucible of industrial conflict on numerous occasions. The Hawke-Keating government had proclaimed the need for reform, but curtailed its pruning of the trade union movement to de-registering the Builders Labourers' Federation, reducing the size of the Australian Workers Union and de-registering the Federated Ship Painters and Dockers' union.[65] As a result, it avoided comprehensive reform of the waterfront shipping industry. Nonetheless, through the combination of its consensual imposition of enterprise bargaining and legal strategies targeting specific unions, it achieved a significant curtailing of union power.[66]

The industrial landscape was disturbed by three cases involving the Comalco company, a subsidiary of CRA Limited. Comalco owned a number for industrial plants including Aluminium smelters at Bell Bay in Tasmania and Boyne Island in Queensland, and a bauxite mine at Weipa in the Northern Territory.[67] The Rio Tinto company provided a further dispute at its Gordonstone mine in central Queensland. In October 2007, the company sacked its entire non-management workforce of 312 staff and set about recruiting replacements under individual employment contracts. This matter too, was adjudicated by the Industrial Relations Commission in 1998.

The election of the Howard-Costello government in 1996 further reduced union power through two major offensives. During its first term, it instituted a raft of changes to the industrial relations legislation, curtailing the right to strike and placing penalties upon unions in the event of industrial action. Subsequent to this, in April 1998 a major conflict erupted between management and the unions on the Sydney waterfront.[68] The stevedoring company Patrick Corporation folded, thus dismissing its unionised workforce overnight, and resumed operations the following day with a replacement workforce trained in Dubai. The fuller scheme involved the assistance of the National Farmers' Federation and the support of the Howard-Costello Government. After a dispute that lasted months, being argued and determined in the Industrial Court and then the various Courts of Appeal, Patrick Corporation, while facing liquidation, imposed an ultimatum for the unionised workforce to forego many of its previous entitlements and work practices. The result was an important gain in productivity and loss of union power. While the union enjoyed belated success in the Courts, Patrick Corporation eventually achieved changed work practices and productivity. Victory came at a high price, as the dispute was fraught with conflict. The overall result was a waterfront governed by business with significantly less union power and a strong message of curtailed union power echoed across the land. Management, in the industrial sense, ruled.

7.3.5 A Million Managers?

The Karpin Report stated that in August 1993, there were 890,300 managers in Australia, based on data collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Of these 75.1% were men and 24.9% were women.[69] They predicted that the population of managers would increase by 12% over the next five years to 977,200 by February 1998, from which it could be argued that there would be 1,000,000 managers by the year 2000.

Extrapolating the same ABS data, using a linear forecast function, suggested that the workforce would contain around 1,000,000 managers by the end of 1998, and well over that in the next decade, illustrated in Figure 4 by the 'Forecast' line.

Subsequent ABS data indicated that the number of managers did, in fact, continue to grow. In May 1996, there were 880,700 managers in Australia. The Bureau then changed its counting rules in August 1996 and reported that there were 898,600 managers. The trend of increasing numbers continued to May 2009, when 1,245,900 managers were reported in Australia. The ABS data for Managers and Administrators since 1996 is illustrated in Figure 4 by the 'Actual' line.

The ABS changed its counting rules for the category of managers on two occasions, complicating the measurement of the number of managers in Australia between 1979 and 2009, but the data confirmed a high and increasing number of employees in this category. Depending on the definition, at the present time there are more than a million managers in Australia out of a total workforce of 10, 781,600.[70]

During the 1990s the workforce was awash with managers and a wide range of position titles as evident in the following list containing 34 examples : account managers, agency managers, branch managers, brand managers, building managers, business development managers, campaign managers, client relationship managers, corporate services managers, customer service managers, distribution managers, divisional managers, duty managers, event managers, facilities managers, executive managers, financial managers, factory managers, farm managers, floor managers, hotel managers, human resource managers, knowledge managers, line managers, middle managers, operations managers, product managers, production managers, project managers, public relations managers, reception managers, shift managers, supply managers, and workshop managers.

Figure 4   Forecast and Actual Managers in Australia
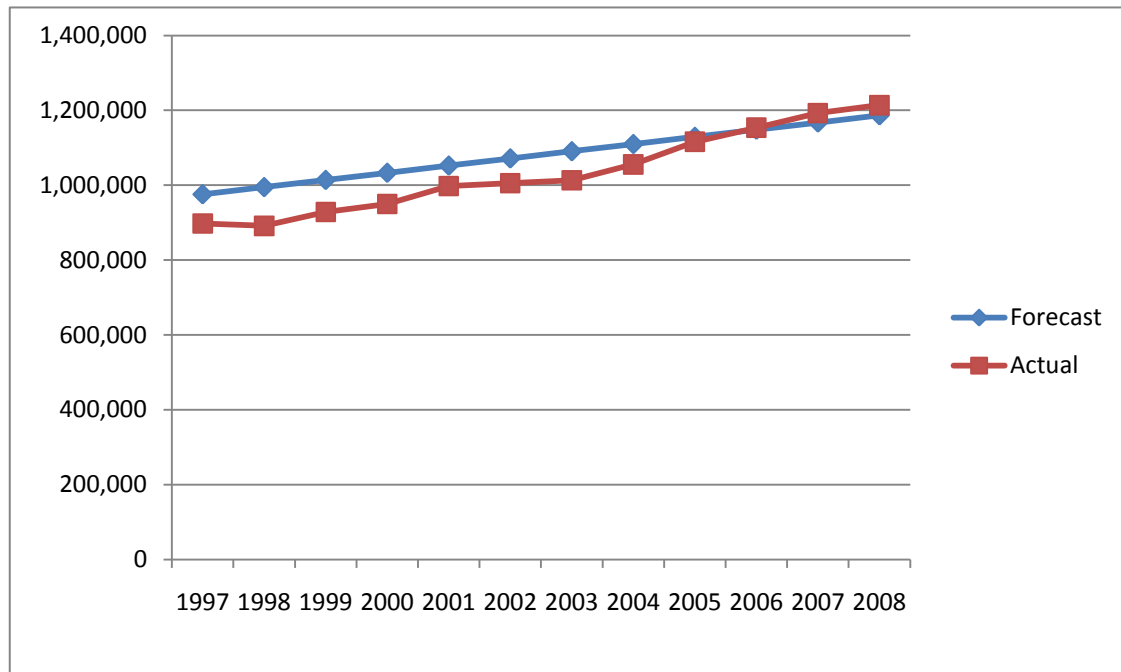
7.3.6 **The Management Education Machine**

The flagship business schools, Sydney's AGSM and Melbourne's MBS, continued their education and research activities, maintaining their standing as Australia's eminent businesses education institutions. They were joined by the Macquarie Graduate School of Management (MGSM) which enhanced its reputation as a quality education provider, endorsed by national and international surveys. Established in 1969, it laid claim to being the longest continuously operating business school in New South Wales.

Arts, including the social sciences and the humanities, had long been the most populous field of study, but business studies had narrowed the gap considerably during the 1980s, a trend seen in other western countries during the decade. Finally, in 1998, Business passed Arts as the most popular field of study and continued to extend its lead (see Appendix 18).

By the mid-1990s, management education had become big business and highly effective at attracting and producing graduates.   Business schools were prominent in the major universities across the Australian in the capital cities and provincial centres. The expansion in business enrolments and overall higher education enrolments are shown in Table 39.[71]

Table 39   Business Students Enrolled in Higher Education 1990-2007

Year	Business Students	Total Higher Education Students	Business % Total Students
1990	104,825	485,075	21.6%
1991	112,666	534,538	21.1%
1992	117,104	559,365	20.9%
1993	120,526	575,617	20.9%
1994	122,315	585,396	20.9%
1995	129,177	604,177	21.4%
1996	143,583	634,094	22.6%
1997 (a)	161,048	658,827	24.4%
1998 (a)	170,887	671,853	25.4%
1999 (a)	179,206	686,267	26.1%
2000 (a)	180,503	695,485	26.0%
2001 (a) (b)	180,853	726,418	24.9%
2002 (a) (b)	241,183	896,621	26.9%
2003 (a) (b)	255,756	929,952	27.5%
2004 (a) (b)	267,006	944,977	28.3%
2005 (a) (b)	274,040	957,176	28.6%
2006 (a) (b)	284,046	984,061	28.9%
2007 (a) (b)	304,443	1,029,846	29.6%

Source: *Students: Selected Higher Education Statistics*, **Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs.**

(a) Data from 1997 onwards were compiled in a different way to data for prior years to take into account the coding of Combined Courses to two fields of study.

(b) Data from 2001 was compiled using revised category of Management and commerce.

Between 1990 and 2007 the number of students studying business[72] almost tripled, growing from 104,825 students in 1990 to 304, 443 in 2007, and the percentage of business students in the higher education student population increased from 21.6% to 29.6%.

Table 39 indicates that during the period from 2001 to 2005 the number of students in the Management and Commerce fields of study increased from 180,853 to 274,040, an increase of 31.8%. Table 40 shows that at the level of postgraduate certificate diploma or degree during the same period, student numbers doubled from 46,048 to 92,680.

Table 40   Postgraduate Business Students Enrolments 2001 & 2005

	2001			2005			% change		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Doctorate by Research	1,496	882	2,378	2,039	1,320	3,359	36.3%	49.7%	41.3%
Doctorate by Coursework	301	90	391	649	188	837	115.6%	108.9%	114.1%
Master's by Research	287	240	527	228	241	469	-20.6%	0.4%	-11.0%
Master's by Coursework	18,802	12,291	31,093	41,270	29,208	70,478	119.5%	137.6%	126.7%
Postgrad. Qual/Prelim.	10	4	14	11	6	17	10.0%	50.0%	21.4%
Grad.(Post) Dip. - new area	2,332	2,079	4,411	3,384	2,859	6,243	45.1%	37.5%	41.5%
Grad.(Post) Dip. - ext area	997	859	1,856	1,710	1,074	2,784	71.5%	25.0%	50.0%
Graduate Certificate	3,279	2,099	5,378	4,703	3,790	8,493	43.4%	80.6%	57.9%
Total	27,504	18,544	46,048	53,994	38,686	92,680	96.3%	108.6%	101.3%

Source: Department of Education, Science and Training, *Students 2001: Selected Higher Education Statistics***; Department of Education, Science and Training,** *Students 2005: Selected Higher Education Statistics***.**

The largest changes in postgraduate business students were in Doctorate and Masters by coursework and the increases in women students were overall and generally higher than men,

though not in all categories. The trend towards business courses in higher education was not only an increase of enrolments within those programs, but also an increase in the proportion of management and commerce students within the higher education sector and a larger increase in post graduate education. Expansion occurred through an increase in the number of universities offering business, management and commerce courses, an increase in the number of programs offered by the faculty or school[73] and increased capacity for student enrolments within a particular program.

There were two further elements in the expansion of higher education for business and management. The first was increased student numbers in courses such as engineering, information technology, accountancy and law, all of which put graduates on a path leading to careers in business, mainly well-paid private sector roles. The second was the expansion of management education and training service providers. These included management consulting firms, recruitment firms, specialist training firms, industry bodies such as the AIM AHRI and the Australian Institute of Public Administration (AIPA). These providers assisted organisations to develop their managers and executives with programs and short courses sometimes tailored to their particular needs[74] with the AIM continuing its role as an eminent provider of education, training and information.

A major impetus for the expansion of business and management courses was the fees they drew.[75] Because management education was either directly or indirect linked to employment, it enjoyed considerable financial support in differing forms. Businesses, particularly medium to large enterprises, were willing to sponsor candidates through various programs. Students paying their own course fees were usually able to claim course expenses as tax deductions, thus recouping some of the outlay. Sometimes business was willing to sponsor academic chairs, even particular academics or contributed to building funds to expand university facilities. Access to funds became a hallmark of management schools, and the universities benefited considerably.

The management education industry underwent mergers and shake-ups. In 1999, UNSW and the University of Sydney formed a partnership by merging AGSM with Sydney's Graduate School of Business until 2006.[76] Melbourne Business School merged with Mt Eliza Business School in 2004, forming the largest business school in Australia.[77]

The subject matter of education and training grew more diverse, promoting both technical and generalist material. The longer Master of Management and Master of Business Administration programs typically covered Strategic Management, Financial Management, Management Accounting, Economic Management, Operations Management, Human

Resource Management, Leadership and Motivation plus a range of optional subjects. Some subjects included an overview of management but many did not address this question. Broader issues of history, philosophy and values were rarely approached directly, though MGSM was one business school that did with its 'Foundations of Management' program of philosophy developed by Professor Robert Spillane.[78]

UNSW, Macquarie and Melbourne universities re-visited the dichotomy of business and management schools in 2006 when the AGSM and the Faculty of Commerce and Economics were integrated within the Australian School of Business, opened in 2007.[79] A review of the divisional and faculty structure of the MGSM and the Faculty of Business and Economics at the Macquarie University early in 2009 determined to retain MGSM as an autonomous entity. In October 2009, the Melbourne Business School announced a planned merger with the Faculty of Economics and Commerce to create a new Faculty of Business and Economics with plans that MBS Ltd, the present administrator of the business school, will operate the new faculty. The Melbourne University owns a 45% interest in MBS Ltd but with the merger, will increase its voting rights in MBS Ltd to 70%.[80]

7.3.7 The Reign of Management Consulting

The management consulting industry similarly expanded markedly during this period. According to Wright, the structure of the market continued to be based around a small core of large global consulting firms, and a growing periphery of small, specialist providers:

> "During the 1990s, while most of the large consulting companies emphasised their expertise in areas of business strategy, as was the case world-wide, growth continued in the more operational areas of information technology, cost reduction, business process re-engineering and human resource management."[81]

By the late 1980s, the Australian management consulting market was estimated to have an overall market size of $6.5 billion. The industry had grown rapidly during the 1980s in turbulent business conditions, establishing its role as both adviser and project leader in strategy and organisational change. The 1990s provided a similarly demanding business environment and the Big Six[82] expanded considerably. The growth of Andersen Consulting, in particular, was nothing short of spectacular, while the revenue growth of the others was by a factor of between five and eight as indicated in Table 41.

Table 41   Large Management Consultancy Firms in Australian 1985 and 1997

Consultancy	1985		1997	
	Revenues (AU $m)	No of Consultants	Revenues (AU $m)	No of Consultants
Andersen Consulting	12	120	313.6	1,301
Price Waterhouse Urwick	15	140	129	814
Ernst & Young	4†	40†	112	430
Coopers & Lybrand	19	165	105	550
Deloitte & Touche	14	145	82.3*	410*
KPMG	12	80	58	374

* Includes New Zealand; †Arthur Young figures only for 1985.

Source: Wright, C. 2003, *Promoting Demand, Gaining Legitimacy and Broadening Expertise: The Evolution of Consultancy-Client Relationships in Australia*; Wright, C. 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom: The Historical Evolution of Australian Management Consulting, 1940s to 1980s', *Business History*, Jan 2000 volume 42 issue 1 pp 85-106.

In September 1997, Price Waterhouse Urwick acquired Coopers & Lybrand. Shortly afterwards, KPMG and Ernst & Young announced a merger, but subsequently abandoned the move. The industry structure was thus altered to a Big Five, with the two largest firms being considerably bigger than the other three.

While the large management consulting firms prospered, the industry became increasingly competitive and fragmented. As described earlier in this section, during the 1990s and 2000s the large management consulting firms were joined by a host of specialist consultants, large and small, in fields such as IT management, human resource management, marketing and training. They complemented the traditional sources of marketing, legal, taxation, accounting and financial advice provided by advertising agencies, law firms, accounting firms and banks. Increased competition arose from a number of factors including outsourcing, technology, specialisation, diversification, complexity and economic growth.

Organisation structures and business models became more varied, highlighting management capability as a core and critical competence in the running of organisations. Consultants formed an important support layer of services and advice, engaged on a contract basis and providing the firm with external expertise, skill and resources.

The large management consulting firms continued to target corporate strategy and major change projects, but some diversification and specialisation occurred, e.g. Andersen Consulting targeted 'change management' and worked with the AGSM to establish a specialised training program of study while Price Waterhouse expanded into IT project management.

Longer term partnerships between major companies and management consultants produced complexities of confidentiality and conflict of interest. For example, large companies would typically engage an auditor for annual accounts purposes and management consultants to develop strategy and implement major organisational change projects. A large company might also seek advice in acquiring another company. So this example provides four possible areas for contracting – audit, strategy, change projects and acquisition. For legal and ethical reasons, the audit function must be detached from all other areas of the consultant's business. Similarly, the consultants undertaking due diligence investigations in the acquisition would need to be clearly separated from the target acquisition. The erection of so-called 'Chinese walls' within consulting, accounting and legal companies became an important probity function.

Management consulting companies continued to develop and re-invent the practice of management. While much of their work centred on strategic planning, project management and methodologies, nonetheless, they remained abreast of fads and fashions in order to sell their value, benefits and superiority. Two of their key marketing functions were to provide business with alternatives to past practice and to justify their fees, which, in some large cases, were considerable.

The period saw a proliferation of plans and methodologies, such as corporate, strategic, marketing, technology and operations plans, with goals, objectives, strategies, timeframes and performance indicators as part of a whole language of planning. Strategic options included acquisitions, mergers, share capitalisations, horizontal integrations, vertical integrations, portfolio diversifications, portfolio simplifications, portfolio divestments, management buy-outs and reverse takeovers. The Boston Consulting group had its matrices, McKinsey had its 7Ss; all the large consulting firms developed their own methodologies for formulating strategy and implementing projects.

Management consultants remained an important conduit for the development and diffusion of management knowledge, facilitating changes of practice across the globe and influencing transaction costs in various ways.[83] As such, they continued to be instrumental in the development and diffusion of management discourse.

7.3.8 **Journals and Publications**

Australian management journals and publications proliferated during this period. Table 42 contains the number of new periodicals published in Australia, many with either the word 'manager' or 'management' in the title.[84] It shows increased publication of new periodicals during the 1990s tapering off during the 2000s.

Table 42 New Australian Management Periodicals 1910-2009

Decade	New Periodicals	Decade	New Periodicals
2000s	10	1940s	7
1990s	21	1930s	0
1980s	16	1920s	2
1970s	6	1910s	2
1960s	4	Total	72
1950s	4		

Source: Macquarie University Catalogue and other sources

Table 43 shows the range of new management periodical titles, which include professional journals in a range of fields – law, finance and debt, health, environment, corrections, horticulture, sport, hospitality, etc. The vast majority of the titles were journals for practitioners in particular fields.

In addition to these were a number of magazines, newsletters, working paper series and monographs. Australian researchers filled a growing number of local publications with their work. Journal articles, text books, periodicals and monographs abounded. Australian management textbooks containing both Australian and overseas case studies became readily available.

Table 43   Selected New Australian Periodicals 1990-2009

Year	Periodical	City
2002	Australian law management journal	Canberra
2002	Financial management guidance	Canberra
2002	Journal of law and financial management	North Ryde
2001	Australian legal practice management journal	Canberra
2001	Weed biology and management	Carlton
1999	Australian journal of case management	Melbourne
1998	Cash management trusts, Australia	Canberra
1998	Natural resource management	Braidwood
1998	Sport management review	Victoria
1997	Australian emergency manuals series	Dickson
1997	The insurance record: risk management and insurance best practice day by day	Melbourne
1997	Management today (Australian Institute of Management)	Melbourne
1996	Commonwealth debt management	Canberra
1995	Australian Information Management Association news	Canberra
1995	Lakes & reservoirs research and management	Carlton
1995	Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management	North Ryde
1994	Australian journal of environmental management	North Ryde
1994	Australian journal of hospitality management	Bradford
1993	Australasian journal of environmental management	Melbourne
1992	National corrections management information	Canberra
1990	Centre for Australians Community Organisations and Management working paper	Broadway

Source: Macquarie University Catalogue and other sources.

Employer and Business Histories

Academics published some important employer and business histories during this period. The nature of these contributions was canvassed in Chapter 1. In 1995, Christopher Wright published *The Management of Labour: A History of Australian Employers*, while in 2002 the collaboration of Boyce and Ville authored *The Development of Modern Business*. In 2004 the partnership of Fleming, Merrett and Ville produced in *The Big End of Town: Big Business and Corporate Leadership in Twentieth-Century Australia*. While arising from different traditions and more focussed on the development of business and the firm, these three monographs provided substantial background to the history of management in Australia.

7.3.9 Work Choices : The Second Industrial Assault

The federal election of 2003 returned the Howard government with a majority in both houses of parliament. No longer fettered by reliance on the dictates of the minority parties and independents in the upper house, Prime Minister Howard announced a new industrial relations policy that was curiously named *Work Choices*. Under subsequent legislation, powers of unions were curtailed and employees were contracted under Individual Workplace Agreements (IWAs), introducing a new legal instrument into the crowded industrial relations landscape.[85] The Labor state governments mounted a constitutional challenge to the legislation, but it was affirmed by the High Court. IWAs became a way of avoiding collective bargaining by negating the right of trade unions to negotiate on behalf of employees. Some employers sought to use IWAs as a means of abandoning umbrella awards and conditions, such as penalty rates and shift allowances. On the one hand, business needed to trade during evenings and week-ends without prohibitive penalty rates, but safeguards to prevent exploitation were also necessary. With IWAs, the balance between employer power and worker power clearly shifted towards the employer.

The timing of this legislation was perplexing. During the 1990s, the Australian workforce had delivered considerable productivity and profit to business and had accepted the changes that business deemed necessary. They had re-structured, re-engineered, worked smarter, become strategic, out-performed their rivals and met their performance targets throughout the 1990s and into the early twentieth century, having upskilled, outsourced and become more flexible. In the process, they had made a considerable donation in the number of hours of unpaid overtime.[86] The timing of the Commonwealth government's introduction of IWAs could not have been more incongruous. They imposed the legislation but it became a key point of dissatisfaction at the subsequent election in November 2007.

Work Choices further shifted the balance of power from the unions to the employer. Its repeal by the Rudd government reversed that shift, but management continued to rule in the industrial sphere. The days of strikes and bans for higher wages had passed into history, union membership continued to decline and the effective power of unions waned.

7.3.10 Management Permeates Public Discourse

Perhaps the central feature of the history of management during this period was how the language of management pervaded public discourse as economics and employment dominated the social, economic and political agendas.

The Decay of Public Language

Watson[87] has analysed the decay of public language. Public language (or discourse) is the language of business leaders, politicians, civil servants and managers channelled via the mass media. It is, therefore, the language of power and influence. Watson asserted that the discourse of managerialism, assisted by the language of marketing, has permeated the public discourse. He argued that the scope of managerial discourse is narrow. It lacks an interest in truth, expresses little emotion and few opinions. In fact, when used, it enrages, depresses, humiliates and confuses. He noted the collapse of language from various sectors to the repeated clichés of management - strategies, stakeholders, priorities, achievements, re-structures, business processes, empowerment and continuous improvement.[88]

But it was not always so, in this country or other advanced English-speaking nations. The change in Australia is recent. Watson posed the questions: When did Australians begin to talk about *business models* rather than *businesses*? When did they start talking about *mission statements* and *strategic plans* and *key performance indicators* rather than relying on sales figures or budget reports to monitor progress? While not specifically addressing those questions, but he does refer to the influence of the Hawke-Keating government in changing the language of politics to economic rationalism and management.[89]

The Permeation Begins

While Australian politicians had talked about economic prosperity since before Federation, the change of government in 1983 resulted in an obvious shift in language to include the broader discussion of economics, business and management. Prime Minister Hawke spoke about micro-economic reform, de-regulation, best practice and participating in the world economy.[90] He exhorted Australians to move from the old paradigm of the 'lucky country'[91] to a new paradigm of the 'clever country'. He pressed both business and unions to think in

new ways, to look at productivity and training, not wages and conditions. As outlined in this and the previous chapter, the process of reform placed the language of economics and management on the political agenda, projecting it through the mass media. Thus begun, the spread of management language extended from business to the broader work arena and then pervaded public language.

The spread of economic and management language was a gradual process. Prime Minister Hawke often talked more about nation building than economic management *per se.* In a speech to the National Press Club in 1990, he used the word 'manage' just once.[92] But in his Policy Statement of 23 June 1987 for the Federal election, he outlined the government's approach to economic management, using that term three times and referring to 'management' a further eight times. The televised debate for the 1996 federal election similarly saw neither of the candidates talk of 'economic management' or 'management'[93] but the discourse of economic management became very obvious during the Howard government. In announcing the 1998 Federal election date, Prime Minister Howard immediately stated:

> "The main issue in this election campaign will be that of economic competence. The main issue will be whether the Coalition or the Labor Party, at a time of economic uncertainty, even turmoil in some parts of the world, whether the Coalition or the Labor Party should be placed at the helm of economic management in Australia."[94]

In responding to the questions of journalists, he used the phrase 'economic management' a further four times. Similarly, in announcing the October 2004 federal election, he spoke of the importance of managing the economy:

> "This election, ladies and gentlemen, will be about trust. Who do you trust to keep the economy strong and protect family living standards? Who do you trust to keep interest rates low? Who do you trust to lead the fight on Australia's behalf against international terrorism? Who do you trust to keep the Budget strong so that we can afford to spend more on health and education? ... Managing an $800 billion economy is a challenging task."[95]

During the 1990s the language of management permeated business, government and politics. Educational, health and correctional businesses as well as the Police and the Armed Forces all had strategic plans in the 1990s and by 1998, economic management was the central issue in a federal election.

The Pervasion of Management Language

The language of management often obscures meaning. Its words and phrases sometimes sound familiar but are contorted, e.g. 'downsized', 'committed to continuous improvement', 'doing more with less', 'strategic initiatives', 'delivering outputs', 'value for money', 'mission statements', etc.[96] These words sound familiar, but have another meaning as management jargon, a meaning less familiar to the common listener.

Between the textiles factories and metal workshops of the Industrial Revolution and the business schools of the 1990s, the vocabulary of management discourse expanded considerably. In the process, it borrowed from such disciplines as engineering, economics and psychology. Management can be pared back to its core functions of strategy, organisation, control and operation, but it encompasses people, organisations, economics, finance, accounting, politics, architecture, engineering, materials, systems, processes, planning, technology and performance. Its scope can be macro or micro, from global enterprise to garage business. At times its language is highly technical and, at other times, quite general, even abstracted. As a broad discipline, management has a broad lexicon, but when used in the public domain, its vocabulary is often narrowed considerably.

One example of the pervasion of management language is the domain of sport.[97] Sport hails from ancient times and features the elements of competition, training, technique, strength, agility, and endurance, all for the purpose of performance. The recent professionalisation of major sports has significantly raised the levels of available capital and imposed the language of management, forming a hybrid of sport and business.

In professional sport, the athlete has become a market commodity, a balance sheet asset, a company man or woman who speaks the language of management. Always paying tribute to the customer (fans) and the sponsors when interviewed, s/he speaks of planning, strategies, attitude, results, improvement, perhaps even dividends. Winning athletes talk of how they got their strategy 'right', that their form is 'encouraging', that results to date are 'within expectations', that the team is 'well positioned' at this stage of the season. Losing athletes describe their inability to implement their 'game plan', referring to 'unexpected events' or 'setbacks', sometimes adding that the final result was not 'as bad as it could have been', and they will 'take a lot forward from this result'.

Permutations of this interview occur frequently in the media coverage of everyday life - a doctor describing a patient's recovery, a CEO announcing quarterly results, a local politician describing the implementation of a re-cycling scheme, a dance couple competing on

television, etc. To some extent media interviews tend towards a prescribed format, but the language of those dialogues sounds remarkably similar. The same narrative is spoken again and again.

According to Watson, the purpose of public language is to subjugate, to control, to tame and persuade. He argued the decay of public language and the role of management jargon within that process.[98] Watson re-visited the theme of the death of language through management in *Bendable Learnings: The Wisdom of Modern Management.*[99] Both Watson's publications highlighted how the language of management has changed public discourse, sometimes for the better, but often for the worse.[100]

In 1997 the editors of *Harvard Business Review* asked Peter Drucker, amongst other prominent management thinkers, to describe what problems he saw already taking shape for executives as they moved into the next century. One of his observations was that:

> "Management will increasingly extend beyond business enterprises, where it originated some 125 years ago as an attempt to organise the production of things."[101]

For some years Drucker had noted the diffusion of management and its discourse from business to the broader society.

7.3.11 Australian Managers' Values[102]

Research comparing Australian managers with those from other English-speaking countries conducted since 1990 confirmed some earlier findings but demonstrated important changes. Some researchers sought to clarify the complex problem of relationships between the values of wider culture, business and managerial demands.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner proposed an alternate model of values that underpin capitalist cultures by proposing the seven dilemmas of 'Universalism' versus 'Particularism, Analyzing versus Integrating', 'Individualism versus Communitarianism', 'Inner-directed versus Outer-directed Orientation', 'Time as Sequence versus Time as Synchronization', 'Achieved Status versus Attributed Status', and 'Equality versus Hierarchy'. With a sample of 15,000 managers, the researchers reported expansively on the USA, Japan, the UK, France, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands but also made some findings in relation to Australia. While managers from the USA were the highest scoring 'Universalists' and 'Inner Directedness', Australians were not far behind them. Australians and the USA were ranked as middle countries on Time as Sequence versus Time as Synchronization where Japan rated the highest. Anglo-culture countries of Australia, USA, UK and Canada scored similarly on

questions of Achieved and Attributed Status which measured individualist and collectivist tendencies. Australians were individualists while Japanese were collectivists.[103]

In 1996, Spillane tested the currency of twelve elements of Byrt and Masters' 1972 comments on Australian managers.[104] He surveyed self-perceptions in samples of managers and the general population on the dimensions of 'dependence on government', 'conservative', 'planners', 'materialists', 'manipulative managerial style', 'performance oriented', 'masculine outlook', 'egalitarian', 'interest in leisure, social activity and family', 'critical of formal authority', 'non-aggressive', and 'weak Machiavellian behaviour'. While managers scored slightly higher on the first six and slightly lower on the second six elements, the differences were less than one point on a six-point Likert scale, suggesting the strong role of broader culture compared to managerial demands on the values of managers.[105]

Westwood and Posner 's comparison of managerial values in Australia, Hong Kong and the United States confirmed American managers' strong 'achievement' and 'organisational growth' orientation and Australian managers' emphasis on social goals such as 'service to the public' and 'value to the community'. But they concluded that Australian and American managers largely shared similar values and that differences were subtle.[106]

Some studies of 'Anglo cultures' such as the Australia, Canada, New Zealand, UK and USA have confirmed similarities of management values and behaviours. Peters and Kabachoff found that managers from Australia, Canada, UK and USA were more similar than different and unlike managers from South Africa. Their study regarded Australian managers as resembling managers from Canada and the USA. Ashkanasy, Trevor-Roberts and Earnshaw also noted similarities in valuing individualistic performance and emphasising authority, power differences and status. But they also noted differences in scoring, particularly between USA and UK who were the most dissimilar with Australia and Canada falling between them.[107]

Wolak postulated that the subtle differences in values between Anglo culture related to cultural history and argued that the differences between Australian and Canadian values stemmed from the varying influence of Irish immigrants in the history of the two countries. Observing Canadians' greater preference for conformity, hierarchy and order he argued that the migration of greater numbers of Irish was seminal in Australian's strong individualism, egalitarianism and humour.[108]

Setting to one side the varying constructions of concepts and methods, the research of this period tended to place Australian managers within the Anglo countries and note greater

similarities with USA managers than in previous times. Australian managers remained individualistic and broadly egalitarian but more focused on performance.

7.3.12 Management Celebrities

The rise of business produced a number of new celebrities. In addition to those from established wealth (such as the Baillieu, Murdoch, Holmes-a-Court, Oatley and Packer families) numerous business executives became prominent. These included Don Argus (NAB and BHP), Bob Joss (Westpac), David Morgan (Commonwealth Bank), Dick Smith (Dick Smith Electronics and National Geographic), James Strong (Qantas), Gerry Harvey (Harvey Norman), John Symonds (Aussie Home Loans), Lindsey Fox (Linfox), Bob Mansfield (McDonalds, Optus, Fairfax and Telstra), and Roger Corbett (Woolworths). A further tier of celebrities included accountants, lawyers, economists and financial advisers who gained prominence in the media. One notable example was Alan Kohler who was dismissed as editor of *The Melbourne Age* only to become a household name through his finance report on the ABC news. Others included business commentators Ross Greenwood and David Kosh, the latter of whom transformed his unlikely popularity into a position as a morning chat show host.[109]

Perhaps corporate failures gained even more notoriety than corporate achievers. The failure of HIH Insurance brought Rodney Adler and Ray Williams to prominence and the failure of One.Tel similarly projected Jodie Rich, James Packer and Lachlan Murdoch into the public spotlight.

There were many management celebrities during this period, some local and other from overseas. The business schools hailed theorists such as Peter Drucker, Michael Porter, Peter Senge, Tom Peters, Robert Waterman, Henry Mintzberg, Chris Argyris and Alfred Chandler as paving the management traditions. The media followed the fortunes of Bill Gates and Warren Buffett. Business and economics segments and programs were produced to inform and entertain listening and viewing audiences.

7.3.13 Intolerance, Affluenza and Fragmentation

The Longest Decade

Australian society began the new millennium century in much the same way as it had ended the previous one. Economic growth continued, budget surpluses accumulated, the stock market expanded, and unemployment declined. The economic policies of the 1980s and

1990s continued into the new millennium and the social policies of the Howard-Costello government continued unabated.

As indicated earlier in Table 33, the ASX All Ordinaries Index took only five years to gain a further 1,000 points, reaching 4,000 points in 2005. The following two years saw it gain 1,000 points each year. After many years of successive growth, the Australian economy began to outperform its bigger rivals across the oceans. Megalogenis described the 2000s as 'the longest decade', meaning that the patterns of the 1990s continued into the new century without discernible changes in social or economic life.[110]

While material prosperity continued, some commentators noted concerning trends in the lifestyle of Australians in the de-regulated, work-dominated, social and economic context. Australians were becoming more intolerant of others, suffering from 'affluenza' and becoming slaves rather than masters of the economy.

An Age of Intolerance

Social researcher Hugh Mackay[111] observed that the period from 1990 was an age where Australian society had unparalleled material wealth, but where record numbers of anti-depressants and minor tranquillisers were consumed. One part of society became extremely wealthy while another lacked access to basic services and had a markedly reduced lifespan. The modal household contained one person, marriage was declining and families were more diverse, as divorced parents re-partnered. Separation of the city and the bush remained, but fewer families worked the land with fewer family members. Cultural diversity had never been as broad and Christian church attendance was in decline, but church schools had record enrolments. It was an age beyond Christian morality, where people cherished their freedoms but urged the government to regulate other people's behaviour more and more. Hugh Mackay called it the Rise of Intolerance.

There were many contradictions in this postmodern world, particularly moral and value contradictions. Personal moral choices covered a broader spectrum, but voting tended to elect the conservative and return the incumbent. The residents of cities become obsessed with law and order, fears of personal safety and the security of property. Work and debt dominated people's lifestyles as addictions to gambling and alcohol were profitably encouraged. It was fuelled by a sense of being lost in an 'all too complicated' world with too many options and too many choices, where loyalty to the group had intense meaning and individual style was paramount – tattoos, body piercings, fashion, iPods, texting, black cars, 'emo' fringes, … where things are a mode of self-expression and everything is really …. fashion!

Affluenza[112]

In spite of their economic and material prosperity, twenty-first century Australians were no happier. Attitude surveys indicated that Australian households, particularly those with middle and high incomes, were increasingly concerned about not having 'enough'. Despite bigger houses, renovated kitchens, an array of new appliances, entertainment luxury goods such as big-screen televisions, newer cars and designer label clothes, Australians grew more anxious. They were suffering from 'affluenza'.

Australia had become a prosperous society and marketers of a dazzling range of consumer goods were highly effective at promoting affluence. They targeted ever-present anxieties and insecurities, blurring the boundaries between 'wants' and 'needs', projecting products as the means to assuring self-esteem and social acceptance, even envy. The consumer finance industry purposefully increased household debt, promoting a further decline in personal savings. Australians worked longer hours and stayed in the workforce to service increased personal debt. Often they neglected family relationships while believing that such sacrifices would later reap their rewards.

Growing incomes were not promoting a sense of well-being for individuals and society. If Australians wanted to be happier, then changes in values, politics and economics needed to occur.

Fragmentation of Working Life[113]

As indicated earlier, the economic prosperity of the 1990s resulted in major changes to the working lives of Australian people. The Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training (ACIRRT) reported that the social and work landscapes became fragmented and characterised by more diverse choices, a greater range of opportunities, and deeper and different equality.

It nominated studies that highlighted rising wage inequality between men and women, increased changed hours of work, the intensification of work, increases in compensable stress claims, labour market 'churning', preferences for more hours of work for those in part-time work and less hours for those in full-time work, low levels of investment in training, and a tendency for companies to retain earnings rather than pay dividends. They asserted that each of those elements favoured the 'haves' over the 'have-nots'.

ACIRRT posited a number of possible futures including a commercial life model: *market as master*. This future is characterised by acute socio-economic polarisation, whereby those who

are 'income rich and time poor' have the problems of overwork and anti-social hours of work, while the number of unemployed and itinerant workers would swell. As a consequence, government human services such as health, education, housing and justice would have greater demands upon them.

Another possible future was a working life model: *market as servant.* In this option, social cohesion is nurtured by limited social divisions based on market incomes with working hours based on flexibility and spread fairly. Increased portability and pooling arrangements would apply. As a consequence, the demand for government human services recedes as social and economic policies deliver social cohesion rather than division.

Achieving the latter would require changes in political policy in areas such as taxation, public expenditure, and attitude towards industry and incomes. But so long as market economics and inherent competition remained such potent factors in Australian society, it was hard to conceive how the principal assets of wealth and property could be shifted from individual to greater social use.

Money abounded in the stock and property markets but the sense of community continued to erode and the institutions of family and marriage took more diverse meanings. During the 1990s, social reform was moved aside in the push to economic reform. The wealthy and glamorous became virtuous and the poor were blamed for not working harder. Indigenous peoples were lauded for their culture or sporting abilities but experienced an alarmingly shorter life expectancy and considerably lower socio-economic status. Immigration and race were topics of heated discussion at dinner parties and bar-b-ques. Left wing politics became unfashionable and idealism despised. Money became attractive, with fewer questions asked as to how it was made or where it came from.[114]

The trend towards market and social fragmentation was intensified through technology such as email and the internet, which further separated the message from the messenger via online banking, retail, gaming, dating and chat rooms. As people worked harder and smarter, their lives grew materially more prosperous, but streets and suburbs became deserted by day while cafés and restaurants filled with patrons dining away from the home. Australians embraced new and bigger cars, private health care and private schools; they followed the cult of the celebrity, drank more alcohol and took both prescribed and non-prescribed drugs in record quantities, reporting depression, anxiety and stress to their doctors like never before. They gained assets but became time-poor. While enjoying a far higher material standard of living than the war generation, by the turn of the century, there were clear signs of imbalance,

insecurity and anxiety. Discussion of work-home balance, of 'sea-change' and 'tree-change' filled the conversation at dinner parties.

7.3.14 **Executive Remuneration**

Executive remuneration rose to unprecedented levels in Australia and other advanced economies as medium to large businesses increased their capitalisation. While this trend generated some popular interest and corporate governance academics monitored its trends and risks, high profile corporate failures such as HIH (2000), Enron (2001), Worldcom (2002), Global Crossing (2002), and Parmalat (2003) provided the impetus for investigations of governance practices and proposals for regulatory change. In the UK the Higgs Report and the Smith Report were both completed in 2003. In the USA the Sarbanes-Oxley Act produced the most significant reform of US corporate law in many decades.[115]

A series of regulatory responses took place in Australia. The Australian Stock Exchange (ASX) convened a Corporate Governance Council in August 2002 and in March 2003 released its guidelines. In January 2003 a range of new ASX Listing Rules took effect. On 16 April 2003 His Honour Justice Owen tabled the final report of the HIH Royal Commission, recommending changes to the regulatory framework to force appropriate disclosure of executive remuneration and recommending clarification and extension of the duties of company officers. In May 2003 the ASX Listing Rules were altered to compel the disclosure of remuneration policies relating to key executives. Further changes were made to the Australian accounting standards (effective June 2004) and the *Corporations Act* (effective July 2004) requiring the disclosure of executive remuneration. The *Corporate Law Economic Reform Program (Audit Reform and Corporate Disclosure) Act* 2004 (also known as CLERP 9) became law on 1 July 2004 defining a number of changes including mandatory audits for Top 500 listed companies.[116]

Carlin and Ford reported that the use of executive remuneration plans in Australia showed considerable growth between 1997 and 2002, with more firms adopting options schemes and increasing the size of those schemes. The number of firms in their sample with schemes increased from 81.25% in 1997 to 96.875%. Non-board senior executives with some form of option-based remuneration increased from approximately 73% to 94%. They concluded that the Australian levels of options schemes were comparable with those reported for the top 100 US firms and provided a mechanism of wealth transfer to a select group of actors within the organisation. Those actors had a vested interest in maintaining and building the company's share price and were also responsible for decisions and the release of information that could

adversely affect the share price. As a consequence the prospect of poor governance outcomes was real.[117]

Carlin and Ford later confirmed increasing use of executive options schemes in a larger sample of Australian companies between 1997 and 2004. The data from this sample showed an increase from 53% in 1997 to 78% in 2004 and confirmed a measured increase in the scale of the options plans. In assessing public interest in executive options, they counted the number of articles in major Australian newspapers, noting a rise from six in 1999 to 19 in 2000, but described this as virtually no media interest. However, in 2002 there were 252 articles counted, with interest halving in 2001 and again in 2002. They concluded that executive options schemes remained significant in the Australian context.[118]

In 2007 the average earnings for an American worker was just under US$34,000 but the same year Lloyd Blankfein, chief executive officer at US investment bank Goldman Sachs received US$73.7 million, ahead of Richard S. Fuld of Lehman Brothers (US$71.9 million), James Dimon of JP Morgan Chase (US$20.7 million) and Kenneth D. Lewis of Bank of America (US$20.1 million). If the average American worked for an investment bank then the chief executive officer would earn upwards of 591 times his/her salary.[119]

In January 2010 the Productivity Commission released its report on Executive Remuneration in Australia finding that executive remuneration grew steadily at around 6-7% between 1993 and 2009, peaking in 2007 before returning to levels similar to 2004.[120] The Commission reported that in 2007 the average CEO remuneration for the top 50 ASX listed companies was $8 million.[121] In August 2007 the average annual earnings for an Australian worker were roughly $57,400.[122] So CEOs of the top 50 ASX listed companies were paid on average approximately 139 times the average wage. The Productivity Commission report indicated that the average CEO in the financial industry was paid over 70 times the average earnings of an Australian worker.[123]

Since the 1990s, the common citizen became more concerned that senior executives of medium and large companies make vast sums of money when business conditions are favourable but do not seem to suffer loss of income when economic downturns occur or businesses fail. A further quandary was the termination settlements reported in the media when executives leave companies, often following underperformance. While public companies needed to recruit high calibre executive managers, there was a trend for executive managers to use the company as a means to create excessive personal wealth.[124]

In 1954, Drucker highlighted excessive executive remuneration as an indicator of the risk of poor management practice and possible business failure. He reported research undertaken by a prominent and venerable American investment bank examining hundreds of businesses identified widely disparate executive salary levels as indicative of poor management, while parity of salary amongst the top four or five indicated good management performance. If the top executive in the company was paid several times that of the second, third and fourth highest executives, then the company was highly likely to be poorly managed. But if the top four or five executives were paid similar amounts, then management performance and moral was likely to be high. The size of the salaries was not so important and a range of 75% to 90% between levels indicated favourable performance.[125]

He re-iterated the importance of salary differences in 1974, declaring that an income ratio of 1:10 or 1:12 between the factory blue-collar worker and the top executive was 'right'. Starbuck noted that Drucker later confirmed that the 1:12 salary ratio operated in the military between enlisted privates and generals.

Drucker regarded parity of salary as a moral issue and he remained critical of American business, claiming that it was becoming cynical during the 1960s. If businesses failed, management was responsible. Management had a duty to its stockholders and its employers. It was not in the business of granting itself pay-rises and stock options as a means of 'incentivising' the management team. In Drucker's world, performance should be rewarded, not failure.[126]

Drucker's ratio of 1:12 lives on in some industries such as government, while those with much larger capitalisation are able to command higher remuneration, but his analysis of cynicism and greed is timeless.

7.3.15 Lies, Jibberish and Jargon

"One of the things you gradually get used to in America is the extent to which corporations and other big businesses lie to you."[127]

"Our topic this week is a feature of modern life that really gets up my nasal passages, namely the way corporations do things to make life easy for themselves and then pretend it's for your benefit. You can usually tell this is happening when the phrase 'for your convenience' or 'in order to provide a better service for our customers' appears somewhere in writing."[128]

The onslaught of management jargon not only confused the customer, but also the employee and the shareholder. It occurred for various reasons. On the one hand, the role of private sector business is to make profit, and on the other hand, customers like to believe that they are valued and important. They value good service, reliable goods and value for money. The tension between these two factors often results in goods and services of a quality limited by profitability, but marketed as more.

When businesses need to rein in costs, service and profit can collide. Telephone systems give messages to queued callers saying 'Your call is important to us' while promoting a customer experience of being held at arm's length and ignored with an uncertain future. The same can be said for bank branch closures in remote locations which forced customers (including the disabled, the elderly and the infirmed) to use ATMs, telephone banking or the internet. In these examples, largely drawn from retail banking operations, the commercial fact was (and is) that face-to-face retail banking transactions were not commercially viable whereas ATM or computer-based transactions were. It is perfectly intelligible that a customer would feel 'let down' at one level and 'confused' at another, when told that his/her branch or account is being closed "to provide a better service".

Watson, Frank and others[129] make the case for the bamboozlement of the customer, but often both employees and shareholders are similarly left dazzled by the 'spin' or gibberish of management. Employees often bear the brunt of strategic plans, re-structures and business process re-engineering in their daily work. They receive any number of communications from management which propose internal re-organisation or changes in operating procedures "to provide a better service". Shareholders too need to be able to read the 'spin' of the CEO and the board. The role of the CEO in the large public company has changed slightly in recent times. The role has gravitated towards being the recognised face of the business and championing the share price so as to maximise the capital available in the business. CEOs talk of how the company has got their strategy 'right', that revenues are 'encouraging', that costs are 'within expectations', that the business is 'well positioned in the current environment'. When actual profit is less than what was forecasted, s/he turns to 'unexpected events' but quickly adds that the final result was not 'as bad as it could have been'. The corporate head has become a hybrid between a salesman and a politician, someone who can talk up the benefits and talk down the risks. The patter of the CEO has become *clichéd*, ritualised, indoctrinated and, worst of all, predictable. As outlined in the earlier section on Executive Remuneration, s/he has also become incredibly well paid.[130]

The worst example of gibberish is the proliferation of acronyms, particularly Three Letter Acronyms (TLAs), which are perpetuated in all forms of business and often serve to confuse the listener in presentations. Fluent presenters appear to no longer use words when they have TLAs to describe KPI downturns in the GFC of the USA.[131]

The relationships between shareholders, management, employees and customers have inherent tensions. There is push and pull; power struggles, both small and large; wrestling over money, freedoms and resources. The language of management provides a way of dealing with these problems, often by skirting around the most emotive issues, avoiding confrontation, allowing the parties to save face. Or it can be used to confuse and impose the wishes of the more powerful, even to lie. These problems remain. Is modern management, with its gibberish and jargon, the problem or the solution?

7.3.16 A Crisis for Capitalism

Ferguson provided a thorough account of how, when and where the global financial crisis arose.[132] But he also traced the origins of the financial institutions and major forces that combined to produce it - banks, public listed companies, share markets, personal and public debt, variable-rate mortgages, insurance, risk instruments, derivatives and pressure for home ownership.

In the domino-like meltdown of investors, companies, and governments, arguably Australia fared the best, probably due to the regulation of its financial industry and more conservative lending policies. But the financial industry was not the most regulated industry in Australia. The alcohol, tobacco, pharmaceuticals, communications, aviation and road transport industries were far more regulated than the financial industry. It was more the case that other countries had less regulated financial systems than Australia and less conservative lending policies, and that the level of regulation present at the time, when combined with more conservative lending policies, was more sufficient.

Ferguson referred to the ferocious and consuming nature of corporate capitalism. He questioned the rapacious remuneration of executives and senior managers. He challenged the fundamental nature of the management of the US economy, namely borrowing to fund consumption in order to grow. A co-dependent relationship between China and the USA had developed, with China lending money to the USA to maintain its production for American consumption, and Ferguson called it 'Chimerica'. The global financial crisis was more than a money supply predicament, it was a crisis for capitalism, particularly 'managerial capitalism'.

The governments of the advanced economies adopted a unified approach to managing the crisis. Rescuing the banks was necessary to prevent a more devastating destruction of businesses and economies; money supply needed stability; fiscal stimulus packages were necessary to promote economic growth and maintain employment levels; and further regulation was required to prevent a crisis such as this arising again.

In all the angst and brow-furrowing, the main questions have centred on how the crisis should be managed, by governments, business and the financial sector. No matter how big the problem, politicians and business leaders continue to believe its solution lies in management and with management.

7.4   Chapter Summary

Management dominated business, government and the political agenda from the 1990s to 2009. Economic management became the principal element in government policies, even the central issue for political campaigns. Management discourse spread beyond business and pervaded public discourse.

The market economy ruled and successive Australian governments continued economic reform agenda with privatisation, corporatisation and de-regulation of government instrumentalities, building upon the fundamental shifts to competition and market-based economics undertaken in the 1980s. Big business grew considerably bigger through market capitalisation or acquisitions as the economy improved during the 1990s. As business grew bigger, more complex and more diverse, management extended its capabilities. Focus on performance based remuneration and advances in computer and communications technology enhanced the importance of management in business. Re-structures and business transformation projects were deployed widely to exploit profitable markets or reduce transaction costs. Business turned 'cool' and Australians spent more time at work seeking productivity and prosperity. Union power was weakened as membership declined and further curtailed through the Waterfront Dispute and Work Choices legislation.

The Karpin Report contended that the future success of Australia as a nation and economy lay with Australia's managers and heralded the arrival of a critical mass of management expertise. While critical of Australian managers, business leaders and management education, its conclusions were that Australia's leading managers were amongst the best in the world and it proposed solutions including, a re-vamping of the management education industry.

The workforce was awash with managers bearing manifold titles and functions. The number of managers continued to grow, passing the 1,000,000 mark in 2001, and reaching 1.2 million in May 2009. The business schools enjoyed continued growth as the management education industry expanded. Business passed Arts as the most popular undergraduate field of study and continued to extend its lead with the number of business students tripling. The subject matter of management education grew more diverse, promoting both technical and generalist material in publications.

Management consultancies continued to prosper, with revenues increasing remarkably in some cases and the structure of the industry remaining very similar. The large consulting houses concentrated on strategy development with some specialisation in areas such as information technology management and organisational change. Australian management consulting companies continued to be instrumental in the development and diffusion of management discourse but were joined in this role by management education which similarly enjoyed international networks.

Management discourse spread across the workplace as management concepts were applied in private sector, public and not-for profit sectors, in settings such as sport, health, law and relationships. Management phrases and concepts moved from work into the public domain.

The Howard years saw a vibrant economy, with a narrower and tougher perspective on social issues. Business prospered, social and environmental policies were narrower, the resources boom returned and work dominated. Government taxation revenues were positive, spending was in fashion and consumption a way of life. But prosperity had its limitations - a lack of caring, a degree of intolerance, 'affluenza' and fragmented work and social environments. The global financial crisis challenged the world's economic and financial systems and international economic management was invoked by the world's governments.

Management discourse permeated public discourse. Its jargon was repeated not only by managers in business, but also by politicians, athletes, religious figures, conservationists, and doctors. It was spoken not only in the electronic mass media, but wherever people communicated. It had spread through work and personal domains.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1   Research Questions

Chapter 1 introduced the area of research by outlining the prior economic, business and management history research undertaken, revealing the lack of a comprehensive history of management in Australia. Analysis of this research also demonstrated a tendency for some authors to portray the history of managers and management in Australia as emerging during the twentieth century and dominated by American influences. Arising from this were the two principal research questions. The dissertation now formally addresses the research questions to summarily answer them on the basis of the research which examined the development of management through institutions such as the position of 'manager', the public company, industrial relations, management consulting, management education and management discourse.

8.1.1   Essentially American ideas throughout the twentieth century?

The first research question arising from the review of the literature asked:

> Was the history of management in Australia essentially the adoption of American management ideas and techniques throughout the twentieth century?

The history of management in Australia was not essentially the adoption of American management ideas and techniques throughout the twentieth century. There were managers in Australia from 1799, possibly earlier, and the history of their practice extended throughout the nineteenth century. Early managers adapted British institutions and practices such as colonial governance, forming settlements, farming and grazing practices, systems of accounting, finance and banking, civil, military and company law well before the twentieth century. Management practices developed according to the local setting.   The appointment of managers to farms and grazing properties was an early departure from conventional British farm practice and the work of an Australian farm manager varied from his British counterpart. The public company was a British institution and an important context for managers in the colonial setting. British and local influences dominated for most of the nineteenth century in the formation of Australia's main industries: farming, wool, mining and services. Some American influences appeared late in the nineteenth century with the recruitment of Americans to prominent mining companies to apply their international mining experience.

American management ideas and techniques were clearly evident in Australia during the early twentieth century in trade journals discussing scientific management, industrial psychology and the personnel function. American multinationals were important in establishing the motor vehicle manufacturing industry, in advertising and in management consulting. Following World War II American military, business and popular culture influences increased in the Australian context. American companies entered the Australian market in manufacturing, advertising, accounting, management consulting and many other fields, establishing Australian branches, securing market share and influencing Australian business. The American business school and MBA model of management education were influential in the establishment of the Australian Graduate School of Management and in early management training and education.

But British influences were also present in trade journals and publications, advertising, auditing, accounting, management education and management consulting. British institutions endured in the Australian context – the Westminster system, the rule of law, accounting, finance and banking systems, the public company and the branch structure. British multinationals were important in establishing the chemical industry, in advertising and in management consulting. The British management education industry influenced the early Australian management education industry.

Local influences continued during the twentieth century. Factors such as the strong wool and mining sectors, the paternalistic role of government, the federation of states, the popularity of trade unions, centralised industrial arbitration and wage fixing, the predominance of the services sector as the major employer, and the industry protection policies defined and differentiated Australia during the twentieth century.

Australia was part of the international network of the British Empire from the first settlement in 1788 and wider international networks developed through migration, trade, industry and advances in communications and transportation throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

8.1.2 Why the last two decades of the twentieth century?

The second research question was formulated as:

> Why was it not until the last two decades of the twentieth century that management ideas and techniques were adopted widely in the Australian workplace?

Australia was somewhat late to adopt the American model of management education, the business school and the MBA, but not far behind other advanced economies and before many others. The USA pioneered the business school with the MBA qualification from the 1880s through the early 1900s. Canada adopted the university MBA model in 1948, but France and Switzerland took a further decade, and the United Kingdom founded its national business schools in 1965, but took a further 21 years to adopt the MBA qualification. Australia adopted the MBA in 1963 prior to founding a national business school in 1976. Despite the USA occupying Germany after World War II, Germany was particularly slow to adopt the MBA along with other European countries.

Throughout the twentieth century, all industrial economies had methods of business education ranging from on-the-job training to the business school. The UK had the Cranfield and Henley management education programs prior to its national business schools. In Australia's case, management training preceded management education and established colleges during the 1950s before the universities adopted the MBA in 1963. Australia's management education industry retained close ties with the British as well as the American industry following World War II.

Australia's management consulting industry began somewhat later than those in the USA and Great Britain but developed as part of an international network. To some extent, the remoteness of Australia from the USA and Europe restricted the exchange of ideas, while its smaller population and market size limited the size of the industry. Small and distributed population compared to Great Britain and America constrained and delayed Australia's adoption of mass production and mass marketing.

The lateness of Australia's industrialisation and focus on domestic rather than international markets also played a role in explaining its lateness to adopt and develop management. The World Wars spurred Australia towards self-sufficiency and import replacement, but the post-war period saw Australia's manufacturing sector decline during the 1970s rather than expand into foreign markets. The steel, chemical and communications industries had little or no competition, with BHP, ICIANZ and the government monopolising the respective industries and provided further protection through tariffs. If the converse had occurred and Australia had focused on international markets as the USA did, then it seems likely that the industry would have contained more competitors and management would have held a higher profile.

Another explanation for lateness is that, as a small economy that developed from a resources base within the British Empire, Australia became effective at importing and adapting technology from the English-speaking major economies. During the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries, Australia adopted British institutions such as the public company and the branch structure. The building of steelworks, chemical plants, motor vehicle assembly-lines and electricity power stations replicated overseas technologies which were tried and proven under competitive conditions. The role of the manager and management practice were embedded in the public company, the branch structure and mass production technology when they were implemented in Australia. As an importer of proven technology, Australia had less impetus to develop its own.

But perhaps the strongest reasons were Australians' commitment to trade unions and acceptance of paternalistic government. Until the 1970s, the government, employers and unions had co-existed and generally provided workers with a high standard of living. Public sympathies lay with the underdog rather than the tall poppy and class struggle was engrained within the Australian *psyche*. The 1970s saw an escalation of turbulence and problems that state paternalism and trade unions could not solve.

The 1980s was the period in Australian history when the forces for management were growing stronger, while those resisting it were considerably weakened. The old economic and industrial relations policies began to be replaced and management education and consulting provided the ideas and techniques for businesses to change. The business environment became more turbulent and competitive and business recognised the need for change. Management changed business and then the broader society. Widespread acceptance was achieved through political rhetoric and the influence of management education, consulting and discourse.

Prior to that time, state paternalism, industry protection and centralised arbitration remained firmly in place. Tariffs protected local manufacturers and primary producers against overseas competition. Foreign banks were excluded from banking licences and the foreign exchange rate was regulated. The Arbitration Court heard disputes between management and the unions and determined central wage cases. All of these measures, sensible and reasonable in their own way, insulated the Australian economy from broader market forces, preserving a way of life that had been fashioned in another era, when Australia's major trading partner was Great Britain.

The rise of the salaried manager was a patient process, from the backroom to the boardroom. Managers occupied positions in a range of industries and contexts within businesses throughout the twentieth century. Australian business started to change in the 1960s and 1970s, but regulation, protection and central arbitration remained. The trend towards management education and consulting was evident in the 1960s and gathered momentum

during the 1970s with the opening of the AGSM. But widespread acceptance occurred during the 1980s when management was promoted in the political arena as well as in business. During the 1980s the management education industry expanded rapidly, producing hundreds, then thousands of graduates. The management consulting industry also expanded, rapidly stimulated by a de-regulated and turbulent environment.

Australia embraced management at a time when its markets were consolidated by transport and communications, notably television and radio networks, when many businesses had a focus on national markets. Australia was arguably the world's first economy where the services sector was the dominant employer, not manufacturing. Australia's management revolution occurred in a services dominated context, not manufacturing, as was the case in Great Britain and the USA.

8.2   New View of Australian Management History

Most management and business scholars have looked to Australia's history in the twentieth century to inform the literature on the modern enterprise, big business and management. But Australia's first managers were appointed in the late eighteenth century. The starting point for Australian management history should be at least 1788, when people talked about 'management', even if it pertained to aborigines, convicts and canoes. The early colonists considered and spoke of the 'management' of various things, probably before the first manager was appointed. If we accept that Australia's first managers were in the eighteenth century, then Australian management history takes a very different course, because it starts from a much earlier point and begins in the contexts of colony, farming and grazing.

The appointment of managers and agents was a British institution as were company law, banking, finance and government. There were managers and management practice in Great Britain in the eighteenth century and in earlier times, embedded in language and culture. Australia adopted further management practices of Great Britain in the nineteenth century and adapted them according to the local context. Australia's colonial history provides a case study in the diffusion of that practice, with local adaptation accompanying adoption.

This dissertation outlined the history of managers and management in Australia, examining the influence of Great Britain, the USA and local factors in its emergence and development. These were the dominant three influences in the long run view of history as Australian management rose to become a prominent and powerful discipline.

Australia began to modernise from early in the twentieth century and the role of trade journals and publications, management consultants, the practices of employers, management training and management education were influential in its development. But this dissertation has also argued the importance of industrial relations, advertising, business services such as accounting, audit and stock-brokers, and the development of international networks in expanding the scope and practice of Australian managers.

The new view of Australian management history focuses on *the management rush of the 1980s* with its three related theses:

the slow rise of the salaried manager preceded widespread acceptance of management as a discipline;

a *management rush* occurred during the 1980s; and

management subsequently dominated business, politics and in the public domain.

8.2.1 The Slow Rise of the Salaried Manager

The slow rise of the salaried manager began in the early colony's most critical industries, farming and grazing, and continued through diverse contexts, notably in strategically important export industries such as wool and mining, but also in service industries such as banking, insurance, transport and retail. The manager or agent was yoked to the public company from at least 1824. Managers were appointed to public companies from 1836, but probably earlier. There were managing directors of banks from 1827 and managers were appointed in the 1830s with expansion in the number of branches.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the wool industry expanded and the economy diversified. Public companies and banks grew bigger and the number of managers increased. Some company managers became more prominent within the colonies, but generally they remained as salaried employees, separate to owners and with considerably less status.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the rise of the salaried manager continued, coupled to the rise of public companies which grew bigger, wealthier and more prominent in mining and other industries. The railways were the largest organisations with hierarchies across functional and geographic areas, but they employed few staff called 'managers'. The rise of the public company was the vehicle for the rise of the salaried manager. Branch and agency structures were the means to increased numbers of managers as were new businesses in a broad range of manufacturing and service industries.

The trends of the late nineteenth century continued during the twentieth century as public companies, banks and other bureaucracies continued to expand and the economy became more diverse as new industries emerged. Career managers slowly began to be appointed as board members and then rose to occupy the chair. In the 1970s, the dominant directors in most of the very large companies were professional salaried managers. They occupied the chair and other roles because of their technical and managerial skills as salaried employees, rather than the shares they owned. The public company was regarded as the epitome of private enterprise and the professional manager had established a career path to the board.

The salaried manager had moved from the backroom of the company to its boardroom. But it was a slow rise, having taken almost 150 years.[1] While the numbers of managers grew by thousands during the twentieth century, management as a discipline was practically unknown in Australia before the 1970s.

8.2.2 The Management Rush

The widespread acceptance of management ideas and techniques occurred rapidly during the 1980s. The salaried manager had risen to the top of the public company, the numbers of managers increased, business schools and management education expanded rapidly, the management consulting industry grew, management journals and publications flourished, and management discourse spread into the political and public arenas.

The key political policy changes were de-regulation, tariff reductions, exposure to competition, focus on productivity and the dismantling of the central arbitration system. The removal of numerous planks in the regulated and protected Australian economy forced business and management to change.

The *management rush* was not as dramatic as the gold rush, where people left their city jobs to seek their fortune, makeshift towns were created overnight, and fortunes were made in a week or a month. It was more a case where employees were trained or educated in management, where business engaged consultants to determine strategy, where businessmen and supervisors were called 'managers' and read and talked about management. Its rise as a discipline was coupled to the rapid expansion of the management education industry. It had formed within the universities prior to the 1960s, adopted the MBA in the early 1960s, developed during the 1970s and then expanded rapidly during the 1980s.

In essence, the management rush of the 1980s produced widespread acceptance of the discipline of management in Australia.

8.2.3 **Management Dominates**

From 1990 to 2009, management dominated business, government and the political agenda. Economic management became the central element in the federal and state governments' policies, even the central issue for political campaigns. As a consequence, management discourse pervaded public discourse.

In the workplace, management discourse spread across sectors. Management concepts were applied to private and public sector alike, as well as other settings such as not-for profit, sport, health, law and personal domains. Management was practised and talked about both in the workforce and elsewhere. As business got bigger and more complex, management provided a framework and a language to govern and control expanding organisations.

The many graduates of the management education industry in the 1980s were joined by even more graduates in the 1990s, who returned to their workplaces with alternate ideas of how things might be done and a broader understanding of business. The flagship business schools prospered as the management education industry expanded and re-structured. Management consultancies were busy re-defining corporate strategy, re-structuring workplaces to accommodate mergers, information technology implementations, outsourcing and cost-reduction programs.

The number of managers continued to grow, passing the one million mark in 2001 and reaching 1.2 million in May 2009. The workforce contained record numbers of managers with a myriad of titles and functions. Union power declined through dwindling membership numbers and was further curtailed through the Waterfront Dispute and Work Choices. The stock market grew rapidly, unemployment was low, interest rates were low, inflation was low and economic stability prevailed. Business prospered and the resources boom returned. Government taxation revenues grew, budget surpluses accumulated at federal and state levels, spending was in fashion and consumption a way of life. Work dominated and management ruled. But prosperity had its limitations: a lack of caring, a degree of intolerance, doubt about the fairness of executive remuneration. The global financial crisis threatened to de-stabilise the world economy and international economic management was required.

Management discourse became an established part of public discourse, its jargon disseminated not only by managers in business, but also by politicians, athletes, religious figures, conservationists and doctors. The language of management was spoken not only in the electronic mass media, but also in meetings, on mobile phone conversations, wherever

people communicated. It had spread through society and into personal domains such as finances and careers, even health and families.

8.2.4 The Future of Management

The recent trends in management predict its immediate future, but not its longer-term future. The decisions of business and politicians of the advanced nations to proceed with de-regulation of their economies and industries throughout the 1980s and 1990s created path dependencies for business, the environment and society. Management and business will determine their own futures, but changing circumstances in the world's population, economy and environment will shape their choices in the longer term.

Management will continue to extend its methods and discourse throughout and beyond business. It will continue to expand its domain as business becomes bigger and more complex.

Management will continue to grow internationally. The rise of the Chinese and Indian economies and the effects of the global financial crisis on the USA economy pose considerable shifts in the nature of global economics and business in coming decades.[2] If large population and low labour costs are the keys to global economic dominance, China and India are well positioned. Big business will continue to seek global marketing with low cost materials, production and distribution methods. International business will grow and dwarf an increasing number of nations. Management technologies will thus continue to be important to the development of China and India.

Management education and consulting will continue to grow as the business environment remains characterised by greater international competition. China and India continue to be important markets for the Australian management education and consulting industries, providing opportunities both in Australia and overseas.

Management education and discourse need to consolidate. While their trend to become more fragmented is part of a more general trend of knowledge, the education and research of the various schools of management persist in taking the student down divergent subject paths. To achieve better integration, management education needs to research and educate in core and integrated studies such as history and philosophy.

The most important questions and issues facing management are the concerns of Australian business and society. They are moral and pertain to sustainability and survival. The obvious ones are over-population, de-forestation, carbon emissions, water use, climate change,

corruption and the threats of war and terrorism. Just as international governments and economists were called upon to manage the global financial crisis in a collective and co-ordinated manner, so they will be called upon to manage these other problems.

Overpopulation is the greatest threat to the human species. Humans are presently consuming the earth's resources faster than the earth is able to replenish them. Economic management in advanced economies seems to be invariably predicated on increased growth in gross domestic product from year to year. Population growth through birth or immigration has assumed a pivotal position in perpetuating economic prosperity, yet continued population growth perpetuates the greatest threat to survival.

Business and management have often been regarded as exacerbating the problem of environmental degradation, whereas they are increasingly being called upon to provide the solutions. The Industrial Revolution has resulted in markedly higher levels of carbon-dioxide and global warming. While the sustainability movement has become an important counterbalance to tendencies towards exploitation and over-consumption, business and management will be involved in dealing with environmental imbalance and providing technologies to reduce these problems.

The lessons from the global financial crisis are yet to be learned. The advanced economies have taken some steps to define the causes and propose solutions but are yet to regulate in the key areas that precipitated the crisis. International regulatory reform of derivatives markets, lending policies, bankruptcy laws, share options schemes and executive salaries has not as yet occurred. Australia's regulation and policies have been examined as a model for success, but the Australian case highlights the lack of regulation in other sovereign nations.

Senior executive salaries are a recurring concern. From the 1960s Drucker repeatedly emphasised that business had become cynical and greedy. The company has become a vehicle for excessive executive management earnings. This is partly a problem of management but also of capitalism. Restraint is exercised zealously in some areas of business practice, but is completely lacking in others. Market forces are the repeated justification for exorbitant salary packages, but only widen the gap between company employees and company head. This is a moral problem, not a market problem. The balance between dividends and retained earnings, faced by Edward Knox in the 1850s when he rescued CSR, needs to be re-visited. Companies need attractive dividends, higher reserves and lower executive salaries to assure their viability. There is a strong case that executive managers in large corporations have been holding shareholders to ransom. Those same executive managers and corporations are very influential and powerful.

If management aspires to becoming a profession, then it has a series of issues to resolve, including accreditation by degree, membership of a professional body, commitment to a code of ethics, regulation by a governing professional body, indemnity and insurance. As management practice, education and discourse fragments, there is particular need to develop managers as citizens as well as practitioners in order to foster social cohesion.

8.3   Implications for Theory and Practice

8.3.1 Theory and Practice

Fleming, Merrett and Ville provided a foundational study of big business and corporate leadership in Australia during the twentieth century and were able to outline a case study within a Chandlerian framework.[3] An examination of the standing of the salaried manager, management discourse, education and consulting was largely beyond the scope of their enquiry. This dissertation complements their research and findings, presenting another narrative that occurred in big business and the broader society throughout the period.

The starting point for their data is 1910, but this dissertation contends that the origins of big business in Australia run far earlier with the public company and the railways, whose origins lay in the nineteenth century.

According to Chandler, management arose in the USA in conjunction with the modern enterprise (or big business). The modern 'managerial' enterprise emerged because of increased scope and scale of businesses, replacing traditional firms. The expanding population in the USA, combined with the capacity to geographically distribute goods via the railways enabled firms to grow larger and abandon traditional reliance on other firms.[4]

Chandler may outline a history of big business and management, but he does not outline a history of the manager. His articulation commences in the railways and describes organisational structures but leaves the reader uncertain when 'managers' were appointed and when complex and extensive operations were described as 'management'. This is somewhat of a side issue to the overall Chandler project, but it is an issue raised by this dissertation and is pertinent to Chandler's colossal and impressive body of work. It is clear, however, that by the 1880s in the USA, management and managers were interdependent concepts in language and had begun a self-conscious language of management perpetuated in industry, the scientific management movement and the business schools. Nonetheless, Chandler's framework needs some further revision.

Pollard, on the other hand, traces the rise of the manager and management in the British Industrial Revolution and, unlike Chandler, Pollard follows the paths of language and technology through Britain and Europe.[5] This dissertation now adds a path to Australia, an ocean sea voyage travelled in tall ships, then steamers and finally across the sky in aeroplanes.

Pollard argued that management rose in Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution, primarily through the textiles industry in Manchester and Bradford, but also through machinery foundries such as Boulton and Watt. Australia's pastoral industry grew markedly as it produced wool for the mills of northern England and, as a consequence, Australia's textile manufacturing industry remained very small, curtailing possible development of management in that context. The Industrial Revolution produced the rise of the manager in Great Britain as factory-based mass production increased.

Blainey's tyranny of distance played an important role in the development of Australian management, particularly during the nineteenth century.[6] It engendered local management practice and, as communication and transport technology reduced the effects of distance, management practice became more international.

The conditions that produced and fostered the emergence of management in Great Britain and the USA were not replicated in Australia, either at the time or subsequently. Australia's *management rush* occurred during the 1980s following the rise of the salaried manager and the establishment of institutions such as management consulting, management education and management discourse. The *management rush* transformed business and focused on productivity. Management subsequently ruled during the 1990s and 2000s as the Australian economy and its businesses gathered momentum. Management capability was one of the reasons why Australia's economy fared exceptionally well in the recent global financial crisis.

8.3.2 Philosophical and Moral Considerations

As iterated earlier this chapter, management education needs to research and educate in core and integrated studies. It also needs to develop its students as citizens and 'professionals'. Further study of strategy, economics, finance, human resources, operations and organisational studies will not meet these needs, as they require philosophical and moral enquiry.

Management and business operate within a moral framework but often are regarded as without one. In an age of increasing secularisation of morality in pragmatic Australian society, philosophy and morality are vexed pursuits. But they are necessary to place business and management within the broader society. Otherwise the 'I' and the 'me' continue to be detached from the 'us'. Philosophers such as the ancient Greeks, the Enlightenment thinkers,

the German Romanticists and the French existentialists provide the means and the background for philosophical and moral considerations in the western tradition.[7]

But there is also scope for an augmented role of historical studies in management education to develop a philosophical and moral framework. History can expound the rise and fall of societies, businesses, industries and nations. It can compare and contrast Australians to the Japanese and the French. It can show how the World Wars defined the major industrial economies for the remainder of the twentieth century. History has the power to explain the present in terms of the past, to then posit what future we will create for following generations.

Nietzsche concluded that the world was 'will to power'. Management is a form of power and control in organisations. Management is often defined as combining resources for specific purposes; it harnesses people, money, materials, systems and information to achieve the goals of the organisation. But with the rise of the salaried manager, it now determines the goals and strategy of the organisation. Managers impose their will on organisations, industries, economies, governments, stakeholders and the community. Managers make choices and are responsible for those choices. The question is to what extent those choices are in the interests of managers, shareholders, employees and the community.

8.4   Implications for Future Research

The purpose of this research was to provide an outline of the history of managers and management in Australia, identifying the main themes of that history. As such, this dissertation provides a framework for further management history research.

8.4.1 A Time for Consolidation

With the current trend of knowledge becoming more fragmented and diversified arises great need for cross-disciplinary approaches such as history to consolidate and integrate the ever-expanding universe of knowledge. As researchers scrutinises minutiae, there is a corresponding need for meta-analytic and long-run perspectives, such as this dissertation. This is particularly so in the academic discipline of management where finance, human resources and operations theorists often pursue their own fields of knowledge through independent journals with little reference to each other.

There is also a need for Australian management and business historians to consider an *opus magnus* at this time, when economics, business and management are so prominent in our society, particularly when Australia's economic performance fared so well compared to other

advanced economies. The lessons learned in dealing with past crises and situations are always relevant to current practice.

8.4.2 **Further Research**

This dissertation has raised many questions and issues, some of which were beyond its scope as an outline of the history of management in Australia. This research could be extended in a number of directions.

Firstly, a comparative study of the roles of farm and other managers in Australia, Great Britain and other colonies would be useful to clarify various colonial adaptations of practice.

Secondly, a more detailed study of the appointment of 'agents' and managers in public companies in Australia, would confirm how these roles compared, merged and diverged.

Thirdly, a study of 'ordinary' managers in the nineteenth century is needed to better understand the context, role and practice of lesser known and 'grass roots' managers.

Fourthly, a study of trade journals and publications between 1900 and 1980, indicating their content, circulation and readership, would be an important chapter in the development and diffusion of management practice.

Fifthly, an expanded study of changes in job titles and nomenclature between the 1950s and 1990s would track how changes occurred in various sectors and industries.

Sixthly, a history of the management education industry, noting the development of various management and business education institutions, practitioners and academics would be welcome. Inclusion of consultants and other private providers and some reference to management theory in other degree programs would embellish such an endeavour.

Seventhly, a history of management 'schools' or movements in Australia, such as strategic management, finance and accounting, human resources, operations and organisational studies, examining their discourse, the development of peak bodies and practice, journals and publications is also needed. This might produce short histories of financial management, human resource management, operations management or organisational studies.

Finally, a companion volume to Fleming, Merrett and Ville outlining company leadership in the nineteenth century would complete the picture of the emergence of big business in Australia.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1   Australian Population Growth 1790-1900

Year	Population	% increase p.a. in preceding 10 years
1790	2,000	-
1800	5,000	9.8
1810	12,000	8.3
1820	34,000	11.2
1830	70,000	7.6
1840	190,000	10.5
1850	405,000	7.8
1860	1,146,000	11.0
1870	1,648,000	3.7
1880	2,232,000	3.1
1890	3,151,000	3.5
1900	3,765,000	1.8

Source: Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* **p 29.**

APPENDIX 2   Value of Major Exports, NSW (including Port Phillip) and Van Diemen's Land 1822-50

Year	NSW	Van Diemen's Land	Total
1822		£4,162	
1823		£4,877	
1824		NA	NA
1825		£12,984	£12,894
1826	£49,374	£16,246	£6,5620
1827	£25,473	£14,444	£39,917
1828	£43,202	£25,891	£69,093
1829	£74,239	£41,072	£115,311
1830	£50,325	£38,897	£89,222
1831	£100,044	£62,131	£162,175
1832	£111,683	£67,129	£178,812
1833	£136,249	£68,976	£205,225
1834	£266,591	£109,392	£375,983
1835	£350,248	£154,741	£504,989
1836	£413,894	NA	NA
1837	£352,353	£331,936	£684,289
1838	£417,910	£250,750	£668,660
1839	£485,627	£358,369	£843,996
1840	£640,671	£341,030	£981,701
1841	£625,789	£290,169	£915,958
1842	£658,252	£255,209	£913,461
1843	£762,782	£208,177	£970,959
1844	£813,622	£187,859	£1,001,481
1845	£1,225,774	£204,995	£1,430,769
1846	£1,155,204	£243,030	£1,398,234
1847	£1,511,532	£269,996	£1,781,528
1848	£1,518,147	£217,416	£1,735,563
1849	£1,597,617	£230,477	£1,828,094
1850	£2,044,522	£271,849	£2,316,371

Note: NA – Not available

Source: Butlin, N. G., 1994, *Forming a Colonial Economy, Australia1810-1850* **p 192.**

APPENDIX 3   Indicators of the Economic Structure of Eastern Australia, about 1850 and 1890

Indicators of the Economic Structure of Eastern Australia, about 1850

Share of workforce, 1851	*%*
Shepherds and stockmen	20
Engaged in agriculture or horticulture	15
Engaged in trade, commerce or manufacturing	15
Mechanics and artificers	8
Domestic servants	13
Professional and educated persons	4
Labourers (unspecified)	15
Other occupations	10
Total	**100**
Share of exports, 1848-1851	*%*
Sent to Britain	82
Elsewhere	18
Total	**100**
Wool	67
Tallow	11
Livestock	6
Whale oil and sealskins	2
Other exports	14
Total	**100**
Share of total population	*%*
Metropolitan	29
Other urban	5
Rural	66
Total	**100**

Source: Jackson, 1977, Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century, p 7

Indicators of the Economic Structure of Eastern Australia, about 1890

Share of workforce, 1890-91	*%*
Rural	26
Mining	6
Manufacturing	15
Construction	14
Services	34
Other	5
Total	**100**
Share of gross domestic product, 1891	*%*
Rural	25
Mining	6
Manufacturing	11
Construction	14
Services and other	44
Total	**100**
Exports (1886-90)	13
Imports (1886-90)	17
Share of exports, 1886-90	*%*
Wool	66
Gold	14
Other	20
Total	**100**
Share of total population	*%*
Metropolitan	36
Other urban	15
Rural	49
Total	**100**

Source: Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* **p 21.**

APPENDIX 4   Banks and Branches by State 1817-1910

	NSW		Tas		SA		WA		Vic		Qld		NT	
	Banks	Branches	Banks	Branches	Banks	Branches	Banks	Branches	Banks	Branches	Banks	Branches	Banks	Branches
1817	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1820	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1830	3	3	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1840	6	12	7	10	2	2	1	1	3	3	-	-	-	-
1850	4	7	4	7	3	3	1	1	2	5	1	1	-	-
1860	8	57	5	9	4	15	1	1	9	105	5	10	-	-
1870	10	99	5	9	6	50	2	6	11	185	5	32	-	-
1880	11	268	5	21	8	126	3	13	14	336	6	79	1	1
1890	17	569	5	44	10	151	5	26	19	553	12	198	2	2
1900	13	423	4	40	7	103	6	79	12	460	11	173	2	2
1910	15	616	5	54	8	176	6	164	12	633	11	257	2	2

Source: S. J Butlin, A. R. Hall, R. C. White, 'Australian Banking and Monetary Statistics, 1817-1945', *Occasional Paper No. 4A*, Reserve Bank of Australia, Sydney, 1971.

APPENDIX 5   Australian Banks and Branches 1817-1914

Year	Banks	Branches
1817	1	1
1820	1	1
1830	7	8
1840	14	28
1850	8	24
1860	16	197
1870	21	381
1880	26	844
1890	31	1,543
1900	22	1,280
1910	22	1,902
1914	23	2,051

Source: S. J Butlin, A. R. Hall, R. C. White, 'Australian Banking and Monetary Statistics, 1817-1945', *Occasional Paper No. 4A*, Reserve Bank of Australia, Sydney, 1971.

APPENDIX 6   Australian Dictionary of Biography Managers 1788-1900

1840	Morehead, Robert Archibald Alison (1814? - 1885)	he applied for the post of manager in Australia for the Scottish Australian Co., formed in Aberdeen in 1839-40, and was appointed on condition that he took 1000 shares and gave surety for £5000
1842	Robinson, Joseph Phelps (1815 - 1848)	a partner of Benjamin Boyd and resident manager of the Royal Bank of Australia.
1849	John Ritchie	manager at Byrnes's woollen mill at Parramatta
1850's	Bell, James Thomas Marsh (1839 - 1903)	station manager for his uncle
1850s	William Salier	The merchant business expanded to New Norfolk, Tas with William as manager
1854	Brunning, George (1830 - 1893)	became manager of John Rule's nursery at Richmond , Vic
1855	Tinline, George (1815 - 1895)	became manager of the Bank of South Australia
c1855	Edward Wrench	joined the Australian Joint Stock Bank, rising in a few years to general manager
1856	Hassell, John Frederick (Jnr)	manager of Kendenup station at Albany, WA
c1856	Moore, William Dalgety (1835 - 1910)	Hamersley & Co. in the Irwin River District, later becoming its manager
1857	Hill, James Richard (1836 - 1898)	manager of the Bank of New South Wales in Tamworth
1858	Brown, Nicholas John (1838 - 1903)	managed his brother-in-law's property at Richmond and then Philip Smith's Syndal estate at Ross, Tas.
c1858	Sheil, Laurence Bonaventure (1815 - 1872)	secretary and manager of the Catholic education board of Victoria
1860	Throssell, George (1840 - 1910)	manager of W. Padbury & Co., general store-keepers, in Perth
1861	Boothby, Benjamin (1839 - 1885)	manager of the South Australian waterworks
1861	Rutherford, James (1827 - 1911)	general manager, extended Cobb & Co.'s operations to New South Wales and Queensland
1862	Auld, William Patrick (1840 - 1912)	manager of the Auldana vineyard owend by the South Auldana Vineyard Association Ltd
1862	White, Robert Hoddle Driberg (1838 - 1900)	manager of the Bank of New South Wales at Toowoomba, Queensland
1862	Metcalfe, Michael (1813 - 1890)	was manager of Metcalfe's Marine Assurance Co
c1862	Mais, Henry Coathupe (1827 - 1916)	engineer and general manager of the Melbourne Railway Co. for three years
1863	Young, Edmund Mackenzie (1838 - 1897)	manager of the South Australian branch of the National Bank of Australasia

1863-97	Dangar, Albert Augustus	general manager of the pastoral holdings of Dangar Brothers.
1863	Dowling, Vincent James (1835 - 1903)	active manager of 1300 square miles (3367 km²) in the Warrego district of Queensland
1864	Hill, Charles Lumley (1840 - 1909)	manager of Northampton Downs, Qld
c1864	Anderson, John Wilson (1840 - 1917)	manager of an experimental dairy farm farm at Keilor
1865	Clark, John Howard (1830 - 1878)	bought the interest of Joseph Fisher in the South Australian Register, became its commercial manager
1867	Edkins, Edward Rowland (1840 - 1905)	managed Beamesbrook station for the Scottish Australian Co. At Burketown
1868	Clibborn, Thomas Strettel (1837 - 1910)	manager of the stock division of Lord, Croaker & Co., of Hamilton, Victoria
1868	Clibborn, Thomas Strettel (1837 - 1910)	secretary-manager of the newly-established Ballarat Meat Preserving Co.
1868	Oscar Seppelt	became manager of Seppeltsfield when his father died
1869	Jeanneret, Charles Edward (1834 - 1898)	was a shareholder in and manager of the Parramatta River Steam Co.
1870s	Newland, Simpson (1835 - 1925)	manager of Marra station on the upper Darling River, Qld
1870	Scherk, Theodor Johannes (1836 - 1923)	bookkeeper and company manager
1870	Fehon, William Meeke (1834 - 1911)	was employed by the Victorian Railways Department and rose to be traffic manager
c1871	Kennedy, Alexander (1837 - 1936)	manager of Lorne, near Tambo, another MacIntosh sheep property, Qld
1873	T. Jaques Martin	founded the Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society Ltd with Martin as its manager
1873	Jeanneret, Charles Edward (1834 - 1898)	was manager of the Parramatta and Hunter's Hill Steam Ferry Co
1874	Stähle, Johann Heinrich (1840 - 1915)	manager at the government Aboriginal mission at Coranderrk near Melbourne
1874	Young, Edmund Mackenzie (1838 - 1897)	manager of the Australian Mortgage (Mercantile), Land, and Finance Co in Melbourne
1874	Davis, William Walter (1840 - 1923)	with Alexander Ross & Co. he acquired the 600-sq. mile (1554 km²) Kerribree station 50 miles (80 km) north-west of Bourke and was its manager
1874	Crompton, Joseph (1840 - 1901)	First manager and secetary of Stonyfell Olive Co

1875	Stähle, Johann Heinrich (1840 - 1915)	Aboriginal mission at Lake Condah in the Western District of Victoria
1875	Drysdale, William (1838 - 1902)	manager of South Thononga station on the Lachlan River
1876	Macdonald, Alexander Cameron (1828 - 1917)	moved to Melbourne as a manager of companies, estate and financial agent and surveyor
1877	Davies, Joseph (1839 - 1922)	manager of the Tasmania Gold Mining and Quartz Crushing Co
1877	Moore, William Dalgety (1835 - 1910)	manager of W. D. Moore & Co. WA -pearling, timber mill, merchant, hotel
1878	Gowing, Preston Robert (1839-1900)	gave up his job as manager of another clothing outfitters to work with his brother John.
1878	Barlow, Andrew Henry (1836 - 1915)	manager of the Bank of Australasia branch at Ipswich, Queensland
1880	Moore, Henry Byron (1839 - 1925)	Melbourne Electric Light Co
1880s	Stewart, Alexander (1835 - 1918)	manager of Alexander Stewart & Sons Ltd
1881-88	Lyell, Andrew (1836 - 1897)	manager and a director of Mercantile Finance and Guarantee Co. Ltd
1882	Thomas Skarrett Hall	branch manager of the Queensland National Bank
1883	Davies, George Schoen	manager of the Australian Deposit and Mortgage Bank Ltd, Melbourne
1884	Lukin, Gresley (1840 - 1916)	manager of a tin-mining company
1884	Wynne, Watkin (1844 - 1921)	became general manager of the Sydney Daily Telegraph
c1885	Lane, Zebina (1829 - 1906)	As manager of the Block 14 mine he obstructed the inquiry into lead-poisoning in Broken Hill
1887	Roderick M'Namara	manager of the Australian Banking Co. of Sydney
1887	Cuming, James Jnr	general manager of the new company upon the amalgamation in 1897 of Cuming Smith & Co. and Felton, Grimwade & Co.'s acid and chemical works at Port Melbourne
1880s	Kelly, John Edward (1840 - 1896)	general manager of the Peak Hill Pty Co
1888	Hamilton, John (1834 - 1924)	manager of the Cascade Brewery Co. in Hobart
1889	Hancock, Henry Richard (1836 - 1919)	Wallaroo and Moonta Mining and Smelting Co, SA
1890s	Latham, Edward (1839 - 1905)	manager of the Richmond brewery
1896	Day, John Medway (1838 - 1905)	manager of the *Australian Worker*

1897	Day, John Medway (1838 - 1905)	manager of the Trades' Council Co-operative Store in Sydney
c1899	Hudson, Henry (1836 - 1907)	became general manager of the Clyde Engineering Co. Ltd
1900	Buring, Hermann Paul Leopold (Leo) (1876 - 1961)	managed the Alex Prentice wine cellars at Rutherglen in Victoria in 1900, the Hans Irvine wine cellars, Great Western, Victoria, in 1901 and the Minchinbury wine cellars at Rooty Hill, New South Wales, in 1902-19

Source: Australian Dictionary of Biography Online http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/

Accessed 31/07/2009.

APPENDIX 7   Australian Dictionary of Biography Managers 1901-1966

1901	Herbert (later Baron) Austin	general manager of the Wolseley Tool & Motor Car Co. Ltd.
1905	Doolette, Sir George Philip (1840 - 1924)	manager of the Never Never mine at Southern Cross, WA
1908	Doolette, Sir George Philip (1840 - 1924)	manager of Great Boulder's St George Mine at Mount Magnet, WA
1910	Thompson, David (1828 - 1889)	became general manager of the company, an engineering works at Castlemaine to repair and manufacture gold-mining machinery
1911	Love, Sir Joseph Clifton (1867 - 1951)	manager of the new firm Clifford Love & Co. Ltd
1916	Pitt, Henry Arthur (1872 - 1955)	manager of the new Australian Wheat Board
1920-34	Martin, David Nathaniel (1898 - 1958)	manager (1920-34) for Universal Film Manufacturing Co. (Australasia) Ltd
1921	Hardy, Kenneth Thomas (1900 - 1970)	was managing a branch of Thomas Hardy & Sons Ltd, wine merchants, at Circular Quay, Sydney.
1925	Mason, Paul Edward Allen (1901 - 1972)	A relieving manager and inspector for Associated Plantations Ltd (which owned Inus) in Bouganville, he became an expert navigator
1926	Stanley, Charles Roy (1899 - 1954)	Settling in Sydney in 1926 as manager of J. Ilott Ltd's Australian operations
1926	Dick Eve	manager of Manly Swimming Baths
1926	De Vere, Paulette (1901-1978)	as production manager
1926	Mackinnon, Donald de Burgh D'arcy (Dan) (1900 - 1963)	Appointed manager (1926) of Pinnacles station
1926	Parry, Percy Joseph (1901 - 1986)	became general manager of Gosford Quarries in 1926, and installed the latest machinery
1927	Utz, Stanley Frederick (1898 - 1974)	manager of MacRae Knitting Mills Ltd
1927	Huish, Sir Raymond Douglas (Bob) (1898 - 1970)	appointed local branch manager of Buzacott (Qld) Ltd, machinery merchants
1928	Huish, Sir Raymond Douglas (Bob) (1898 - 1970)	state manager of Buzacott (Qld) Ltd, machinery merchants
1928	Chauvel, Charles Edward (1897 - 1959)	cinema-manager in Melbourne

1929	Hartnett, Sir Laurence John (1898 - 1986)	After a stint as sales manager (1928-29) of General Motors Nordiska in Sweden
1929	Duncan, John Cowan (1901 - 1955)	C. C. Wakefield & Co. Ltd, and rose to the position of South Australian sales manager
1929	Jacoby, Ian Mathieson (1901 - 1973)	appointed general manager of the Industrial Acceptance Corporation, formerly an American finance company, after purchasing its goodwill and debts
1929-31	Connolly, Sir Willis Henry (1901 - 1981)	he gained a solid reputation as assistant-manager of the electrical sales branch of the State Electricity Commission of Victoria
1930	Fairfax, Sir Warwick Oswald (1901 - 1984)	became managing director in 1930; he personally held 35 per cent of shares in the Fairfax group
1930	McNair, William Allan (1902 - 1979)	accepted an invitation to join (as an accountant and research manager) J Walter Thompson's New Zealand branch
1931	McNair, William Allan (1902 - 1979)	a director, accountant and research manager of J Walter Thompson's Australian activities
1932	Hotchin, Sir Claude (1898 - 1977)	Hotchin and the co-manager bought the goodwill and name of Clarksons (W.A.) Ltd. In 1940 he became sole manager of the business
1932	Bennett, Norman Louis (1899 - 1974)	appointed Bennett manager upon his leaving the Bureau of Sugar Experiment Stations, Brisbane
1932-37	Connolly, Sir Willis Henry (1901 - 1981)	he gained a solid reputation as assistant-manager of the metropolitan electricity supply branch of the State Electricity Commission of Victoria
1933	Percy, Hal (1898 - 1949)	became a studio manager for 3UZ
1933	Cooke, Maxwell Greayer (1898 - 1989)	branch manager of the Prudential Assurance Co. Ltd in Adelaide
1934	Kennedy, Eric Thomson (1897 - 1974)	general manager of the Herald. Appointed advertising-manager of Denison's Associated Newspapers Ltd in 1937, Kennedy was welcomed back to Sydney with a dinner.
1934	Butt, Charles Sinclair (1900 - 1973)	became general manager of the new Olympic Tyre & Rubber Co. Pty Ltd.
1935-38	Anderson, George Herbert (1897 - 1974)	Employed by Country Broadcasting Services Ltd, he was general manager (1935-38) of 2GZ Orange
1935	Duncan, John Cowan (1901 - 1955)	appointed Melbourne manager of the Alba Petroleum Co. of Australia Pty Ltd
1935	R. A. G. Henderson	general manager of the Herald newspaper
1936	Walkley, Sir William Gaston (1896 - 1976)	settled in Sydney as the A.M.P.Co.'s general manager
1936	Hewitt, Joseph Eric (1901 - 1985)	was manager, education and training, with the International Harvester Co. of Australia Pty Ltd, for ten years

1937	McCarthy, Bernard Dennis (1900 - 1977)	he found work with the Catholic Church Property Insurance Co. of Australasia Ltd and rose to district manager.
1937	Connolly, Sir Willis Henry (1901 - 1981)	Appointed manager of the State-wide electricity supply department
1938	Henderson, Rupert Albert Geary (1896 - 1986)	became general manager of the Sydney Morning Herald
1938	Anderson, George Herbert (1897 - 1974)	1938 he was appointed station manager (later deputy general manager) of 2GB Sydney and sales manager for Macquarie Broadcasting Services Pty Ltd
1938	Wilson, Edward James Gregory (1897 - 1972)	he was appointed manager of the Royal Bank branch of the E.S.& A., Melbourne, in 1938
1938	Conde, Harold Graydon (1898 - 1959)	general manager of the Electric Light and Power Supply Corporation Ltd (also known as the Balmain Co.) in Sydney
1938	Hardy, Kenneth Thomas (1900 - 1970)	chairman and managing director of a struggling company, Thomas Hardy & Sons Ltd
1940	Kirby, Sir James Norman (1899 - 1971)	appointed manager of the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation Pty Ltd.
1940	Begg, Kenneth Gowan (1901 - 1975)	appointed him managing director of I.C.I. (N.Z.) Ltd
1941	Coleman, Loyd Ring (1896 - 1970)	managing director of the Australian office of J. Walter Thompson Co. in Sydney
1942	Williams, George Kenneth (1896 - 1974)	works manager at Broken Hill Associated Smelters Pty Ltd at Port Pirie
1945	Armstrong, Sir Alfred Norman (1899 - 1966)	Appointed general manager of the industrial finance department of the Commonwealth Bank
1945	John Victor Reginald Lloyd (1895-1964)	John became Harold Blair's (a young aboriginal singer) official manager and organized his 1949 Australian tour
1946	Wilson, Edward James Gregory (1897 - 1972)	general manager of the English, Scottish & Australian Bank Ltd in 1946
1946	Samuel Stuart McKay (1908-1975	appointed general sales manager and a company director, positions he retained with Massey Ferguson (Australia).
1946	Edgar, Cedric Rupert Vaughan (1901 - 1967)	had resumed his civilian career as the bank's relieving manager in Sydney (Commonwealth Bank of Australia)
1947	Maitland, Alan Cathcart (1898 - 1979)	In 1923 he was posted to Sydney where he rose to chief clerk in 1935, company secretary in 1942 and manager in 1947 of Mercantile Mutual
1948	Ramsay, Alexander Maurice (1914 - 1978)	became acting general manager in 1948 and general manager in January 1949 of the South Australian Housing Trust.
1948	Walker, Theodore Gordon (1900 - 1971)	After the war he joined Richardson Gears Pty Ltd, a family company, as its sales manager and advanced to become managing director of Sonnerdale Richardson David Brown (Vic.) Pty Ltd.

1948	Duncan, John Cowan (1901 - 1955)	Ampol Petroleum Ltd 1948 new company's general manager for Victoria
1948	Begg, Kenneth Gowan (1901 - 1975)	commercial managing director of ICIANZ
1949	Connolly, Sir Willis Henry (1901 - 1981)	appointed him assistant to the general manager
1950	Mary Morrison	a 24-year-old sales manager
1950	Fernie, Norman (1898 - 1977)	managing directorship of Griffin Coal Mining Co. Ltd which operated several underground mines at Collie
1950	Prerauer, Kurt (Curt) (1901 - 1967)	he returned to Europe as her accompanist and manager for Marea Victusya Wolkowsky, a formidably talented soprano
1951	Chadwick, Sir Albert Edward (Bert) (1897 - 1983)	When the government-owned Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria was formed in 1951, he was appointed its assistant general manager.
1952	Campbell, Archibald Stewart (1898 - 1978)	appointed electrical engineer and manager of the Newcastle Electric Supply Council Authority
1952	John Siddons	as general manager of Ramset Fasteners (Australia) Pty Ltd
1952	Moten, Murray John (1899 - 1953)	general manager of the Savings Bank of South Australia
1953	Begg, Kenneth Gowan (1901 - 1975)	chairman and managing director ICIANZ
1955	John Siddons	general manager of the parent company, Siddons Drop Forgings Pty Ltd
1955	Bosisto, Glyn de Villiers (1899 - 1990)	as manager of the National Bank of Australasia Western branch, Collins Street,
1955	Morwood, James Eric (1901 - 1974)	he became chief engineer and manager of the Brisbane City Council's electricity department
1956	Burke, Eric Keast (1896 - 1974)	subsequently employed as Kodak's advertising manager.
1956	Kleeman, Reginald Theodore (1901 - 1979)	had become B.H.P.'s South Australian manager
1956	Connolly, Sir Willis Henry (1901 - 1981)	appointed chairman and general manager of the commission
1957	Fabinyi, Andrew (Andor) (1908 - 1978)	general manager of F. W. Cheshire Publishing Pty Ltd
1957	Dyke, Lewis Glanville Howard (1900 - 1984)	employed as personnel manager by Austral Bronze Pty Ltd, Sydney.
1962	Chadwick, Sir Albert Edward (Bert) (1897 - 1983)	general manager of the Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria by 1962
1966	A. K. Margin	became manager of Gosford Quarries

1967	Thomas Walter Hardy	was managing director of Thomas Hardy & Sons Ltd
1970	Robert Hardy	production manager and a director of the company
1966	Parry, Percy Joseph (1901 - 1986)	continued as managing director after his brother-in-law A. K. Margin succeeded him as manager in 1966.

APPENDIX 8   SMH Advertisements for Managers 1954-1974

Count	Section	Position	Comments	Recruitment Company
Saturday, 6th March 1954				
1	Men & Boys	Accountant Office Manager	Public company general merchant	
2	Men & Boys	Advertising Sales Manager	Publishing	
3	Men & Boys	Administration Manager	clothing manufacturer	
4	Men & Boys	Assistant Manager	transport	
5	Men & Boys	Manager	Stationers shop	
6	Men & Boys	Manager	Furniture workshop	
7	Men & Boys	Manager	factory	
8	Men & Boys	Meatworks Works Manager		
9	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	tool & industrial supplies	
10	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	Food manufacturing	
11	Men & Boys	Spare Parts Manager	farm equipment	
12	Women & Girls	Manageress	Country club	
Saturday, 7th March 1959				
1	Men & Boys	Advertising Manager	Charles Rogers & Sons	Burns Philp
2	Men & Boys	Assistant Advertising Manager	Standard Telephones & Cables	
3	Men & Boys	Australian Sales Manager	Vespa scooter	
4	Men & Boys	Assistant to General Manager	Home Products International	
5	Men & Boys	Australian Appliance Manager	Pope Products	

6	Men & Boys	Credit Manager	Engineering	
7	Men & Boys	Factory Manager		
8	Men & Boys	General Manager	manufacturing	Chandler & McLeod
9	Men & Boys	Joinery factory manager		
10	Men & Boys	Manager	squash courts	
11	Men & Boys	Assistant Manager	Spare Parts Department	
12	Men & Boys	Manager	Department Merchandising	
13	Men & Boys	Manager	City Retail Store	
14	Men & Boys	Manager	Car dealership	
15	Men & Boys	Factory Manager	household goods	WD Scott
16	Men & Boys	Manager	plywood manufacturer	
17	Men & Boys	Production Manager	Packaging (transparent)	
18	Men & Boys	Production Manager	factory	
19	Men & Boys	Personnel Manager		JP Young
20	Men & Boys	Secretary-Manager	club	
21	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	real estate	
22	Men & Boys	Service Manager	Car dealership	
23	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	real estate	
24	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	Televisions	
25	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	Greeting cards	
26	Women & Girls	Manageress	Drapery department	
27	Women & Girls	Secretary to the General Manager	Interstate transport	
Saturday, 7th March 1964				
1	Men & Boys	Commercial Manager	Engineer manufacturing	
2	Men & Boys	Works Manager		
3	Men & Boys	Grocery Manager		

4	Men & Boys	Manager - hotel	Australia Hotel	
5	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	engineering	
6	Men & Boys	Manager	merchandising	
7	Men & Boys	Manager	builders hardware	
8	Men & Boys	Parts manager	trucks	
9	Men & Boys	General manager	retail	JP Young
10	Men & Boys	Retail Stores Promotion Manager		JP Young
11	Men & Boys	Salesman - Manager	retail food trade	
12	Men & Boys	Spare Parts Assistant Manager		
13	Women & Girls	Milinery Buyer and Manageress		
Saturday, 1st March 1969				
1	Men & Boys	Admin Office Manager		
2	Men & Boys	Chief Chemist/Technical Manager		
3	Men & Boys	Assistant Secretary/Manager	Pittwater RSL	
4	Men & Boys	Management Consultants	Peat Marwick Mitchell & Co	
5	Men & Boys	Factory Manager		
6	Men & Boys	Marketing Manager		
7	Men & Boys	Hire Car Manager		
8	Men & Boys	Manufacturing Manager	Pharmaceuticals	PA Consulting
9	Men & Boys	Branch Manager		
10	Men & Boys	Marketing Manager		
11	Men & Boys	Market Planning Manager	Chrysler	
12	Men & Boys	Assistant Manager	Machine Tools	

13	Men & Boys	NSW Branch Manager	Onkaparinga	
14	Men & Boys	Professional Office Manager		
15	Men & Boys	Manager	Air Charter Operator	
16	Men & Boys	Secretary Manager & Bar Manager	Club	
17	Men & Boys	Mining Sales Manager		
18	Men & Boys	Secretary Manager	Club	
19	Men & Boys	Office Manager		
20	Men & Boys	Manager, Packing Department		
21	Men & Boys	Management Trainees		
22	Men & Boys	Manager for progressive wholesale wig co		
23	Men & Boys	Manager, Toy Department	Grace Bros	
24	Men & Boys	Office Manager	Rothmans	
25	Men & Boys	Office Manager	major transport company	
26	Men & Boys	Manager-in-training	publications group	
27	Men & Boys	Assistant factory manager	newspaper	
28	Men & Boys	Product sales manager		
29	Men & Boys	Sales manager	manufacturing	
30	Men & Boys	Spray painting manager		
31	Men & Boys	National Sales Manager	grocery	PA Consulting
32	Men & Boys	Sales managers	Insurance	
33	Men & Boys	Salesman/Manager	hardware	
34	Men & Boys	Sales management	building industry	

35	Men & Boys	Trainee Plantation Manager		
36	Men & Boys	Assistant Warehouse Manager	Speedo Mills	
37	Men & Boys	Warehouse Manager		
38	Men & Boys	Warehouse Manager		
39	Women & Girls	Manageress	publishing	
Saturday, 2nd March 1974				
1	Men & Boys	Assistant Manager	Ice Rink	
2	Men & Boys	Auto Electrical Service Manager		
3	Men & Boys	Assistant Management Accountant		
4	Men & Boys	Accountant, Management		
5	Men & Boys	Management Accountant	ANI Merchandising	
6	Men & Boys	Administrative Manager	car dealership	
7	Men & Boys	Management Accounting		
8	Men & Boys	Building Site Manager		
9	Men & Boys	Club Assistant Manager		
10	Men & Boys	Engineering Automotive Factory Manager		
11	Men & Boys	Grocery Manager		
12	Men & Boys	General Manager	Retail Store	
13	Men & Boys	Manager	Butcher	
14	Men & Boys	Manager	Pets retail	
15	Men & Boys	Manager	carpets	

16	Men & Boys	Management opportunities	Encyclopaedia	
17	Men & Boys	Manager	cleaning contractor	
18	Men & Boys	Management cadet		
19	Men & Boys	Manager	timber & hardware	
20	Men & Boys	Management sales	industrial chemicals and paints	
21	Men & Boys	General Manager	welding supply	
22	Men & Boys	Supply and Contracts Manager	chemicals	
23	Men & Boys	Ready-cut Manager	timber	
24	Men & Boys	Manager, Public Relations	Victorian Railways	
25	Men & Boys	Production Manager		
26	Men & Boys	Manager, Retail		
27	Men & Boys	Project Manager		
28	Men & Boys	Deputy Project Manager		
29	Men & Boys	Secretary/Manager	club	
30	Men & Boys	Management Trainees	food company	
31	Men & Boys	Manager	car care centre	
32	Men & Boys	Manager Insurance Broking		
33	Men & Boys	Manager - Machine Tools		
34	Men & Boys	Manager Assistant	club	
35	Men & Boys	Manager	pre-cast concrete	
36	Men & Boys	Manager Office	Retail Store	
37	Men & Boys	Club Assistant Manager		
38	Men & Boys	Management Trainee	welfare	
39	Men & Boys	Assistant Manager	fast food	

40	Men & Boys	Trainee Managers	fast food	
41	Men & Boys	Colliery manager		
42	Men & Boys	Manager	contract cleaning	
43	Men & Boys	Manager	transport	
44	Men & Boys	Manager	store	
45	Men & Boys	Hotel/Motel Manager		
46	Men & Boys	Manager - Production	furniture	
47	Men & Boys	Builders Joinery Manager		
48	Men & Boys	Research Manager	market research	
49	Men & Boys	Manager Home Building		
50	Men & Boys	Production Manager	food production	
51	Men & Boys	Purchasing Manager	Volvo	
52	Men & Boys	Purchasing Manager		
53	Men & Boys	Project Managers	construction	
54	Men & Boys	Pharmacy manager		
55	Men & Boys	Plumbing supervisor/manager		
56	Men & Boys	Plant hire manager		
57	Men & Boys	Production Manager	air-conditioning equipment	
58	Men & Boys	Projects Manager	acoustic ceiling contracts	
59	Men & Boys	Production Manager	construction	
60	Men & Boys	Sub-Assistant Manager	club	
61	Men & Boys	Supermarket Manager		
62	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	illuminated signs	
63	Men & Boys	Knitwear Sales		

		Manager		
64	Men & Boys	Service Manager	car dealership	
65	Men & Boys	Assistant Sales Manager	auto spare parts	
66	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	auto dealer	
67	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	car dealership	
68	Men & Boys	Sales Manager	packaging	
69	Women & Girls	Assistant to Sales Manager		
70	Women & Girls	Private Secretary to Assistant General Manager		
71	Men or Women (General)	Management Consultants	Hospitals Planning	

APPENDIX 9   Prime Ministers of Australia

Year	Prime Minister	Political Party
1901-03	Edmund Barton	Protectionist Party
1903-04	Alfred Deakin	Protectionist Party
1904	John Watson	Australian Labor Party
1904-05	George Reid	Free Trade
1905-08	Alfred Deakin	Protectionist Party
1908-09	Andrew Fisher	Australian Labor Party
1909-10	Alfred Deakin	Protectionist Party
1910-13	Andrew Fisher	Australian Labor Party
1913-14	Joseph Cook	Liberal Party of Australia
1914-15	Andrew Fisher	Australian Labor Party
1915-23	William Hughes	Australian Labor Party, Nationalist Party from 1917
1923-26	Stanley Bruce	Nationalist Party
1929-32	James Scullin	Australian Labor Party
1932-39	Joseph Lyons	United Australia Party
1939	Earle Page	Australian Country Party
1939-41	Robert Menzies	United Australia Party
1941	Arthur Fadden	Country Party
1941-45	John Curtin	Australian Labor Party
1945	Francis Forde	Australian Labor Party
1945-49	Ben Chifley	Australian Labor Party
1949-66	Robert Menzies	Liberal Party of Australia
1966-67	Harold Holt	Liberal Party of Australia

1967-68	John McEwen	Country Party
1968-71	John Gorton	Liberal Party of Australia
1971-72	William McMahon	Liberal Party of Australia
1972-75	Gough Whitlam	Australian Labor Party
1975-83	Malcolm Fraser	Liberal Party of Australia
1983-91	Bob Hawke	Australian Labor Party
1991-96	Paul Keating	Australian Labor Party
1996-2007	John Howard	Liberal Party of Australia
*2007-10	Kevin Rudd	Australian Labor Party
*2010-	Julia Gillard	Australian Labor Party

Source: http://www.aph.gov.au/library/parl/hist/primmins.htm Accessed 26/04/2007. *Updated by author 29/06/2010.

APPENDIX 10 Australian Gross Domestic Product 1960-2006

Year	$ millions	Year	$ millions	Year	$ millions	Year	$ millions	Year	$ millions
1960	17,230	1970	39,566	1980	149,578	1990	408,849	2000	689,262
1961	17,424	1971	43,666	1981	172,452	1991	417,028	2001	735,714
1962	18,845	1972	48,857	1982	185,574	1992	438,097	2002	781,675
1963	20,823	1973	59,159	1983	209,478	1993	460,133	2003	841,351
1964	22,733	1974	69,778	1984	231,316	1994	486,607	2004	897,642
1965	23,893	1975	81,712	1985	255,248	1995	518,144	2005	967,454
1966	26,626	1976	94,199	1986	279,631	1996	545,698	2006	1,046,365
1967	28,628	1977	102,866	1987	319,164	1997	577,373		
1968	32,094	1978	116,366	1988	362,287	1998	607,759		
1969	36,163	1979	132,058	1989	397,367	1999	645,058		

Source: http://www.oecd.org   Accessed 21/04/2008.

APPENDIX 11 ASX All Ordinaries Index Milestones

Year	Index Points
1980	800
1985	1,000
1987	2,000
2000	3,000
2005	4,000
2006	5,000
2007	6,000

Source: ASX 2008, 'Australian Share Price Movements',

http://www.asx.com.au/products/pdf/share_price_movements.pdf   Accessed 10/10/2009.

APPENDIX 12 Australian Share Price Movements 1900-2009
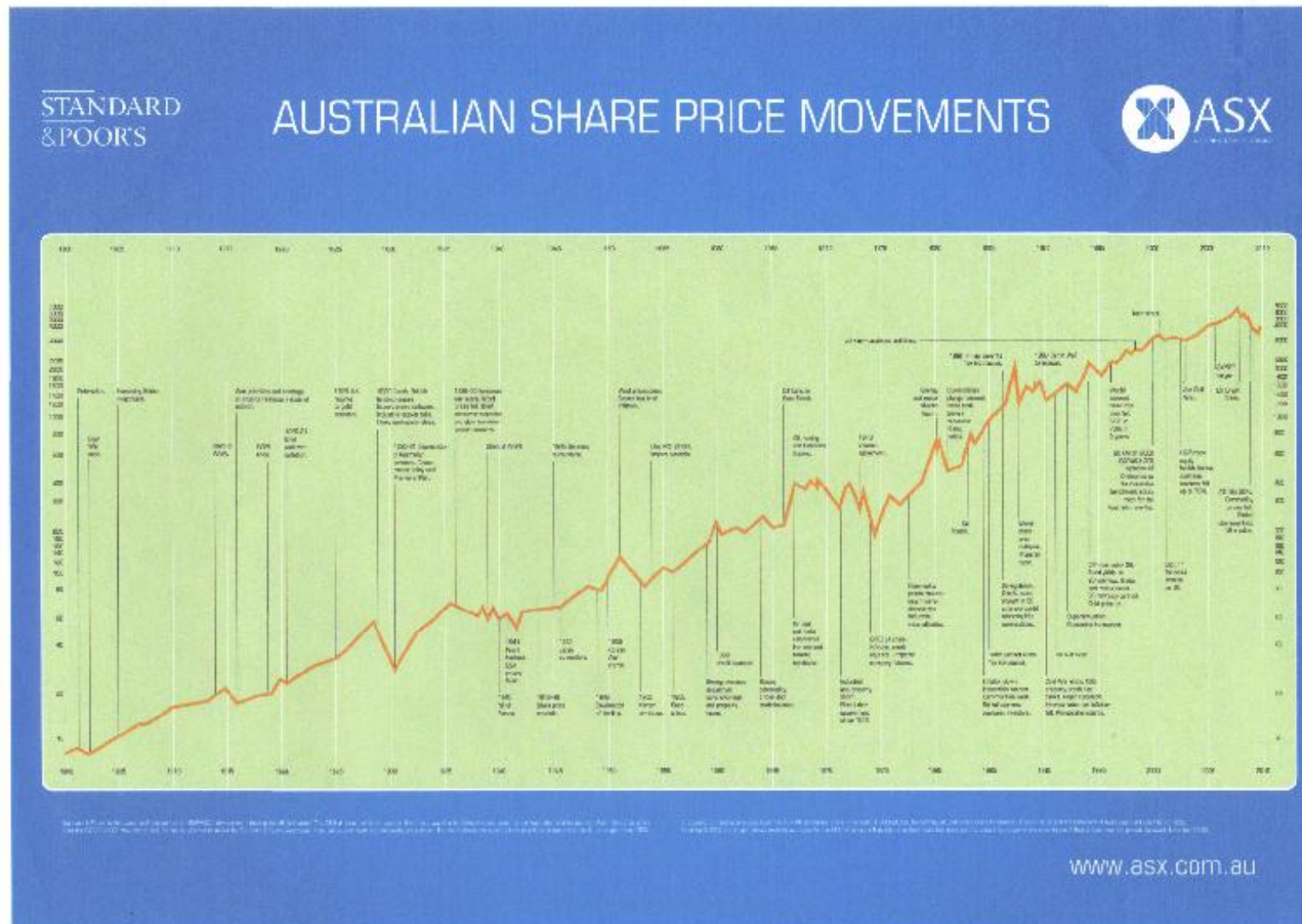
APPENDIX 13 Number of MBA Providers, 1963 - 1994

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1963	3	1974	8	1985	15
1964	3	1975	8	1986	16
1965	3	1976	8	1987	17
1966	3	1977	10	1988	17
1967	3	1978	10	1989	23
1968	4	1979	10	1990	29
1969	5	1980	12	1991	30
1970	5	1981	14	1992	35
1971	5	1982	15	1993	36
1972	7	1983	15	1994	38
1973	8	1984	15		

Source: *Enterprising Nation* [The Karpin Report], 1995, Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

APPENDIX 14 Leading Australian Management Consultancy Firms, 1985

Consulting Firm	No. of Consultants	Annual Billings
PA Australia	165	$21 m
Coopers & Lybrand/ W.D. Scott	165	$19 m
Price Waterhouse/ Urwick	140	$15 m
Arthur Andersen	120	$12 m
Peat, Marwick & Mitchell Services	80	$12 m
Touche Ross Services	80	$8 m
IBIS/ Deloitte, Haskins & Sells	65	$6 m
McKinsey & Co.	25	$5 m
Arthur Young Services	40	$4 m
Pappas, Carter, Evans& Koop	16	$2 m

Source: Wright, C. 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom: The Historical Evolution of Australian Management Consulting, 1940s to 1980s', *Business History***, Jan 2000 volume 42 issue 1 p 100.**

APPENDIX 15 Management Trade Publications 1910-2009

Year	Publication	City
*1913	Commonwealth Engineer	Melbourne
*1916	Australasian Manufacturer	Sydney
*1926	Coach and Motor Builder	Melbourne
*1928	Rydges: the business management monthly	Sydney
*1942	Current Affairs Bulletin	Sydney
*1943	Labor News	Sydney
*1945	Australian Factory	Melbourne
*1945	Bulletin of Psychology and Personnel Practice	Melbourne
*1946	Manufacturing and Management	Melbourne
1949	Management News	Sydney
1949	Corporate management	Sydney
*1949	Personnel Practice Bulletin	Melbourne
*1951	The Australian Financial Review	Sydney
*1957	Australian Factory	Melbourne
1958	Industrial Engineer	Darlington
*1959	O & M Journal	Canberra
1960	Management Digest	Adelaide
1961	Australian Manager	Sydney
1963	Asia Pacific Human Resource Management	Mulgrave
1963	HRM: Human resource management Australia	Melbourne
1967	Management Guide to the Economy: Australia-New Zealand	Sydney
1970	Health information management	North Melbourne
1975	Management forum	Armidale
1976	Technical paper (CSIRO Division of Land Resources Management)	Melbourne
1976	Australian Journal of Management	Sydney
1978	HRM: Human Resource Management Australia	Melbourne
1978	Land resources management technical paper.	Melbourne

1978	Land resources management report /Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, Australia.	Nedlands
1982	Water management series /Australian Water Resources Council	Canberra
1982	Land resources management /divisional report from the CSIRO Division of Land Resources Management.	Wembley
1983	Technical report series /Field Management Branch.	Melbourne
1984	Range management newsletter / The Australian Rangeland Society	Kalgoorlie
1984	Western Australian wildlife management programme	Perth
1984	International journal of management	Geelong
1984	Macquarie University Labour-Management Studies Program	North Ryde
1985	Working paper series (Australian Centre in Strategic Management)	Brisbane
1985	Australian journal of emergency management	Mt. Macedon
1985	Women in management series	Kingswood
*1985	Property Australia magazine	Sydney
1986	Working paper (Queensland Institute of Technology. School of Management)	Brisbane
1986	AIM / Australian Institute of Management	North Sydney
1987	Streamlining: personnel management	Canberra
1987	Money management	Chatswood
1988	Working paper series (Queensland University of Technology. Key Centre in Strategic Management)	Brisbane
1989	Waste management and environment	Balmain
1990	Centre for Australians Community Organisations and Management working paper	Broadway
1991	Series on clinical management problems in the elderly	Canberra
1991	Management Advisory Board-Management Improvement Advisory Committee Publication Series	Canberra
1992	National water quality management strategy	Canberra
1992	National corrections management information	Canberra
1993	Australasian journal of environmental management	Melbourne
1994	Australian journal of hospitality management	Bradford
1994	Australian journal of environmental management	North Ryde
1995	Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management	North Ryde

1995	Lakes & reservoirs research and management	Carlton
1995	Australian Information Management Association news	Canberra
1996	CRC for weed management systems technical series	Glen Osmond
1996	Commonwealth debt management	Canberra
1997	Management today (Australian Institute of Management)	Melbourne
1997	The insurance record: risk management and insurance best practice day by day	Melbourne
1997	Australian emergency manuals series	Dickson
1998	Sport management review	Victoria
1998	Natural resource management.	Braidwood
1998	Cash management trusts, Australia	Canberra
1999	Australian journal of case management	Melbourne
2001	Australian legal practice management journal	Canberra
2001	Weed biology and management	Carlton
2001	Working paper series (Charles Sturt University, Faculty of Commerce)	Wagga Wagga
2002	Research monograph (University of Western Australia, Graduate School of Management, Centre for Women and Business)	Perth
2002	Journal of law and financial management	North Ryde
2002	Financial management guidance	Canberra
2002	Australian law management journal	Canberra
2005	Natural resource management on Australian farms, Australia	Canberra
2006	Emergency Management Information Development Plan matrix	Canberra
2007	The good universities guide to MBA and management programs	Melbourne

Source: Macquarie University Library Catalogue Search Results found for: 'management' OR 'manager' in Title and 'Australia' in Keyword, Serials; * other sources.

APPENDIX 16 History of the MBA

1881	Establishment of the world's first business school, Wharton, at the University of Pennsylvania, offerring courses such as commercial accounting and law
1900	Tuck School of Business and Administration was established at Dartmouth
1908	At the request of President Charles W. Eliot, the Corporation of Harvard University voted to establish a school of business administration. The school opened on October 1st, with a faculty of 15, a course of study, 33 regular students, and 47 special students.
1912	The first 'case' was used for instruction in an MBA course.
1948	Following the recommendations made by Canada's foremost Corporate Executive Officers (CEOs) and presidents regarding the desirability and feasibility of founding graduate-level business management education, the MBA degree was established in Canada at the University of Western Ontario
1951	First MBA awarded in South Africa
1955	The Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania established the Institute of Business Administration in Karachi, Pakistan as the first business school in Asia
1958	A group of entrepreneurs in France set out to establish a private business school offering a distinctive European model MBA. INSEAD in Fontainebleau, France was established
1959	Two reports condemning American graduate management education as little more than vocational colleges filled with second-rate students taught by second-rate professors who did not understand their fields, did little research and were out of touch with business
1959	Women graduates of the Harvard-Radcliffe Program in Business Administration were admitted to the second year of the MBA program. These women received their MBA degree in 1960.
1961	Canada's first doctorate program in business administration commenced
1963	Women were admitted to the first year of the Harvard MBA program.

1963	The MBA degree offered by the University of New South Wales, the University of Melbourne and the University of Adelaide
1964	A UK Government initiative to create "centres for excellence in teaching and research of business"
1965	The formation of London Business School and Manchester Business Schools
1966	The formation of University of Dublin and the Rotterdam School of Management
1969	École des Hautes Études Commerciales and Institute d'Etudes Politiques de Paris offer the MBA
Late 1970s	Every major provincial urban centre in Canada had at least one institution with an MBA degree offering
1973	The Harvard International Senior Managers Program was initiated in Switzerland.
1977	The Australian Graduate School of Management (AGSM), established in the University of New South Wales, admitted 48 MBAs and 8 PhD students
By 1979	The US had over 500 MBA programs on offer at a time when Europe could still only field a handful.
By 1979	The UK government, acutely aware of the disparity between US and UK management education following a disparaging report by Professor Charles Handy, broke the monopoly of LBS and MBS on the sector
Early 1980s	France broke the monopoly of its two business schools
1982	Ralph Report recommends that a second national school to be established at the University of Melbourne
1998	Germany offered Masters courses in business administration

Source: Various sources.

APPENDIX 17 Students Enrolled in Management and Commerce

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1983	62,821	1992	117,104	2001	180,853
1984	65,330	1993	120,526	2002	241,183
1985	68,412	1994	122,315	2003	255,756
1986	73,170	1995	129,177	2004	267,006
1987	72,688	1996	143,583	2005	274,040
1988	80,700	1997	161,048	2006	284,046
1989	91,592	1998	170,877	2007	304,443
1990	104,825	1999	179,206	2007	304,443
1991	112,666	2000	180,503		

Note: 1995-1999 Category labelled as Business, Administration, Economics

Source: Department of Education, Science and Training, http://www.oecd.org Accessed 21/04/2008.

APPENDIX 18 Students Enrolled in Higher Education - Broad Field of Study

Broad Field of Study	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997 (a)	1998 (a)	1999 (a)	2000 (a)
TOTAL STUDENTS										
Agriculture, Animal Husbandry	9,876	10,491	10,988	11,426	11,850	12,059	12,137	11,865	11,515	11,136
Architecture, Building	11,243	11,894	12,373	12,998	13,550	14,704	15,187	15,369	15,445	15,463
Arts, Humanities and Social Science	121,353	125,041	127,812	132,935	139,365	146,308	164,861	164,823	168,100	170,237
Business, Admin., Economics	112,666	117,118	120,526	122,318	129,177	143,582	161,072	170,887	179,206	180,503
Education	79,574	78,091	76,568	72,314	70,635	70,525	73,532	73,254	72,523	73,680
Engineering, Surveying	40,207	43,600	45,715	47,147	48,169	48,733	50,013	49,932	50,555	50,780
Health	61,874	67,181	70,762	70,885	72,137	73,262	75,161	77,083	77,710	79,731
Law, Legal Studies	16,310	18,001	19,508	21,236	23,490	25,000	30,502	32,008	33,699	36,331
Science	75,961	80,690	83,678	86,136	88,173	91,986	103,701	105,860	111,204	115,396
Veterinary Science	1,612	1,682	1,718	1,690	1,674	1,658	1,639	1,706	1,772	1,864
Non-award	3,834	5,592	5,968	6,350	5,956	6,277	5,798	6,140	7,350	8,807
Total	534,510	559,381	575,616	585,435	604,176	634,094	658,849	671,853	686,267	695,485

(a) Data from 1997 onwards were compiled in a different way to data for prior years to take into account the coding of Combined Courses to two fields of study.

As a consequence, the total for some broad fields of study show larger increases than would be the case if data for only one field were to be counted. Counting both fields of study for Combined Courses means that the totals for each year may be less than the sum of all Broad Fields of Study.

Source: *Students: Selected Higher Education Statistics*, **Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs.**

APPENDIX 19 New Australian Management Periodicals 1910-2009

Decade	New Periodicals
2000s	10
1990s	21
1980s	16
1970s	7
1960s	5
1950s	4
1940s	8
1930s	0
1920s	2
1910s	2
Total	73

Source: Macquarie University Library Catalogue Search Results found for: 'management' OR 'manager' in Title and 'Australia' in Keyword, Serials; and other sources.

REFERENCES

Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), 1969, *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

ABS 6291.0.55.003 - May, 2009 *Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6291.0.55.003May%202009?OpenDocument Accessed 05/09/2009.

ACIRRT, 1999, see Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training.

Adams, P. (ed.), 1997 *The Retreat from Tolerance: a snapshot of Australian society.* Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Sydney.

AGSM 1982 Handbook, University of New South Wales, Kensington.

Aristotle (reprinted 1991), *The Art of Rhetoric'*, Penguin, London.

'Aristotle's Rhetoric', http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/ Accessed 14/03/2006.

Armstrong, E.M. 2000, 'Aphasic discourse: The story so far', *Aphasiology, 14*(9): 875-892.

Ashenden, D. & Milligan, S. 1994, 'Standards scrutinised as courses grow', *Weekend Australian,* 25-26 June, p. 41.

Ashkanasy, N., Trevor-Roberts, E. And Earnshaw, L. 2002 "The Anglo Cluster: Legacy of the British Empire", *Journal of World Business*, 39 pp 28-39.

ASX 2008, 'Australian Share Price Movements', http://www.asx.com.au/products/pdf/share_price_movements.pdf Accessed 10/10/2009.

Atchison, J. 2006, 'White, Robert Hoddle Driberg (1838 - 1900)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060419b.htm Accessed 12/09/2009.

Austin, A. G. 1977, *Australian Education 1788-1900: Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia*, Pitman Publishing, Melbourne. Cited in Booth, A. L. Kee, H. J. 2009.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 6203.0 - *Labour Force, Australia*.

Australian Bureau of Statistics*, 6202.0 - Labour Force Australia*, July, 2009, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mf/6202.0 Accessed 05/09/2009.

Australian Bureau of Statistics*, 6202.0 - Labour Force Australia*, Time Series Workbook, http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/6291.0.55.003 Accessed 05/09/2009.

Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training, 1999, *Australia at Work: Just Managing?*, Prentice Hall, Sydney.

Australian Dictionary of Biography, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au

Australian Economic History Review, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Australian Journal of Management, Australian Graduate School of Management, Sydney.

Australian Research Council 1997, *Management Research in Australia: Report of the Steering Committee Strategic Review of Management*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Baltzan, P., Phillips, A., Lynch, K. and Blakey, P. 2009 *Business Driven Information Systems*, McGraw-Hill, North Ryde.

Baritz, L. 1974, *The Servants of Power: a history of the use of social science in American Industry*, Greenwood Press, Westport.

Barnard, S. 1958, *The Australian Wool Market,1840-1900*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Barnes, J. (ed) 1981, *Joseph Furphy*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.

Barratt-Pugh, L. 2008, *Discourse Analysis as a VET research tool - analysing the frontline*, http://www.avetra.org.au/AVETRA%20WORK%2011.04.08/CS5.2%20-%20Llandis%20Barratt-Pugh.pdf   Accessed 28/07/2008.

Barry, B. 1989, 'Management education in Great Britain', in Byrt, W. (ed.) 1989, *Management Education: An International Survey*, Routledge, London.

Barry, B., Dowling, P.J., & Tonks, G. 1995, *Management Education in Australia*, University of Tasmania, Hobart.

Barsoux 1989, *Management Education in France,*in Byrt (ed.) 1989, *Management Education: An International Survey*, Routledge, London, pp 120-150.

Bazeley, P. 2002, 'Issues in Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches to Research', Paper initially Presented at 1st International Conference - Qualitative Research in Marketing and Management, University of Economics and Business Administration, Vienna 10th April, 2002.

Beckingsale and Co.1964, *The Australian Board of Directors*, Beckingsale Management Services Ltd., Melbourne.

Bendix, R. 1974, *Work and Authority in Industry: Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Benns, M. 2009, *The Men Who Killed QANTAS*, Random House, North Sydney.

Blainey, G. 1975, *Triumph of the Nomads: A History of Ancient Australia,* Macmillan, South Melbourne.

Blainey, G. 1976, *The Politics of Big Business: A History*, The Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, Canberra.

Blainey, G. 1989, *The Great Seesaw: A New View of the Western World¸* Macmillan, Melbourne.

Blainey, G. 1993 (fourth edition), *The Rush That Never Ended*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Blainey, G. (originally 1983) 1995 (revised edition), *A Land Half Won*, Macmillan, Melbourne.

Blainey, G. (originally1966) 1996 (revised edition), *The Tyranny of Distance*, Pan MacMillan Australia, Sydney.

Blainey, G. (originally 1994) 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia*, Random House, Milsons Point.

Blainey, G. 2000, *A Short History of the World*, Penguin Books Australia, Ringwood.

Blainey, G. 2005, *A Short History of the 20th Century*, Penguin Group (Australia), Camberwell.

Blainey, G. and Hutton, G. 1983, *Gold and Paper 1858-1982,* Macmillan, Melbourne.

Blainey, G. and Smith A. G. 1986, 'Lewis, Essington (1881 - 1961)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 10, pp 87-92, Melbourne University Press, Carlton. http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100084b.htm   Accessed 17/03/2009.

Bolton, G. C. 1966, 'Holt, Joseph (1756 - 1826)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 1, Melbourne University Press, pp 550-551, Carlton. http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010509b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

Booth, A. L. Kee, H. J. 2009, 'The University Gender Gap in Australia: A Long-run Perspective', Paper presented to the Conference on Australian Economic History, Canberra, March 2009. http://econrsss.anu.edu.au/pdf/DP610.pdf Accessed 13/10/2009.

Bourke, H. 1986, 'Mayo, George Elton (1880 - 1949)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 10, pp 465-466, Melbourne University Press, Carlton. http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100454b.htm Accessed 21/02/2009.

Boyce, G. 2007, 'The Professions as Systems that Support Transactions Involving Knowledge: Their Contribution to Economic Development and their Response to the growth of Global Markets', in Garside, R. (ed.) 2007, *Institutions and Market Economies,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, pp. 305-321.

Boyce, G. and Ville, S. 2002, *The Development of Modern Business,* Palgrave, Houndville.

Boyns, T. 2009, 'It at first you don't succeed, try, try and try again: British Cost and Management Accountants and their pursuit of Professional Status', Paper presented at the Management History Research Group 2009 Workshop at York, July 2009.

Brash, D. T. 1966, *American Investment in Australian Industry*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Bryson, B. 1999, *Notes from a Big Country*, Black Swan, London.

Burnham, J. 1942, *The Managerial Revolution: What is Happening in the World*, Putnam, London.

Butlin, N. G. 1964, *Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Butlin, N. G. 1982, *Government and Capitalism: public and private choice in twentieth century Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Butlin, N. G. 1993, *Economics and the dreamtime: a hypothetical history,* Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

Butlin, N. G. 1994, *Forming a Colonial Economy, Australia 1810 – 1850*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

Butlin, S. J. 1953, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System, 1788-1851,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Butlin, S. J. 1986, *The Australian Monetary System, 1851-1914,* J F Butlin, Sydney.

Butlin, S. J., Hall, A. R. and White, R. C. 1971, 'Australian Banking and Monetary Statistics, 1817-1945', *Occasional Paper No. 4A*, Reserve Bank of Australia, Sydney, 1971.

Butlin, S. J., Hall, A.R. and White, R.C. 1971-73, *Australian Banking and Monetary Statistics,* Reserve Bank of Australia, Sydney.

Byrt, W. and Masters, P. 1974, *The Australian Manager,* Macmillan, Melbourne.

Byrt, W. and Masters, P. 1982 (revised edition), *The Australian Manager,* Sun Books, Melbourne.

Byrt, W. (ed.) 1989, *Management Education: An International Survey*, Routledge, London.

Campbell-Kelly, M. and Asprey, W. 1966, *Computer: A history of the Information Machine,* Basic Books, New York.

Carlin, T. M. 2004, 'Output based Budgeting and the Management of Performance', *Macquarie Working Papers in Management*, MGSM WP 2004-7, March 2004, Macquarie Graduate School of Management, North Ryde.

Carlin, T. M. and Ford, G. 2005a, 'A Governance Perspective on Executive Options Plans – Reflections on some Australian Empirical Evidence', *Macquarie Working Papers in Management*, MGSM WP 2004-04, March 2005, Macquarie Graduate School of Management, North Ryde.

Carlin, T. M. And Ford, G. 2005b, 'Empirical Evidence in the Use, Size and Cost of Executive Options Schemes in Australia', *Macquarie Working Papers in Management*, MGSM WP 2005-16, August 2005, Macquarie Graduate School of Management, North Ryde.

Carnegie, G. D. 2009, 'The Development of Accounting Regulation, Education, and Literature in Australia, 1788-2005', *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol. 49, No. 3, pp 276-301.

Carr, E. H. (originally 1961) 2008 (second edition) , *What is History?*, Penguin, Camberwell.

Catling, H. 1970, *The Spinning Mule,* David and Charles, Newton Abbot.

Chandler, A. D. (originally 1962) 1966, *Strategy and structure: chapters in the history of the industrial enterprise*, M. I. T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Chandler, A. D. 1977, *The Visible Hand: the managerial revolution in American business*, Belknap Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Chandler, A. D. 1990, *Scale and Scope: the dynamics of industrial capitalism*, Belknap Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Choi, E. K. 2009, 'Another Path to Industrialisation: The Rattling Spindle, Garabō, in the Development of the Japanese Spinning Industry', Paper presented to the Asia Pacific Economic and Business History Conference, Tokyo, February 2009.

Clark, C. M. H. 1976, *A Discovery of Australia: 1976 Boyer Lectures*, The Australian Broadcasting Commission, Sydney.

Clark, C. M. H. 1962-1987, *A History of Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Clark, C. M. H. (originally1962) 1974 (revised edition), *A History of Australia I: From the earliest times to the age of Macquarie*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Cochrane, P. 1980, *Industrialization and Dependence: Australia's Road to Economic Development, 1870-1939*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.

Cochrane, P. 1985, *'Company Time: Management, Ideology and the Labour Process1940-1960',Labour History*, No 48 May pp 54-68.

Cole, M. 1953, *Robert Owen of New Lanark*, The Batchwork Press, London.

Crawford, M., Clark., and Blainey, G. 1985, *Making History*, Penguin, Ringwood.

Crawford, R. 2008, *But Wait ... There's more: a history of Australian advertising*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Cunningham, S. and Turner, G. (eds.) 2010 (third edition), *The Media and Communications in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest

'Curr, Edward ', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Australian National University, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010258b.htm Accessed 03/11/2009.

Curthoys, A. and Docker, J. 2006, *Is History Fiction?* http://evatt.org.au/publications/papers/162.html Accessed 29/07/2008.

Cyert Report, see *Report of the Committed of Inquiry into Post-graduate Education for Management,* 1970.

Daley, L. T. 'Irving, Clark (1808 - 1865)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040522b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

Delbridge, A. Bernard, J. R. L., Blair, D., Peters, P., & Butler, S. (eds.), 1995. *The Macquarie Dictionary (Second Edition)*, The Macquarie Library, Sydney.

Diamond, M. 1995, *Ben Boyd of Boyd Town,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Dickens, C. (Originally 1854) 2003 (revised edition), *Hard Times*, Penguin, London.

Drucker, P. 1983, *Management*, Pan Books, London.

Drucker, P. 1979, *Adventures of a Bystander,* Harper and Rowe, New York.

Drucker, P. F. 1997, 'The Future That Has Already Happened', *Harvard Business Review*, September-October, 1997.

Drucker, Peter, 1998, *On the Profession of Management,* Harvard Business School, Boston.

Dunford, R. 1988, 'Scientific Management in Australia: A Discussion Paper', *Labour and Industry,* Vol 1, No 3, pp 505-515.

Dunphy 1987, 'The Historical Development of Human resource Management in Australia', *Human Resource Management in Australia*, Vol. 25, No. 2, July 1987 pp 40-47.

Dunphy D. and Stace, S. 1990, *Under New Management*, McGraw-Hill, Sydney.

'Edward Alleyn', http://www.globe-theatre.org.uk/edward-alleyn-actor.htm Accessed 25/04/2009.

Eldershaw, P. R. 2006, 'Hamilton, William Henry (1790? - 1870)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010464b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

Ellem, B. 2006, *Beyond Industrial Relations: WorkChoices and the Reshaping of Labour, Class and the Commonwealth,* http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lab/90/ellem.html Accessed 03/12/2010.

England, G., Dhingra, O. P. and Agarwal, C. 1974, *The manager and the man : a cross-cultural study of personal values*, Kent State University Press, Kent.

England, G. W. 1975, *The manager and his values : an international perspective from the United States, Japan, Korea, India, and Australia*, Ballinger Publishing Company, Cambridge.

England, G. W. 1978, "Managers and their Value Systems: A Five Country Comparative Study", *Columbia Journal of World Business,* Vol. 13, No. 2 pp 35-44.

Enterprise: 100 years of the VCM, 1979, Victorian Chamber of Manufactures, Melbourne.

Enterprising Nation [The Karpin Report], 1995a, Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Enterprising Nation [The Karpin Report], 1995b, Research Report Volume 1, Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

'Epistêmê and Technê', http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/episteme-techne/ Accessed 14/03/2006.

Farrer, K. T. H. 2006, 'Walker, Fred (1884 - 1935)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A120399b.htm Accessed 14/09/2009.

Ferguson, N. 2004, *Empire*, Penguin, London.

Ferguson, N. 2005, *Colussus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*, Penguin, London.

Ferguson, N. 2009, *The Ascent of Money*, Penguin, London.

Fieldhouse, D.K. 1969, 'British Colonial Policy' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Fischer, G. L. 2006, 'Lazar, John (1801 - 1879)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Australian National University, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020084b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

Flannery, T. (ed.), *1788 Watkin Tench,* The Text Publishing Company, Melbourne.

Fleming, G., Merrett, D. and Ville, S., 2004, *The Big End of Town: Big Business and Corporate Leadership in Twentieth-Century Australia,* Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

Flowers, E. 'Dawson, Robert (1782 - 1866)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010283b.htm Accessed 01/08/2009.

Forbes, J. R. 1975, *The Divided Legal Profession in Australia: History rationalisation and rationale*, Law Book Co., Sydney.

Ford, G.W. 1967, 'Foreword' to Sutcliffe, J.T. 1967 (second edition), *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia,* Macmillan, Melbourne.

Fountain, H. 2000, 'Technology Acquisition, Firm Capability and Sustainable Competitive Advantage: A Case Study of Australian Glass Manufacturers' in Merrett, D. (ed.), 2000, *Business Institutions and Behaviour*, Frank Cass, London, pp 89 – 108.

Frank, T. 1997, *The Conquest of Cool*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Frank, T. 2000, *One Market Under God,* Doubleday, New York.

Frank, T. 2008, *The Wrecking Crew,* Henry Holt and Company, New York.

Garside, R. (ed.) 2007, *Institutions and Market Economies,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills.

Garside, R. 2007a, 'Institutional Capacity and Social Capability: Japan's 'Deviant' Capitalism in the High-Growth Period and Beyond', in Garside, R. (ed.) 2007, *Institutions and Market Economies,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, pp. 65-86.

Grave, S. A. 1984, *A History of Philosophy in Australia,* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.

Green, H. M. 1971a, *A History of Australian Literature, Vol 1,* Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

Green, H. M. 1971b, *A History of Australian Literature, Vol 2,* Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

Green, R. M. 2006, 'Green, Richard (1808 - 1878)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040326b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

Griffin-Foley, B. 2007, 'Talkback Radio and Australian Politics Since the Summer of 1967', *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy*, No. 122 – Feb. 2007, pp 96-107.

Griffin-Foley, B. 2009, *Changing Stations: the Story of Australian Commercial Radio*, UNSW Press, Sydney.

Gunn, J. 1989, *Along Parallel Lines,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Hamberger, J. 1995, Individual Contracts: Enterprise Bargaining, http://www.wrc.org.au/documents/WP39.pdf Accessed 03/12/2010.

Hamilton, C. 2003, *Growth Fetish*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

Hamilton, C. and Dinniss, R. 2005, *Affluenza: When too much is never enough*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

Hampden-Turner, C. and Trompenaars, F 1993, *The seven cultures of capitalism : value systems for creating wealth in the United States, Britain, Japan, Germany, France, Sweden, and the Netherlands*, Piatkus, London.

Hancock, W. K. 1930, *Australia*, Ernest Benn, London.

Hannah, L. (ed.) 1976, *Management Strategy and Business Development: An Historical and Comparative Study*, Macmillan Press, London.

Hannah, L. 1983 (second edition), *The Rise of the Corporate Economy*, Methuen, London.

Harris, I. and Robbins, B. 2007, *From Harvester to Workchoices*, http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/asslh2/harriss.html Accessed 30/12/2010.

Hassard, J. 2009, *On Teaching Hawthorne: The Western Electric Company and the 1915 Chicago River Disaster (Missing Actors in the Hawthorne Studies Drama),* Paper presented at the Management History Research Group 2009 Workshop at York, July 2009.

Hibbard, G., Pocknee, G. & Taylor, G.A. 1996, *Practical Australian Strategy,* Prentice Hall, Sydney.

Hill, A. J. 'Burrows, Frederick Alexander (1897 - 1973)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Australian National University, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A130353b.htm Accessed 07/11/2009.

Hobsbawn, E.J. 1968, *Industry and Empire: An Economic History of Britain Since 1750,* Weidenfield and Nicolson, Hartfordshire.

Hofstede, G. 1980, *Culture's Consequences: International differences in work related values*. Sage, Beverly Hills.

Holden, N. 2002, *Cross-cultural management: a knowledge management perspective*, Prentice Hall, Harlow.

Horne, D. 1976, *The Lucky Country*, Penguin, Ringwood.

http://www.aph.gov.au/library/intguide/sp/media_regulations.htm Accessed 02/12/2010.

http://www.asap.unimelb.edu.au/bsparcs/biogs/P002619b.htm Accessed 24/10/2009.

http://www.asic.gov.au/asic/asic.nsf/byheadline/CLERP+9?openDocument Accessed 13/01/2010.

http://australianpolitics.com/elections/1990/90-03-21_hawke-national-press-club.pdf Accessed 20/10/2009.

http://australianpolitics.com/elections/1996/feb9-11.shtml Accessed 21/10/2009.

http://australianpolitics.com/elections/1998/300898.shtml Accessed 22/10/2009.

http://australianpolitics.com/elections/2004/ Accessed 20/10/2009.

http://australianpolitics.com/news/2004/08/04-08-29b.shtml Accessed 22/10/2009.

http://firstfleet.uow.edu.au/search.html Accessed 28/01/2010.

http://home.austarnet.com.au/jamieson/holdenhistory.html Accessed 22/09/2009.

http://info.anu.edu.au/mac/Newsletters_and_Journals/ANU_Reporter/_pdf/vol_28_no_05/emery.html Accessed 04/10/2009.

http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2178938~S2 Accessed 05/12/2010.

http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/search~S2?/.b2178938/.b2178938/1,1,1,B/l856~b2178938&FF=&1,0,,1,0 Accessed 05/12/2010.

http://www.ahri.com.au/scripts/cgiip.exe/WService=AHRI-LIVE/ccms.r?PageId=10910 Accessed 22/10/2009.

http://www.aph.gov.au/library/parl/hist/primmins.htm Accessed 26/04/2007.

http://www.asx.com.au/about/asx/history/history_ASX.htm Accessed 10/10/2009.

http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/E9212914680188E3CA2573930012ED8E/$File/63020_aug%202007.pdf Accessed 12/01/2010.

http://www.australian-universities.com/history-of-australian-universities.php Accessed 22/10/2009.

http://www.canadian-universities.net/MBA/MBA_History_Canada.html Accessed 22/09/2009.

http://www.chemlink.com.au/orica_hist.htm Accessed 20/09/2009   Accessed 21/09/2009.

http://www.credoreference.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/entry/macevents/mining Accessed 11/06/2009.

http://www.cultureandrecreation.gov.au/articles/holdencar/index.htm Accessed 22/09/2009.

http://www.ford.com.au/inside_ford/heritage/Heritage.asp Accessed 22/09/2009.

http://www.forddiscovery.com/heritage/ford-milestones.htm Accessed 22/09/2009.

http://www.gabr.net.au/biogs/ABE2305b.htm   Accessed 21/09/2009.

http://www.goodyear.com/corporate/history/history_byyear.html Accessed 21/09/2009.

http://www.mbs.edu/go/about-mbs/our-school/history Accessed 13/10/2009.

http://www.ketupa.net/bond.htm Accessed 19/05/2008.

http://www.ketupa.net/seven1.htm Accessed 03/06/2008.

http://www.kpmg.com.au/default.aspx?tabid=167 Accessed 06/09/2009.

http://www.library.unisa.edu.au/BHPML/speeches/prime/1985_Aug_centenarydinner.asp
Accessed 21/10/2009.

http://www.library.unisa.edu.au/BHPML/speeches/Prime/policy.pdf Accessed 22/10/2009.

http://www.macquarienet.com.au/article?recid=X1083&db=heritage Accessed 30/07/2008.

http://www.mba4success.com/pages/news/news_content.php?id=348&header=Melbourne-
Business-School-and-the-University-of-Melbourne-to-merge Accessed 20/10/2009.

http://www.mininghall.com/MiningHallOfFame/HallOfFameDatabase/Inductee.php?InducteeID
=1215 Accessed 13/12/2009.

http://www.mininghall.com/MiningHallOfFame/HallOfFameDatabase/Inductee.php?InducteeID
=1139 Accessed 24/10/2009.

http://www.pc.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/93596/06-chapter3.pdf Accessed 13/01/2010.

http://www.rogerclarke.com/SOS/AISHist.html Accessed 03/10/2009.

http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/about Accessed 13/01/2009.

http://www.stockmarket.com.au/australian-stock-exchange-asx/history-of-the-stock-market/
Accessed 10/10/2009.

http://www.tuck.dartmouth.edu/about/history/index.html Accessed 13/01/2009.

http://www.unsw.edu.au/about/pad/VC/vc_biography.html Accessed 22/10/2009.

http://www2.agsm.edu.au/agsm/web.nsf/Content/AbouttheAGSM-TheDeansOffice-History
Accessed 13/10/2009.

Hutchinson, P. J. (ed.) 1981 *Financing Small Enterprise Development,* Financial Management
Research Centre, Armidale.

Inglis, K. E. 1983, *This is the ABC: the Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*,
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Inquiry into Management Education [The Ralph Report] 1982, Australian Government Printer,
Canberra.

Isaacs, V., and Kirkpatrick, R., 2003, *Two hundred years of Sydney newspapers: A Short History,*
Rural Press, North Richmond. http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/eserv/UQ:11092/sydnews.pdf
Accessed 23/04/2009.

Jackson, R. V. 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century*, Australian
National University Press, Canberra.

Jacques, R. S. 2006, 'History historiography and organization studies: the challenge and the
potential', *Management and Organizational History*, Vol.1 No. 1 pp 31 – 49.

Janks, H. 2005, *Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool*, http://www.unisa.edu.au/hawkeinstitute/cslplc/documents/cdaresrchfnl.pdf Accessed 28/07/2008.

Jones, B. 1983 (second edition), *Sleepers, Wake!,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Jones, M. L. 2007, "Hofstede – Culturally Questionable?, http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1389&context=commpapers Accessed 25/04/2010.

'John   Hemmings',   http://www.globe-theatre.org.uk/john-heminges-actor.htm   Accessed 25/04/2009.

Johnson, D. G. and Jameson, M. 2008, *Technology and Society: building our sociotechnical future*, MIT Press, Cambridge.

Joyce, R. B. 1969, 'Government Policy' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Karpin Report, 1995 (see *Enterprising Nation* 1995.)

Keating, M. 1973, *The Australian Workforce: 1910-110 to 1960-61*, Department of Economic History, The Australian National University, Canberra.

Kelly, P. 1992, *The End of Certainty: the Story of the 1980s,* Allen and Unwin, St Leonards.

Keneally, T. 2005, *The Commonwealth of Thieves*, Random House, Milsons Point.

Kingston, B. 1994, *Basket, Bag and Trolley: a history of shopping in Australia,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Kipping, M. and Engwall, L. (eds), 2003, *Management Consulting: Emergence and Dynamics of a Knowledge Industry,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Krause, E. A. 1996, *Death of the Guilds" Professions, States, and the Advance of Capitalism: 1930 to the Present,* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Langdon, H. C. C. 2006, 'Read, George Frederick (1788 - 1860)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020320b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

Lansbury, R.D. and Spillane, R. 1983, *Organisational Behaviour: The Australian Context*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.

Larson, M. 2003, *Practically Academic: The Formation of the British Business School,* Ph D thesis, School of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Latreuille 2001, *Growth of the MBA,* http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2001/jul/27/mbas.business Accessed 07/11/2009.

Lee, M. 'Management history as told by popular culture: the screen image of the efficiency expert', *Management Decision*, Vol. 40 No. 9, pp 881-894.

Lee, R. 1988, *The Greatest Public Work*, Southwood Press, Marrickville.

Lennox, G. 2006, 'Van Diemen's Land Company', *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/V/VDL%20Co.htm Accessed 07/11/2009.

Lewis, G., Morkel, A. & Gubbard, G. 1993, *Australian Strategic Management,* Prentice Hall, Sydney.

Linton, J. E. 1969, 'Cottee, William Alfred (1833 - 1904)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Australian National University, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030430b.htm Accessed 30/05/2009.

Littler, C. R. 1982, *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies: a comparative study of the transformation of work organization in Britain, Japan and the USA*, Heinemann, London.

Lloyd, C. 2002, 'Regime Change in Australian Capitalism: Towards a Historical Political Economy of Regulation', *Australian Economic History Review,* Vol. 42, No. 3 pp 238-266.

Lowndes, A. G. 'Knox, Sir Edward (1819 - 1901)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050046b.htm Accessed 07/11/2009.

Ludeke, J. T. 1996, *The Line in the Sand: The long road to staff employment in Comalco*, Wilkinson Books, Melbourne.

Macintyre, S. 1999, *A Concise History of Australia,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Macintyre, S. 2003, *On Fabricating History: History, Politics and the Philosophy of History* http://evatt.org.au/publications/papers/92.html Accessed 29/07/2008.

Mackay, H. 1993, *Reinventing Australia: the mind and mood of Australia in the 1990s*, Angus & Robertson, Pymble.

Mackay, H. 1999, *Turning Point: Australians choosing their future*, Pan Macmillan, Sydney.

Mackay, H. 1999a 'Australia at a Turning Point', http://www.naa.gov.au/exhibitions/events/mackay.html Accessed 17/03/2008.

Mackay, H. 2002, *Media Mania: why our fear of modern media is misplaced*, UNSW Press, Sydney.

Mackenzie, N. and Knipe, S. 2006, 'Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology', *Issues In Educational Research,* Vol. 16, 2006.

Mackinnon, B. H. 2007, *Behind Work Choices, How One Company Changed Australia's Industrial Relations*, Heidelberg Press, Heidelberg.

Macneil, J., Testi, J. Cupples, J., and Rimmer, M. 1994, *Benchmarking Australia*, Pittman Publishing, Melbourne.

Macquarie Aboriginal Words, 1996 (see Thieberger, N. and McGregor, W. (eds), 1996).

Macquarie Department of Linguistics 2008, *What is Discourse?* http://www.ling.mq.edu.au/postgraduate/coursework/discourse.htm Accessed 28/07/2008.

Macquarie Dictionary, 1995 (see Delbridge, A., Bernard, J. R. L., Blair, D., Peters, P. & Butler, S. (eds.), 1995).

Macquarie Encyclopaedia of Australian History online http://www.dict.mq.edu.au Accessed 30/07/2008.

Maddock, R. and McLean, I. W. (eds.) 1987, *The Australian Economy in the Long Run*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Manne, R. 1998, *The Way We Live Now: The Controversies of the Nineties,* Text Publishing: Australia.

Marks, B., Marks, R., and Spillane, R. 2006, *The Management Contradictionary* Michelle Anderson Publishing, Melbourne.

Marshall, J. G. and Trahir, R. C. S. 1981, *Industrial Psychology in Australia to 1950: An annotated Bibliography,* Bundoora, La Trobe University Library.

McCloud, P. and Siniakis, C. 1993, 'Trends in numbers of management students and managers 1970s-1990s', *Enterprising Nation: Renewing Australia's Managers to Meet the Challenges of the Asia Pacific Century - Research Report Volume 1*. Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

McKenna, C. 1995, 'The Origins of Modern Management Consulting', *Business and Economic History*, Vol 24 No 1 pp 51-58.

McKinlay, A. 2009, *A Clerical Life?: The Strange Case of Mr Notman,* Paper presented at the Management History Research Group 2009 Workshop at York, July 2009.

'McLaren, David (1785 - 1850)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020155b.htm Accessed 31/07/2009.

McLaughlin, Y. 1989, *Australian Management: a practical guide for managers, supervisors and administrators*, TAFE Publications Unit, Melbourne.

McLaughlin, Y. 1992 (second edition), *Australian Management,* TAFE Publications Unit, Melbourne.

McLuhan, M. and Fiore, Q. 1968, W*ar and Peace in the Global Village: an inventory of some of the current spastic situations that could be eliminated by more feedforward,* McGraw-Hill, New York.

McMichael, M. E. 1976, 'Australian Board of Directors: Organisation and Functions', *The Australian Director*, August pp 9-19.

McTier, M. and Conti-Ramsden, G. 1992, *Pragmatic Disability in Children,* Whurr, London.

Megalogenis, G. 2006, *The Longest Decade,* Scribe, Melbourne.

Merrett, D. T. (ed.) 2000, *Business institutions and Behaviour in Australia*, Frank Cass, London.

Merrett, D. and Ville, S. 2000, 'The Development of Large Scale Enterprise in Australia, 1910 – 64', in Merrett, D. (ed.), *Business Institutions and Behaviour*', Frank Cass, London, pp 13 – 46.

Merrett, D. T. & Ville, S. 2009, *Financing growth: New issues by Australia firms, 1920-1939,* Paper presented to the Conference on Australian Economic History, Canberra, March 2009.

Mitchell, J. I. 1998, *Management Discourse and Practice in Australia*, Ph D thesis, School of Sociology, University of New South Wales.

Mukhi, S., Hampton, D. and Barnwell, N., 1991, *Australian Management*, McGraw-Hill, Sydney.

Munslow, A. 2001, *What History Is,* http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/munslow6.html Accessed 30/07/2008.

Nairn, N. B. 1969, 'The Selection of Botany Bay' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Nettle, D. 1990, *Management Control in Australia: An Historical Perspective,* (PhD thesis, Department of Sociology, Macquarie University).

Nonaka, I. (ed.) 2005, *Knowledge management: critical perspectives on business and management*, Routledge, New York.

Nyland, C. 1987, *Reduced Worktime and the Management of Production*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Nyland, C. 1998, 'Scientific Management and Planning', unpublished paper cited in Dunford, R. 1988, 'Scientific Management in Australia: A Discussion Paper.'

OED online http://dictionary.oed.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/ Accessed 05/03/2009.

O'Neill, S. 'Coppin, George Selth (1819 - 1906)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition,
http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030430b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

O'Neil, W. M. 1986, 'Muscio, Bernard (1887 - 1926)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 10, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp 650-651.
http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100632b.htm Accessed 14/03/2009.

Oppenheim, H. L. 'Knowles, Conrad Theodore (1810 - 1844)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition,
http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020058b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

Oppenheim, H. L. 'Simmons, Joseph (1810? - 1893)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020407b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

Oppenheim, H. L. 'Wyatt, Joseph (1788 - 1860)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition,
http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020572b.htm Accessed 26/04/2009.

Osbourne, D. E. (originally 1992) 1993, *Reinventing Government: how the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the public sector*, Plume, New York.

Osborne, G. 2006, 'Delprat, Guillaume Daniel (1856 - 1937)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A080295b.htm Accessed 05/10/2009.

Owen, R. (originally 1857) 1967, *The Life of Robert Owen,* A.M. Kelley, New York.

Oxford English Dictionary (second edition on Compact Disc) 1992, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Palmer, G. 1963, *A Guide to Australian Economic Statistics*, Macmillan and Co., Melbourne.

Parry, A. 2006 'Parry, Sir William Edward (1790 - 1855)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020282b.htm Accessed 01/08/2009. Accessed 08/09/2009.

Parsons, V. 2006, 'Faithful, William (1774 - 1847)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010349b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

Patmore, G. E. 1985, *A History of Industrial Relations in the New South Wales Government Railways 1855 – 1929*, PhD thesis, University of Sydney.

Patmore, G. E. 1988, 'Arbitration and Bureaucracy: The New South Wales Government Railway Commissioners, 1892-1914', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol 30. No 4, pp 566-582.

Perkin, H. 1989, *The Rise of the Professional Society: England since* 1880, Routledge, London.

Peters, H. and Kabachoff, R. 1999, *Shared Beginnings and Diverse Histories: A Comparison of Leadership Behaviour in Five Coutries with Anglo-Saxon Based Cultures*, Management Research Group, Portland.

Pindur, W. and Rogers, S. E. 1995, 'The history of management: a global perspective', *Journal of Management History*, Vol 1 No 1 pp 59-77.

Pokarier, C. *An interest in Japan: The political economy of Australia -Japan investment linkages*, Paper presented to the Asia Pacific Economic Business History Conference in Tokyo, February 2009.

Pollard, S. 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management: a study of the industrial revolution in Great Britain,* Edward Arnold, London.

Pollard, S. 1981, *Peaceful Conquest: the industrialization of Europe, 1760-1970,* Oxford University Press, New York.

Pollard, S. 1989, *Britain's Prime and Britain's Decline: The British Economy 1970-1914,* Edward Arnold, London.

Pragnell, B. J. 2001, *Selling Consent: From Authoritarianism to Welfarism at David Jones, 1838-1958,* PhD Thesis, University of New South Wales.

Ralph Report 1982, (see *Inquiry into Management Education* 1982.)

Rand, A. 2006, 'Bell, John (1790 - 1841)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010077b.htm Accessed 01/08/2009.

Ray, G. and Hutchinson, P. J. 1984, *The Financing and Financial Control of Small Enterprise Development*, Gower, Aldershot.

Report of the Committed of Inquiry into Post-graduate Education for Management (The Cyert Report) 1970, Government Printer, Canberra.

Rienits, T. 'Lord, Edward (1781 - 1859)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020113b.htm Accessed 02/11/2009.

'Rise of the Steel Industry', *Encyclopedia of Australian History Online*, http://www.macquarienet.com.au/article?recid=X1083&db=heritage, Accessed 30/07/2008.

Robbins, S., Bergman, S. P., Stagg, I. and Coulter, M. 2000 (second edition) *Management,* Prentice Hall, Frenchs Forest.

Robbins, W. M. 2004, 'The Supervision of Convict Gangs in New South Wales', *Australian Economic History Review,* Vol 44, No 1 pp 79-100.

Robert, J. H. and Styles, C. 2001, 'Australia's Competitive Advantage: Gaining the Marketing Edge', *Australian Journal of Management,* Vol. 26 Issue 2 pp 105-120.

Roe, M. 2006, 'Mealmaker, George (1768 - 1808)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020184b.htm, Accessed 08/09/2009.

Rogers, E. M. 1995 (fourth edition), *Diffusion of Innovations,* Free Press, New York.

Rogers, L. 1998, *A History of The Foundation and Development of The Australian Institute of Management,* The Australian Institute of Management, Sydney.

Rokeach, M. 1968, *Beliefs, attitudes, and values : a theory of organization and change*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Rokeach, M. (ed.) 1979, *Understanding human values : individual and societal*, Free Press, New York.

Rolfe, H. 1967, *The Controllers*, Cheshire, Melbourne.

Ross, I., Trew, J. And Sharard, T. 2006, *Bargaining Under Work Choices*, LexisNexis Butterworths, Chatswood.

Roth, W. 1993, *The Evolution of Management Theory: Past Present, Future*, Roth & Associates, Orefield.

Rothman, S. 2006, *The Evolution of Labour Law and Significance of Workchoices*,

http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/Supreme_Court/ll_sc.nsf/pages/SCO_rothman100806. Accessed 03/12/2010.

Rutherford, J. E. L. 2006, 'Rutherford, James (1827 - 1911)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Copyright 2006, updated continuously, ISSN 1833-7538, published by Australian National University
http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060089b.htm Accessed 11/06/2009.

Schwarzkopf, S. 2008, *Respectable Persuaders: The Advertising Industry and British Society, 1900–1939*, PhD Thesis, University of London, London.

Selzer, A. & Sammartino, A. 2009, *Nominal Wage Rigidity Prior to Compulsory Arbitration: Evidence from the Victorian Railways, 1902-21,* Paper presented by Andrew Selzer to the Conference on Australian Economic History, Canberra, March 2009.

Spillane, R. M. 1980, "Attitudes of Business Executives and Trade Union Leaders to Industrial Relations: Twenty Years Later", *Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 22 No 3, pp 317-325.

Spillane, R. 1985, *Achieving Peak Performance: the psychology of success in the organisation,* Harper and Row, Sydney.

Spillane, R. M. 1996, Unpublished research.

Spillane, R. 1994, 'Personality or Performance?: the case against personality testing in management', *The Macquarie Management Papers,* No 29, Macquarie Graduate School of Management, North Ryde.

Staff List and Organizational Directory 1976, University of New South Wales, Kensington.

Staff List and Organizational Directory 1977, University of New South Wales, Kensington.

Starbuck, P., 'What advice would Peter Drucker, the Sage of Claremont, have given in the current crisis?', Paper presented at the Management History Research Group 2009 Workshop at York, July 2009.

'Stephens, Samuel (1808 - 1840)' 2006, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020444b.htm Accessed 31/07/2009.

Still, B. 1956, *Mirror for Gotham : New York as seen by contemporaries from Dutch days to the present*, New York University Press, New York.

Stoner, J. A. F., Collins, R. R., and Yetton, P. W. 1985, *Management in Australia,* Prentice-Hall of Australia, Sydney.

Students: Selected Higher Education Statistics, Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs. These are published each year, revised and compiled from time to time. http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/higher_education/publications_resources Accessed 27/08/2009

Sutcliffe, J.T. 1967 (second edition), *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia,* Macmillan, Melbourne.

Swanston, C. 2006, 'Swanston, Charles (1789 - 1850)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020460b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

Tench, W. 1793, 'A complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', in Flannery, T. (ed.), *1788 Watkin Tench,* The Text Publishing Company, Melbourne.

Tennent, K. 2009a, *Management and Networks - To what extent were Free-Standing Companies Controlled from the Home Country? With reference to four Scottish examples, 1865 – 1990.* http://personal.lse.ac.uk/tennent/K%20Tennent%20management%20and%20networks.pdf Accessed 01/08/2009.

Tennent, K. 2009b, *The Free-Standing Company in Pastoral Investment: The New Zealand and Australian Land Company,* Paper presented at the Association of Business Historians Conference at Liverpool, July 2009. http://personal.lse.ac.uk/tennent/K%20Tennent%20EH590%20Dec%2011%202008.pdf Accessed 01/08/2009.

'The Corporatisation of Cool', *The Age,* 16 January 2003, http://www.theage.com/articles/2003/01/15/1042520669318.html Accessed 28/12/2005.

The Macquarie Dictionary (second edition), see Delbridge, A., Bernard, J. R. L., Blair, D., Peters, P. & Butler, S. (eds.) 1995.

The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-title3 Accessed 23/04/2009.

The Sydney Morning Herald.

Thieberger, N. and McGregor, W. (eds.) 1996, *Macquarie Aboriginal Words,* The Macquarie Library, Sydney.

Tomlinson, J. 2000, *The Politics of Decline: Understanding Post-War Britain,* Longman, Harlow.

Thirsk, J. (General Editor) 1989, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume VI 1750-1850*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Tran-Nam, B. 2002, 'The Chinese and Australia Tax Systems: A Comparative Overview', http://www.atax.unsw.edu.au/research/RePEc/discus/ATAXDiscussionPaperNo11.pdf Accessed 22/08/2009.

Tregenza, J. 2006, 'Giles, William (1791 - 1862)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010409b.htm Accessed 31/07/2009.

Trinca, H. and Davies, A. 2000, *Waterfront: the Battle that Changed Australia*, Transworld Publishing, Milsons Point.

Urwick, L. (ed.), 1963 (second edition), *The Golden Book of Management,* Newman Neame Limited, London.

Victorian Chamber of Manufactures, *see Enterprise: 100 years of the VCM,* 1979, Victorian Chamber of Manufactures, Melbourne.

Ville, S. 1998, 'Business Development in Early Australia', *Australian Economic History Review,* Vol 38, No 1 pp 16-41.

Ville, S. 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs,* Cambridge University Press, Oakleigh.

Ville, S. 2002, 'The Relocation of the Market for Australian Wool, 1880 – 1939', University of Wollongong Department of Economics, Working Paper Series 2002, http://www.uow.edu.au/commerce/econ/wplist.html Accessed 13/06/2006.

Ville, S. 2007, 'The Institutional Legacy and the Development of an Australian National Innovation System', in Garside, R. (ed.) 2007, *Institutions and Market Economies,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, pp. 112-126.

Walker, K. F.1959, "Attitudes of Business Executives and Trade Union Leaders to Industrial Relations", *Occupational Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 33, pp.157-165.

Walsh, 1969, 'Manufacturing' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), 1969, *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Walsh, G. P. 2006, 'Hill, James Richard (1836 - 1898)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040448b.htm Accessed 12/09/2009.

Ward, R. 1965, *The Australian Legend,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Watson, D. 2003, *Death Sentence: The Decay of Public Language*, Random House, Milsons Point.

Watson, D. 2009, *Bendable Learnings: The Wisdom of Modern Management,* Knopf Australia, North Sydney.

Wells, H. G. 1951 (revised edition), *The Outline of History,* Cassell and Company, London.

Westerbeek, H., Shilbury, D., & Deane, J. 1995, 'The Australian sport system, its history and an organisational overview,' *European Journal for Sport Management*, Vol. 2 No. 1 pp 42-58.

Wheelwright, E. L. & Miskelly, J. 1967, *Anatomy of Australian Manufacturing Industry: The Ownership and Control of 300 of the Largest Manufacturing Companies in Australia*, Law Books Company, Sydney.

Westwood, R. I. and Posner, B. Z. 1997, "Managerial Values Across Cultures: Australia, Hong Kong and the United States', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, Vol. 14 No. 1 pp 31-36.

Wilson, J. F. 1995, *British Business History, 1720-1994*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Wilson, J. K. and Shanahan, M. 2009, 'Lobby and Trade Protection in Colonial Australia; An introduction', Paper presented to the Asia Pacific Economic and Business History Conference, Tokyo, February 2009.

Wolak, A. J. 2007, "Managerial culture in Australia and Canada: an historical analysis" PhD Thesis, Macquarie University.

Wren, D. A. 1987, *The Evolution of Management Thought,* John Wiley & Sons, New York.

Wren, D. A. and Van Fleet, D. D. 'History in Schools of Business', *Business and Economic History*, Vol? no? pp 29-35.

Wright, C. 1995, *The Management of Labour: A History of Australian Employers*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Wright, C. 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom: The Historical Evolution of Australian Management Consulting, 1940s to 1980s', *Business History*, Jan 2000 volume 42 issue 1 pp 85-106.

Wright, C. 2003, *Promoting Demand, Gaining Legitimacy and Broadening Expertise: The Evolution of Consultancy-Client Relationships in Australia*, in Kipping, M. and Engwall, L. (eds), 2003, *Management Consulting: Emergence and Dynamics of a Knowledge Industry,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Wright, J. 1977, *Charles Harpur*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Wu, T. T. 1998, *Higher Education Students Time Series Tables – Australia (third edition)*, Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs, Canberra. http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/higher_education/publications_resources/profiles/archives/higher _education_students_time_series_tables.htm#publication Accessed 22/04/2008.

Yorston 1955, 'Control in the Corporation Part 1', *Australian Accountant*, volume 25, June 1955 pp 233-240.

Yuzawa, T. 2009, 'Recent Trends of business history in Japan', Paper presented to the Asia Pacific Economic Business History Conference in Tokyo, February 2009. http://www.uow.edu.au/commerce/econ/ehsanz/Tokyo%20Conference%202009/Papers/Yuzawa. pdf Accessed 22/08/2009.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

[1] ABS 6291.0.55.003 - *May, 2009 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6291.0.55.003May%202009?OpenDocument Accessed 05/09/2009.

[2] There is a considerable literature that debates the limits and categories of the professions. The most conservative view is that the professions are limited to the clergy, the scholars, medicine and law. Another strand of this literature argues the 'professionalization' of various groups such as engineers, accountants, health professions, teachers, etc during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A simple definition of a 'profession' is 'a vocation that requires a course of university study' to practice. This dissertation does not argue that management is a profession, as medicine and law are professions. It argues 'professionalization' and the role of the university in raising its status. But the meaning of 'profession' in contemporary English continues to broaden, rather than narrow.

[3] See, for example, Watson, D. 2003, *Death Sentence: The Decay of Public Language*, Random House, Milsons Point; Watson, D. 2009, *Bendable Learnings: The Wisdom of Modern Management,* Knopf Australia, North Sydney.

[4] This argument is further articulated and developed in Chapter 2. This section merely locates the dissertation with broader historical literature and discussions.

[5] Pollard, S. 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management: a study of the industrial revolution in Great Britain,* Edward Arnold, London; Pollard, S. 1981, *Peaceful Conquest: the industrialization of Europe, 1760-1970,* Oxford University Press, New York; Chandler, A. D. 1977, *The Visible Hand: the managerial revolution in American business*, Belknap Press, Cambridge, Mass.: Chandler, A. D. (originally 1962) 1966, *Strategy and structure: chapters in the history of the industrial enterprise*, M. I. T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.; Chandler, A. D. 1990, *Scale and Scope: the dynamics of industrial capitalism*, Belknap Press, Cambridge, Mass.; Hannah, L. (ed.) 1976, *Management Strategy and Business Development: An Historical and Comparative Study*, Macmillan Press, London; Hannah, L. 1983 (second edition), *The Rise of the Corporate Economy*, Methuen, London; and Perkin. See Chapter 2 for an outline of the development of management in Great Britain and the USA.

[6] Burnham, J. 1942, *The Managerial Revolution: What is Happening in the World*, Putnam, London; Bendix, R. 1974, *Work and Authority in Industry: Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

[7] See specifically Perkin, H. 1989, *The Rise of the Professional Society: England since 1880*, Routledge, London.

[8] Boyce, G. 2007, 'The Professions as Systems that Support Transactions Involving Knowledge: Their Contribution to Economic Development and their Response to the growth of Global Markets', in Garside, R. (ed.) 2007, *Institutions and Market Economies,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, pp. 305-321.

[9] Notable contributors in a substantial literature include Pollard, Bendix, Chandler, Hannah, and Perkin. See Chapter 2 for an outline of the development of management in Great Britain and the USA.

[10] This section outlines the main contributions to the management history literature. Many others are cited in the body of the dissertation.

[11] See, for example, Hancock, W. K. 1930, *Australia*, Ernest Benn, London; Butlin, S. J. 1953, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System, 1788-1851,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton; Clark, C. M. H. 1962-1987, *A History of Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton; Butlin, N. G. 1964, *Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; Ward, R. 1965, *The Australian Legend,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne; Blainey, G. (Originally 1966) 1996 (revised edition), *The Tyranny of Distance*, Pan MacMillan Australia, Sydney; Butlin, N. G. 1982, *Government and Capitalism: public and private choice in twentieth century Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney; Blainey, G. (originally 1983) 1995 (revised edition), *A Land Half Won*, Macmillan, Melbourne; Butlin, S. J. 1986, *The Australian Monetary System, 1851-1914,* J F Butlin, Sydney; Maddock, R. and McLean, I. W. (eds.) 1987, *The Australian Economy in the Long Run*, Cambridge University Press, New York; Blainey, G. (originally 1994) 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia*, Random House, Milsons Point; Butlin, N. G. 1994, *Forming a Colonial Economy, Australia 1810 – 1850*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne Macintyre, S. 1999, *A Concise History of Australia,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; etc.

[12] Merrett identifies the beginning of 'business histories' during the late nineteenth century with commemorative encyclopaediae and *The Australasian Joint Stock Year Book*. Company histories became more common following World War I with the publication of histories of BHP and MacRobertson's and more substantial after World War II, when professional historians began to produce them, Merrett, D. T. (ed.) 2000, *Business institutions and Behaviour in Australia*, Frank Cass, London pp 1-4. Blainey listed a number of company histories including his own - *The Peaks of Lyell, Johns and Waygood Limited 1856-1956, Gold and Paper: a history of the National Bank of Australasia, Mines in the Spinifex: the Story of Mount Isa Mines*. He also cited Butlin, S. *Australia and New Zealand Bank: the Bank of Australasia and the Union Bank of Australia Limited, 1828-1951,* and refers researchers to the *Australian Economic History Review* for others; see Blainey, G. 1976, *The Politics of Big Business: A History*, The Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, Canberra. Inglis wrote a history of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, Inglis, K. E. 1983, *This is the ABC: the Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne. Pragnell wrote a history of the Sydney retailer David Jones, Pragnell, B. J. 2001, *Selling Consent: From Authoritarianism to Welfarism at David Jones, 1838-1958,* PhD Thesis, University of New South Wales.

[13] See, for example, Barnard, S. 1958, *The Australian Wool Market,1840-1900*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne; Butlin S 1953 and Butlin S 1986, for the banking and finance industries; Blainey, G. 1993 (fourth

edition), *The Rush That Never Ended*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, for the mining industry; Wright, C. 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom: The Historical Evolution of Australian Management Consulting, 1940s to 1980s', *Business History*, Jan 2000 volume 42 issue 1 pp 85-106, for the management consulting industry; Ville, S. 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs,* Cambridge University Press, Oakleigh, for the pastoral industry and Crawford, R. 2008, *But Wait … There's more: a history of Australian advertising*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, for the advertising industry.

[14] See, for example, Sutcliffe, J.T. 1967 (second edition), *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia,* Macmillan, Melbourne.

[15] See, for example, Forbes, J. R. 1975, *The Divided Legal Profession in Australia: History rationalisation and rationale*, Law Book Co., Sydney; Carnegie 2009, 'The Development of Accounting Regulation, Education, and Literature in Australia, 1788-2005', *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol. 49, No. 3, pp 276-301.

[16] There is also Hutchinson's studies of the development and dynamics of small enterprises, Hutchinson, P. J. (ed.) 1981 *Financing Small Enterprise Development,* Financial Management Research Centre, Armidale; and Ray, G. and Hutchinson, P. J. 1984, *The Financing and Financial Control of Small Enterprise Development*, Gower, Aldershot.

[17] Byrt, W. and Masters, P. 1974, *The Australian Manager,* Macmillan, Melbourne.

[18] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business: A History.* Blainey appears to use the phrases 'career manager' and 'professional manager' interchangeably rather than implying a 'profession' of managers, though this may be inferred.

[19] Lansbury and Spillane 1983, for example, place Australian management within the broader context of international management, supporting the views of Drucker, and regard the discipline and function of management as a product of the twentieth century. Drucker postulated that the discipline of management was first established following the publication of *Concept of the Corporation* in 1946. See Lansbury, R.D. and Spillane, R. 1983, *Organisational Behaviour: The Australian Context*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne p 99; Drucker, P. F. 1979, *Adventures of a Bystander*, Harper and Rowe, New York p 263; and Drucker, P. F. 1983, *Management*, Pan, London p 11.

[20] Littler, C. R. 1982, *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies: a comparative study of the transformation of work organization in Britain, Japan and the USA*, Heinemann, London*;* Nyland, C. 1987, *Reduced Worktime and the Management of Production*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; Nyland, C. 1998, 'Scientific Management and Planning', unpublished paper cited in Dunford, R. 1988, 'Scientific Management in Australia: A Discussion Paper'; Dunford 1988, 'Scientific Management in Australia: A Discussion Paper', *Labour and Industry,* Vol 1, No 3, pp 505-515.

[21] See for example, Mitchell, J. I. 1998, *Management Discourse and Practice in Australia*, Ph D thesis, School of Sociology, University of New South Wales.

[22] Wright, C. 1995, *The Management of Labour: A History of Australian Employers*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

[23] Wright, C. 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom: The Historical Evolution of Australian Management Consulting, 1940s to 1980s', *Business History*, Jan 2000 volume 42 issue 1 pp 85-106.

[24] Merrett 2000, *Business Institutions and Behaviour* p 5.

[25] Ville, S. 1998, 'Business Development in Early Australia', *Australian Economic History Review,* Vol 38, No 1 pp 16-41; Ville 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs*; Boyce, G. and Ville, S. 2002, *The Development of Modern Business,* Palgrave, Houndville.

[26] Fleming, G., Merrett, D. and Ville, S., 2004, *The Big End of Town: Big Business and Corporate Leadership in Twentieth-Century Australia,* Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

[27] Fleming, Merrett and Ville 2004, noted a similar situation regarding the related subject of big business in Australia, commenting that economic historiography has mainly focused on the broad macroeconomic changes in the economy and the role of government in those changes, Fleming, Merrett and Ville 2004, *The Big End of Town.*

[28] Byrt and Masters 1974, *The Australian Manager*; Lansbury and Spillane 1983, *Organisational Behaviour*.

[29] Byrt, W. (ed.) 1989, *Management Education: An International Survey*, Routledge, London.

[30] Dunphy D. and Stace, S. 1990, *Under New Management*, McGraw-Hill, Sydney.

[31] For a very brief outline of the history of marketing in Australia, see Robert, J. H. and Styles, C. 2001, 'Australia's Competitive Advantage: Gaining the Marketing Edge', *Australian Journal of Management,* Vol. 26 Issue 2 pp 105-120; and for the human resource management movement, see Dunphy 1987, 'The Historical Development of Human resource Management in Australia', *Human Resource Management in Australia*, Vol. 25, No. 2, July 1987 pp 40-47.

[32] A search of the electronic *Australian Journal of Management* on 28/11/2009 using the keywords 'management' and 'history' resulted in five records, two of which were book reviews.

[33] *Australian Economic History Review* is a journal for economic, business and management historians. It has a broader range of concerns than management, but publishes more articles pertaining to management history than most management journals.

[34] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour*.

[35] These appear in general histories of authors such as Blainey and Macintyre.

[36] See Mitchell 1998, *Management Discourse and Practice in Australia*.

[37] See, for example, Stoner *et al.* 1985, *Management in Australia,* was an Australian edition based on the second American edition of Stoner's *Management.* Stoner *et al*. 1985, *Management in Australia,* p vii.

[38] Lee, M. 'Management history as told by popular culture: the screen image of the efficiency expert', *Management Decision*, Vol. 40 No. 9 (2002), pp 881-894. The efficiency expert is closely aligned to F. W. Taylor and other proponents of the scientific management movement.

Page 320

[39] The USA's broader military, cultural and economic expansion throughout the twentieth century in Australia and elsewhere has been discussed by scholars such as Blainey and Ferguson. See, for example, Blainey, G. 2005, *A Short History of the 20th Century*, Penguin Group (Australia), Camberwell; and Ferguson, N. 2005, *Colussus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*, Penguin, London. The prevalence of American management remains the dominant implied or explicit narrative of most text books and other publications, though often excludes diffusion to Australia. See, for example, Australian Research Council 1997, *Management Research in Australia: Report of the Steering Committee Strategic Review of Management*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra; McLaughlin, Y. 1989 *Australian Management: a practical guide for managers, supervisors and administrators,* TAFE Publications Unit, Melbourne; Mukhi, S., Hampton, D. and Barnwell, N. 1991, *Australian Management*, McGraw-Hill, Sydney; Stoner, J. A. F., Collins, R. R., and Yetton, P. W. 1985, *Management in Australia,* Prentice-Hall of Australia, Sydney; and Urwick, L. (ed.), 1963 (second edition), *The Golden Book of Management,* Newman Neame Limited, London which was commissioned by the International Committee of Scientific Management. Many texts by Australia authors make no comment on the emergence of management in Australia. An exception is Robbins, S., Bergman, S. P., Stagg, I. and Coulter, M. 2000 (second edition) *Management,* Prentice Hall, Frenchs Forest, who regard late nineteenth century industrialisation as the beginning of management in Australia. However, it is not necessarily the view of those diffusion researchers such as Wright, Dunford, Niland, etc. For a challenging, if not acerbic critique of management history prior to 2006, see Jacques, R. S. 2006, 'History historiography and organization studies: the challenge and the potential', *Management and Organizational History*, Vol.1 No. 1 pp 31 – 49.

[40] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* pp 3-4 and 11. The bulk of Wright details the local context of employer management practices.

[41] Merrett 2000, *Business Institutions and Behaviour in Australia* p 5.

[42] The tradition of Australian history stems from the earlier British tradition, which can be traced to the ancient Greeks and Romans. The western tradition can be traced back to Tacitus, Heroditus and Thucydides. There have been historians in other cultures such as the Chinese and Japanese. See, for example Crawford, M., Clark., and Blainey, G. 1985, *Making History*, Penguin, Ringwood; Macintyre, S. 2003, *On Fabricating History: History, Politics and the Philosophy of History* http://evatt.org.au/publications/papers/92.html Accessed 29/07/2008; Curthoys, A. and Docker, J. 2006, *Is History Fiction?* http://evatt.org.au/publications/papers/162.html Accessed 29/07/2008.

[43] Munslow, A. 2001, *What History Is,* http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/munslow6.html Accessed 30/07/2008; Mcintyre 2003, *On Fabricating History.*

[44] Mcintyre 2003, *On Fabricating History*.

[45] Carr makes a delineation between 'facts' and 'events' delineates in Carr, E. H. (originally 1961) 2008 (second edition), *What is History?*, Penguin, Camberwell, especially pp 8-30. Such a dichotomy is not intended in this dissertation. Facts and events are used interchangeably in this section.

[46] Mcintyre 2003, *On Fabricating History*; Curthoys & Docker 2006, *Is History Fiction?*

[47] Mcintyre comments that "history is a porous discipline that draws on other disciplines." The methodology of this thesis conforms to that assertion. Mcintyre 2003, *On Fabricating History.*

[48] Bazeley, P. 2002, 'Issues in Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches to Research', Paper initially Presented at 1st International Conference - Qualitative Research in Marketing and Management, University of Economics and Business Administration, Vienna 10th April, 2002; Mackenzie, N. and Knipe, S. 2006, 'Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology', *Issues In Educational Research,* Vol. 16.

[49] Mcintyre 2003, *On Fabricating History.*

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Curthoys & Docker 2006, *Is History Fiction?*; Macintyre 2003, *On Fabricating History.*

[52] Researchers in cross-cultural management have undertaken some study in this area. Impacts of translation and connotations of meaning influence the outcome of business transactions and management education. See, for example, Nonaka, I. (ed.) 2005, *Knowledge management: critical perspectives on business and management*, Routledge, New York; and Holden, N. 2002, *Cross-cultural management: a knowledge management perspective*, Prentice Hall, Harlow.

[53] Armstrong, E.M. 2000, 'Aphasic discourse: The story so far', *Aphasiology, 14*(9): 875-892; Janks, H. 2005, *Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool*, http://www.unisa.edu.au/hawkeinstitute/cslplc/documents/cdaresrchfnl.pdf Accessed 28/07/2008; Barratt-Pugh, L. 2008, *Discourse Analysis as a VET research tool - analysing the frontline*, http://www.avetra.org.au/AVETRA%20WORK%2011.04.08/CS5.2%20-%20Llandis%20Barratt-Pugh.pdf Accessed 28/07/2008; Macquarie Department of Linguistics 2008, *What is Discourse?* http://www.ling.mq.edu.au/postgraduate/coursework/discourse.htm Accessed 28/07/2008.

[54] McTier, M. and Conti-Ramsden, G. 1992, *Pragmatic Disability in Children,* Whurr, London; Armstrong 2000, 'Aphasic discourse: The story so far'.

[55] Macquarie Department of Linguistics 2008, *What is Discourse?*

[56] Rogers, E. M. 1995 (fourth edition), *Diffusion of Innovations,* Free Press, New York p 35.

[57] *Ibid.* p 45.

[58] *OED online*, http://dictionary.oed.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/ Accessed 05/03/2009.

[59] Owen, R. (originally 1857) 1967, *The Life of Robert Owen,* A.M. Kelley, New York.

Page 322

[60] Dickens, C. (Originally 1854) 2003 (revised edition), *Hard Times*, Penguin, London.

[61] Tench, W. 1793, 'A complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', in Flannery, T. (ed.), *1788 Watkin Tench,* The Text Publishing Company, Melbourne.

[62] Barnes, J. (ed.) 1981, *Joseph Furphy*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia. *Such is Life* is a work of fiction and thus treated in a very different manner.

[63] *Macquarie Encyclopaedia of Australian History Online* http://www.dict.mq.edu.au Accessed 30/07/2008.

[64] *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Online edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au Accessed 31/07/2009.

[65] Garside provides a concise working definition: "Institutions are established and accepted ways of getting things done in society, and include sets of norms, rules and procedures that define social practice and influence interactions." Garside, R. (ed.), 2007, *Institutions and Market Economies,* ed. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills p 2. He also articulates the development of the institutional perspective, referring particularly to Douglass North's influence.

[66] Public companies or publicly listed companies are owned by shareholders as distinct from publicly owned companies which are owned by government.

CHAPTER 2: THE ORIGINS OF MANAGEMENT

[1] This finding was based on a comparative reading of a sample of management literature including Australian Research Council 1997, *Management Research in Australia*; Stoner, Collins and Yetton 1985, *Management in Australia*; Wren, D. A. 1987, *The Evolution of Management Thought,* John Wiley & Sons, New York; McLaughlin, Y. 1989, *Australian Management: a practical guide for managers, supervisors and administrators*, TAFE Publications Unit, Melbourne; Mukhi, Hampton *et al*. 1991, *Australian Management*; Lewis, G., Morkel, A. & Gubbard, G. 1993, *Australian Strategic Management,* Prentice Hall, Sydney; Roth, W. 1993, *The Evolution of Management Theory: Past Present, Future*, Roth & Associates, Orefield; Drucker, P., 1998, *On the Profession of Management,* Harvard Business School, Boston; Pindur, W. and Rogers, S. E. 1995, 'The history of management: a global perspective', *Journal of Management History*, Vol 1 No 1 pp 59-77; and Robbins *et al.* 2000, *Management.* The above sample of authors, which was by no means exhaustive or representative, demonstrated disparate, often conflicting views of the origins of management practice, the history of management and the definition of management.

[2] The exact starting and finishing dates of the Industrial Revolution of Great Britain have been debated, but this dissertation uses the period 1780-1840, nominated by Hobsbawn, E.J. 1968, *Industry and Empire: An Economic History of Britain Since 1750,* Weidenfield and Nicolson, Hartfordshire. Modern business similarly dates from the Industrial Revolution.

[3] *The Macquarie Dictionary (second edition),* Delbridge et. al. 1995, pp 1079-80.

[4] This quote and all that follow in this section, unless otherwise noted, are cited in *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition on Compact Disc) 1992, Oxford University Press, Oxford. All quotes are as stated in copy (sic) and include middle English spellings.

[5] *Oxford English Dictionary; OED Online*, Accessed 05/03/2009.

[6] The quotations that follow in this section are as stated in the copy and reflect words and spellings that vary from contemporary English.

[7] Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management*.

[8] This subject is also addressed by Hannah 1983, *The Rise of the Corporate Economy* pp 8-10 and Wilson, J. F. 1995, *British Business History, 1720-1994*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

[9] Thirsk, J. (General Editor) 1989, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume VI 1750-1850*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge p 545.

[10] Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management* p 27.

[11] *Ibid.* pp 30-32; For a broader discussion of organisational challenges, see Wilson 1995, *British Business History,* pp 23-31. Wilson offers more to the period from 1780 onwards.

[12] Wells, H. G. 1951 (revised edition), *The Outline of History,* Cassell and Company, London; Hobsbawn 1968, *Industry and Empire*.

[13] £ sterling

[14] Wilson 1995, *British Business History* p 23.

[15] Hannah notes the rapid growth of cotton mills and the emergence of large operations such as Sir Robert Peel's calico printing partnership, which employed 7,000 workers. See Hannah 1983 pp 9-10.

[16] Ferguson, N. 2004, *Empire*, Penguin, London pp 12-24.

[17] Ferguson, N. 2009, *The Ascent of Money*, Penguin, London.

[18] Production capacity increased markedly again during the nineteenth century when machines were powered by electricity. Some scholars such as Hannah refer to this as the second industrial revolution. See Hannah 1983 p 1.

[19] As indicated earlier, there were managers is many contexts, but the Industrial Revolution elevated the factory manager. See Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management* pp 156 - 159. Pollard develops the interplay between industrial and other management practice throughout the monograph.

[20] It is important to note that the occupation of the manager and various forms of management practice preceded the development of management training and education institutions, see Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management* pp 104 - 159. There are philosophical, linguistic and historical dimensions to this fact. ,

Page 324

[21] The 'language of management' is the language used to describe the practice of what a manager does or how a factory is managed. It contains the words 'manage', 'manager', 'management', 'mismanage', etc.

[22] See Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management* pp 192-195; but more particularly, Owen 1967*, The Life of Robert Owen* which describes the impact of the various elements of mass production in factories and the role of the manager in these.

[23] See, for example, Hobsbawn 1968, *Industry and Empire*; Catling, H. 1970, *The Spinning Mule,* David and Charles, Newton Abbot.

[24] Pollard articulates early examples of conscious thought on the practice of management. See Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management* especially pp 250- 259.

[25] Pollard, 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management* pp 251-252.

[26] Drucker describes Robert Owen as the first manager because he tackled the problems of productivity and motivation. But there were many men before Owen who were called 'manager'. See Drucker 1983*, Management*, p 28.

[27] Bendix comments that Robert Owen's progressive ideas remained firmly within the aristocratic tradition as the master of men. Bendix 1974, *Work and Authority in Industry* p 50.

[28] Robert Owen's biography contained 91 uses of the word manage and its derivatives. There are 18 uses of the word *manager*, six uses of the word *managers*, 42 uses of the word *management*, 11 uses of the word *manage*, 10 uses of the word *managed,* four uses of the word *managing*, one use of the word *mis-managed* and one use of the word *ill-managed,* providing various contexts of meaning. An Appendix, a paper by John Bellers (1696) entitled 'Proposals for Raising A College of Industry' contained three. As a further comparison, Dicken's *Hard Times,* a novel set in the fictional industrial town of Coketown, had six references in total.

[29] Owen also published two substantial papers, 'A New View of Society' in 1813 and 'Report to the County of New Lanark' in 1820.

[30] Cole, M. 1953, *Robert Owen of New Lanark*, The Batchwork Press, London; Owen 1967, *The Life of Robert Owen*; Urwick 1963, *The Golden Book of Management.* The town of New Lanark has been largely preserved and operates as an educational and tourist destination.

[31] Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management.*

[32] Dickens published *Hard Times* in 1854, a parody of life in a fictitious industrial town named Coketown, with a central character being a manager by the name of Mr Bounderby, who is ultimately revealed to be a bounder (i.e. a man of objectionable social behaviour).

[33] Pollard, S. 1989, *Britain's Prime and Britain's Decline: The British Economy 1970-1914,* Edward Arnold, London; Hobsbawn 1968, *Industry and Empire.*

[34] Bendix 1974, *Work and Authority in Industry* esp. pp 1-4 takes a more sociological perspective and argues the role of management ideas in controlling the workforce, which is a further dimension to the effects of the rise of the management and the Industrial Revolution. However, this is somewhat of a departure from the direction of this dissertation which develops the growth of institutions rather than ideologies.

[35] Pollard 1981, *Peaceful Conquest.* For an account of the development of the Japanese spinning industry, see Choi, E. K. (2009) Another Path to Industrialisation: The Rattling Spindle, Garabō, in the Development of the Japanese Spinning Industry', Paper presented to the Asia Pacific Economic and Business History Conference, Tokyo, February 2009. See also Littler 1982, *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies* for a discussion of the diffusion of spinning machinery in Japan.

[36] The USA and Great Britain were dependent on each other as cotton producer and manufacturer.

[37] Drucker argued that the large-scale organisation occurred simultaneously around 1870 in the USA with the transcontinental railways and in Europe with the Deutsche Bank. See Drucker 1983, *Management* p 28. Such international comparisons suggest linkages in organisational development but language and culture maintain separation.

[38] Chandler 1977, *The Visible Hand*. The World Wars were also important to the USA's rise as an economic and military power for many reasons.

[39] The forcefulness of Taylor's rhetoric was more evident in his testimony at Congressional hearings.

[40] Littler 1982, *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies*.

[41] Pollard 1989, *Britain's Prime and Britain's Decline*; Chandler 1966, *Strategy and structure*. For further discussion of the diffusion and development of modern management and the corporate economy, see Hannah 1976, *Management Strategy and Business Development*; and Hannah 1983, *The Rise of the Corporate Economy*.

[42] They also occurred in other countries such as Japan, Great Britain, in Europe and South America.

[43] Drucker commented that when he started writing about management, there were few books on management. He contends that the founding of the business schools preceded the establishment of management as a discipline. Drucker 1979, *Adventures of a Bystander,* pp 258, 262 and 263.

[44] Ferguson 2004, *Empire*, p xxiii-xxv.

CHAPTER 3: AUSTRALIA'S FIRST MANAGERS

[1] There were many visits by Europeans and other migrants prior to 1788, but the British fleet of 1788 was the largest and most committed attempt to colonise. See Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* pp 1-17.

[2] For western views of indigenous history, see Blainey, G. 1975, *Triumph of the Nomads: A History of Ancient Australia,* Macmillan, South Melbourne and Butlin, N. G. 1993, *Economics and the dreamtime: a hypothetical history,* Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

[3] Thieberger, N. and McGregor, W. (eds.) 1996, *Macquarie Aboriginal Words,* The Macquarie Library, Sydney.

[4] Tench, W. 1793, 'A complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson', in Flannery, T. (ed.), *1788 Watkin Tench,* The Text Publishing Company, Melbourne p 247.

[5] *Ibid.* p 259.

[6] *Ibid.* p 270.

[7] Many of the headings in this section echo and are derived from Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won.* As both a researcher and a thematic expositor, Blainey sets an exceptionally high standard.

[8] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won.* footnote on p 18. Various reasons for the establishment of the colony have been proposed. Fieldhouse, D.K. 1969, 'British Colonial Policy' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton p 9, 'British Colonial Policy' placed the decision to establish the colony within the context of the traditional patterns of the English overseas empire and noted that New South Wales was an imperial hybrid that varied from those patterns. Both accounts recognised the evidence for naval, economic and commercial strategic intent. A fuller discussion of varying accounts is given in Nairn, N. B. 1969, 'The Selection of Botany Bay' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton p 46-7.

[9] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 22; Nairn 1969, 'The Selection of Botany Bay' p 51.

[10] Keneally recently published an account of the Sydney penal colony emphasising the and biographical elements of the first settlers. Keneally, T. 2005, *The Commonwealth of Thieves*, Random House, Milsons Point.

[11] There are a number of databases with details of convicts including their trade, but the backgrounds of the militia and free settlers are less easily sourced, see http://firstfleet.uow.edu.au/search.html Accessed 28/01/2010. On the presence of managers in Great Britain, see Chapter 2 The Origins of Management and Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management.* Robert Owen became a manager in 1791, replacing the previous manager, Owen 1967, *The Life of Robert Owen* p 29.

[12] Joyce, R. B. 1969, 'Government Policy' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton p 59; Keneally. 2005, *The Commonwealth of Thieves* pp110-120.

[13] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 10-11, 23.

[14] The dominant role of the British government and its colonial administration were hallmarks of the early colony. See, for example, Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), 1969, *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 'Introduction' p 2 and Fieldhouse 1969'British Colonial Policy' p 27. The colony of New

South Wales was initially both a government enterprise and also a monopoly within the East India Company. The first company ships arrived in October 1789, see Clark, C. M. H. (originally1962) 1974 (revised edition), *A History of Australia I: From the earliest times to the age of Macquarie*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton p 129.

[15] Indigenous culture existed for thousands of years prior to the arrival of the British, with systems of labour, trade and authority. This section refers to the imposition of British institutions in the colonial society, not the broader indigenous societies.

[16] Ville, S. 2007, 'The Institutional Legacy and the Development of an Australian National Innovation System', in Garside, R. (ed.) 2007, *Institutions and Market Economies,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, pp. 112-126. The early days of the colony demonstrated the perpetuation of British institutions traditions, rituals and ceremonies with Phillip proclaimed as the initial governor of the colony with powers to appoint officials, administer oaths, make land grants, and create criminal, civil and admiralty courts. Keneally, T. 2005, *The Commonwealth of Thieves* p 127.

[17] Joyce, R. B. 1969, 'Government Policy' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton 1969, 'Government Policy' p 59.

[18] Aboriginal societies practiced many forms of agriculture, including harvesting native plants, such as tree ferns at Mount Tomah, NSW.

[19] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 26-27. For an expanded account of the early colony, see Clark 1974, *A History of Australia I* pp 73 and following.

[20] For a recount of various killings and massacres of aboriginal and colonists, see Blainey 1975, *Triumph of the Nomads.*

[21] Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia* pp 36-53.

[22] Ward 1964, *The Australian Legend* p 59.

[23] "The spirit of fraternalism permeates the nation ... Australia is a nation that for a large part accepts the ideology of fraternalism." Horne, D. 1976, *The Lucky Country*, Penguin, Ringwood p 18.

[24] The entire colony was 'kept' by the British government, but convicts were clearly under the control of the colonial administration until the expiration of their sentence. They were not at liberty, unlike the marines and free settlers.

[25] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 19. The early colony remained dependent on the British government for provisions largely until the 1920s. The NSW Commissariate regulated the provision of food and material goods. In the early colony, all the colonists were 'kept', but the convicts were more 'kept' than the others.

[26] Eight out of 10 convicts had been sentenced for larceny; most held previous convictions for theft and robbery; and one woman came for every seven men. Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 32-33.

[27] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 38.

[28] Of every 20 convicts who reached eastern Australia, 13 came from England and six from Ireland. In contrast, Scotland provided only about one in 20. Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 32; Ward 1965, *The Australian Legend* p 68.

[29] 'Emancipists' were convicts who had completed their term of transportation or were released from their convict obligations by other means.

[30] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 42.

[31] Perhaps they aligned with neither, since the free settlers had, in most cases, been their keepers and the convicts occupied a station in life to which most desired never to return. See, for example, Ward, 1965, *The Australian Legend* pp 37-38, 61.

[32] Military officers and officials were the principal beneficiaries of land grants. S. J. Butlin 1968, *Foundations 1788-1851* p 3.

[33] Sutcliffe 1967, A History of Trade Unionism in Australia p 24.

[34] *Ibid.* p 24.

[35] See section 3.1.4 The Shortage of Labour.

[36] Ward 1965, *The Australian Legend* p 59.

[37] *Ibid.* p 57.

[38] Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia* pp 36-53; see also Blainey 1975, *Triumph of the Nomads.*

[39] Newcastle and Port Arthur were places of exile for Sydney and Hobart respectively. The newspapers reported both Court proceedings and the litany of break-ins, attacks and thefts.

[40] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 111.

[41] Hancock 1930, *Australia* pp 44-46.

[42] Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance*.

[43] *Ibid.* pp 77-78.

[44] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 115-124.

[45] Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia,* p 68.

[46] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 53.

[47] *Ibid.* pp 116, 119.

[48] Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* p 166.

[49] *Ibid.* p 150; Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia* pp 104-105.

[50] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 102.

[51] *Ibid.* p 109.

[52] Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* p 155.

[53] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 105.

[54] *Ibid.* p 278.

[55] Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* p 106.

[56] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 106.

[57] Ward 1964, *The Australian Legend* p 58.

[58] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 39.

[59] *Ibid.* p 36.

[60] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 47.

[61] Ward 1964, *The Australian Legend* p 58.

[62] Butlin 1994, *Forming a Colonial Economy, Australia 1810-1850*, particularly pp 195-196.

[63] Robbins, W. M. 2004, 'The Supervision of Convict Gangs in New South Wales', *Australian Economic History Review,* Vol 44, No 1 pp 79-100 pp 85-86.

[64] *Ibid.* p 98.

[65] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 237.

[66] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 43-44.

[67] Ward 1965, *The Australian Legend* pp 63-66 cites various examples of derisive comments about wealthy merchants, etc.

[68] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 34-35.

[69] Carnegie 2009, 'The Development of Accounting in Australia' pp 278-279.

[70] See, for example, Hancock 1930; *Australia,* Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won;* Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century*; Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia.*

[71] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 12.

[72] Ford, G.W. 1967, 'Foreword' to Sutcliffe, J.T. 1967 (second edition), *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia,* Macmillan, Melbourne pp 9, 13 warns against such simplistic accounts, describing them as a "Public School treatment of the world of work".

[73] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 12.

Page 330

[74] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 132.

[75] *Enterprise* 1979, p 1.

[76] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 14.

[77] Clark, C. M. H. 1976, *A Discovery of Australia: 1976 Boyer Lectures*, The Australian Broadcasting Commission, Sydney p 48; Ward 1965, *The Australian Legend* p 18.

[78] Ville 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs* p 19.

[79] Ville 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs* pp 1-17

[80] Wool and banking have received significant attention from economic historians such as Blainey, the Butlins, Hancock, McIntyre, Merrett and Ville.

[81] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* p 131-132. Jackson acknowledges his reliance on S. J. Butlin's *Foundations of the Australian monetary System 1788-1851* which remains a classic work in Australian economic history since its first publication in 1953.

[82] The events in the forming of the Bank's charter including the opposition of the British government and the subterfuge used by Macquarie are outlined in Butlin, 1968, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System 1788-1851* pp 110 ff.

[83] Butlin, S. 1968, *The Australian Monetary System*, 1851-1914 p 119.

[84] Carnegie 2009, 'The Development of Accounting in Australia p 279.

[85] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* p 132-3.

[86] Butlin, 1968, *The Australian Monetary System.* p 575; Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* p 133.

[87] Diamond, M. 1995, *Ben Boyd of Boyd Town,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton p 17.

[88] Cochrane, P. 1980, *Industrialization and Dependence: Australia's Road to Economic Development, 1870-1939*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia p 1.

[89] Carnegie 2009, 'The Development of Accounting in Australia p 279.

[90] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* pp 133-135.

[91] Blainey, G. and Hutton, G. 1983, *Gold and Paper 1858-1982,* Macmillan, Melbourne pp 2-3.

[92] Ville 1998, 'Business Development in Early Australia' p 22.

[93] Diamond 1995, *Ben Boyd of Boyd Town*.

[94] Ville 1998, 'Business Development in Early Australia' p 22.

[95] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* p 133.

[96] *Ibid.*p 135.

[97] *Ibid.* pp 135-6.

[98] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 115-116. 'Tickets-of-leave' were a governor granted release from the terms of the sentence.

[99] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 119-120.

[100] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 119.

[101] Kingston, B. 1994, *Basket, Bag and Trolley: A History of Shopping in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne pp 16-21.

[102] Blainey (1995) aptly expressed it: "The free settlers even more than the convicts were a challenge to law and order. They demanded liberties and privileges which a convict society could not easily afford." *Blainey 1995, A Land Half Won* p 111.

[103] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 315.

[104] *Ibid.* p 115.

[105] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 111-112.

[106] Walsh, 1969, 'Manufacturing' in Abbott, G. J. & Nairn, N. B. (eds), 1969, *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton p 252.

[107] *Ibid.* p 261.

[108] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 134.

[109] *Enterprise: 100 years of the VCM,* 1979, Victorian Chamber of Manufactures, Melbourne, p 1.

[110] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 107.

[111] *Enterprise*, 1979 p 1.

[112] Walsh 1969, 'Manufacturing' pp 248-264.

[113] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 124.

[114] *Enterprise* 1979, p 2.

[115] *Enterprise* 1979, p 1.

[116] Isaacs, V., and Kirkpatrick, R., 2003, *Two hundred years of Sydney newspapers: A Short History,* Rural Press, North Richmond, http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/eserv/UQ:11092/sydnews.pdf Accessed 23/04/2009 p 3.

[117] Crawford 2008, *But Wait, There's More ...* p 7.

[118] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 231.

[119] Kingston 1994, *Basket, Bag and Trolley* pp 7-11.

[120] They owned and operated the Appleton and Jones drapery store located at 30 Pitt Street, Sydney. Kingston 1994, *Basket, Bag and Trolley* pp 13-14.

[121] Pragnell 1979, *Selling Consent* p 76-79.

[122] Kingston 1994, *Basket, Bag and Trolley* p 18.

[123] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* p 1.

[124] Tennent, K. 2009b, *The Free-Standing Company in Pastoral Investment: The New Zealand and Australian Land Company,* Paper presented at the Association of Business Historians Conference at Liverpool, July 2009 **http://personal.lse.ac.uk/tennent/K%20Tennent%20EH590%20Dec%2011%202008.pdf** **Accessed 01/08/2009**; see also the biography of Samuel Stephens, 'Stephens, Samuel (1808 - 1840)' 2006, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020444b.htm Accessed 31/07/2009.

[125] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 47.

[126] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* pp 27-28.

[127] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* pp 29-30.

[128] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 47; Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* pp 29-30

[129] Sutcliffe, 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia*, p 31. "During the 'forties the newspapers contained many records of successful prosecutions under this Act" resulting in the imposition of prison terms.

[130] In this sub-section an italicised word, e.g. *manager*, *Chief Agent, Commissioner*, indicates the word is used in the source to described the person's position or situation of employment. (The titles of publications and legislation continue to be italicised.)

[131] Parsons, V. 2006, 'Faithful, William (1774 - 1847)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010349b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009. The claim to Australia's first manager remains open as the first fleet transported farm animals who were tended on board and then set to graze in New South Wales. The initial assignments of convicts may also have been spoken of as management, see Keneally 2005 *The Commonwealth of Thieves* pp 64, 138-140.

[132] Brush Farm house still stands though its lands form part of the Sydney suburb of Eastwood. The grounds adjacent to the house form the NSW Corrective Services Academy.

[133] Bolton, G. C. 1966, 'Holt, Joseph (1756 - 1826)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 1, Melbourne University Press, pp 550-551, Carlton. http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010509b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

[134] *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Vol 1 No 2, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page5657 Accessed 23/04/2009.

[135] Clark 1974, *A History of Australia I* p 368. Clark's reference to the title varies from the catalogue record http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2178938~S2 Accessed 05/12/2010 and on-line copy http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/search~S2?/.b2178938/.b2178938/1,1,1,B/l856~b2178938&FF=&1,0,,1,0 Accessed 05/12/2010 of the State Library of New South Wales

[136] http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/search~S2?/.b2178938/.b2178938/1,1,1,B/l856~b2178938&FF=&1,0,,1,0 Accessed 05/12/2010 p 1.

[137] "The convicts at Liverpoool are placed under the gratuitous management of Mr. Moore of that place, and are hutted in small tenements near the town." http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/search~S2?/.b2178938/.b2178938/1,1,1,B/l856~b2178938&FF=&1,0,,1,0 Accessed 05/12/2010 p 26.

[138] Roe, M. 2006, 'Mealmaker, George (1768 - 1808)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020184b.htm, Accessed 08/09/2009.

[139] Macquarie Encyclopaedia of Australian History online entry for **Edward Lord**; Rienits, T. 'Lord, Edward (1781 - 1859)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020113b.htm Accessed 02/11/2009.

[140] Macquarie Encyclopaedia of Australian History online entry for **The wool industry**.

[141] Flowers, E. 'Dawson, Robert (1782 - 1866)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010283b.htm Accessed 01/08/2009.

[142] Parry, A. 2006 'Parry, Sir William Edward (1790 - 1855)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020282b.htm Accessed 01/08/2009. Accessed 08/09/2009.

[143] 'Curr, Edward ', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Australian National University, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010258b.htm Accessed 03/11/2009; *Macquarie Encyclopaedia of Australian History online* entry for **Edward Curr**.

[144] *Macquarie Encyclopaedia of Australian History online* entry for **John Glover**.

[145] The *Oxford English Dictionary* contains a citation of the requirement for a manager of an estate, dated 1670. *OED on-line*, accessed 05/03/2009.

[146] The agrarian tradition of England and Wales is meticulously detailed in Thirsk (Gen. Ed.) 1989, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*. Volume VI covers the period 1750-1850, and discusses land ownership and estate management practices including the appointment of farm agents, bailiffs, auditors but rarely a 'manager', to manage the estate. Leasing was sub-tenant farmers was typically undertaken.

[147] Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management* p 27.

[148] See examples elsewhere in this section.

[149] Unless otherwise indicated, currency amounts are quoted in Australian currency, pounds before February 1966 and then Australian dollars.

[150] Settlement meant simultaneous displacement of the indigenous people.

[151] Lennox, G. 2006, 'Van Diemen's Land Company', *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/V/VDL%20Co.htm Accessed 07/11/2009.

[152] Langdon, H. C. C. 2006, 'Read, George Frederick (1788 - 1860)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020320b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

[153] Eldershaw, P. R. 2006, 'Hamilton, William Henry (1790? - 1870)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010464b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

[154] Swanston, C. 2006, 'Swanston, Charles (1789 - 1850)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020460b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

[155] The *Geelong Advertiser*, *Launceston Courier* and the *South Australian Gazette* all carried similar notices in their 1840 editions.

[156] Some bank staff came from Scotland as migrants in order to gain experience for promotion. The Scottish banks in the nineteenth century operated as a cartel where promotion was slow and only possible within the bank. McKinlay, A. 2009, *A Clerical Life?: The Strange Case of Mr Notman,* Paper presented at the Management History Research Group 2009 Workshop at York, July 2009.

[157] Pragnell 1979, *Selling Consent* p 79.

[158] 'Stephens, Samuel (1808 - 1840)' 2006, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020444b.htm Accessed 31/07/2009.

[159] 'McLaren, David (1785 - 1850)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020155b.htm Accessed 31/07/2009.

[160] Tregenza, J. 2006, 'Giles, William (1791 - 1862)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010409b.htm Accessed 31/07/2009.

[161] Green, R. M. 2006, 'Green, Richard (1808 - 1878)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040326b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

[162] Diamond 1995, *Ben Boyd of Boyd Town* p 99-105

[163] Rand, A. 2006, 'Bell, John (1790 - 1841)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010077b.htm Accessed 01/08/2009.

[164] Daley, L. T. 'Irving, Clark (1808 - 1865)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040522b.htm Accessed 08/09/2009.

[165] Lowndes, A. G. 'Knox, Sir Edward (1819 - 1901)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050046b.htm Accessed 07/11/2009.

[166] 'Edward Alleyn', http://www.globe-theatre.org.uk/edward-alleyn-actor.htm Accessed 25/04/2009; 'John Hemmings', http://www.globe-theatre.org.uk/john-heminges-actor.htm Accessed 25/04/2009. Both John Hemminges and Edward Alleyn were actors and contemporaries of Shakespeare who performed his plays at the Globe Theatre and were 'managers' of their respective acting troupes.

[167] *Oxford English Dictionary* 1992; *OED on-line.* Accessed March, 05/03/2009.

[168] Advertisement quoted in Oppenheim, H. L. 'Simmons, Joseph (1810? - 1893)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020407b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

[169] *Ibid.*

[170] Fischer, G. L. 2006, 'Lazar, John (1801 - 1879)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Australian National University,
http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020084b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

[171] Oppenheim, H. L. 'Knowles, Conrad Theodore (1810 - 1844)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020058b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

[172] Oppenheim, H. L. 'Wyatt, Joseph (1788 - 1860)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020572b.htm Accessed 26/04/2009.

[173] O'Neill, S. 'Coppin, George Selth (1819 - 1906)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030430b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

[174] Gunn, J. 1989, *Along Parallel Lines,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton p 19; Lee, R. 1988, *The Greatest Public Work*, Southwood Press, Marrickville p 15.

[175] Gunn 1989, *Along Parallel Lines* p 19.

[176] Ibid. p 23.

[177] The theme of moving from the backroom to the boardroom is expounded in Chapters 4 and 5.

[178] The strength of these findings needs to be tempered at this stage. A comparison of practice between the two countries for the period and practice in other colonies will fully explain the case.

CHAPTER 4: RUSHES AND RISES

[1] *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 January, 1851.

[2] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 159-160.

[3] Lister was a young bushman whose achievement dwindled in the shadow the self-promoting Hargreaves. Gunn 1989, *Along Parallel Lines* p 24.

[4] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 156.

[5] Blainey 1993, *The Rush That Never Ended* pp 13-18;.

[6] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 157.

[7] Gunn 1989, *Along Parallel Lines* p 24.

[8] *Ibid.* p 157.

[9] Ville 2007, 'The Institutional Legacy and the Development of an Australian National Innovation System' p 119.

[10] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 69.

[11] "In effect the gold rushes were astonishingly democratic." Blainey, 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 68.

[12] *Ibid.* p 71

[13] Blainey, 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 159

[14] "The law enabled the governments to regulate the new gold-fields minutely." Blainey, 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 157-8.

[15] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 73.

[16] *Ibid.* p 72.

[17] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 209.

[18] Blainey and Hutton 1983, *Gold and Paper 1858-1982* p 2.

[19] S J Butlin 1953, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System*.

[20] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* p 11.

[21] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* pp 75-6.

[22] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 223.

[23] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 76.

[24] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 223.

[25] *Ibid.* p 283.

[26] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* pp 1-2

[27] Ward 1965, *The Australian Legend,* p 11; see also 'Rise of the Steel Industry', Macquarie Encyclopedia of Australian History Online.

[28] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* p 2.

[29] *Ibid.* p 4.

[30] Carnegie 2009, 'The Development of Accounting in Australia' pp 281- 284 outlines the development of accounting practice during this period.

[31] Boyns, T. 2009, 'It at first you don't succeed, try, try and try again: British Cost and Management Accountants and their pursuit of Professional Status', Paper presented at the Management History Research Group 2009 Workshop at York, July 2009.

[32] Carnegie 2009, 'The Development of Accounting in Australia' pp 281- 282.

[33] *Ibid.* p 6.

[34] *Ibid.* pp 9, 13-14.

[35] *Ibid.* p 10.

[36] *Ibid.* p 1.

[37] Elder Smith & Co Ltd was registered in Adelaide in 1888. From 1863 to that time it had traded as Elder Smith & Co.

[38] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 82.

[39] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* pp 290-294.

[40] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 82.

[41] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* p 38.

[42] *Enterprise* 1976, p 3.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp 9, 11.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 233-234.

Page 338

[46] E*nterprise*, 1976 p 3; Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 234. For a discussion of the role of lobbying interested in the formation of tariffs in Victoria, see Wilson, J. K. and Shanahan, M. 2009, 'Lobby and Trade Protection in Colonial Australia; An introduction', Paper presented to the Asia Pacific Economic and Business History Conference, Tokyo, February 2009.

[47] 'Farmers' was the name of the business.

[48] Kingston 1994, *Basket, Bag and Trolley* pp 19-22.

[49] Crawford 2008, *But Wait, There's More ...* p 8.

[50] Lee 1988, *The Greatest Public Work* p 16.

[51] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won*.

[52] Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* p 229; Lee 1988, *The Greatest Public Work* p 144.

[53] Patmore, G. E. 1985, *A History of Industrial Relations in the New South Wales Government Railways 1855 – 1929*, PhD thesis, University of Sydney p 1.

[54] Lee 1988, *The Greatest Public Work*.

[55] Chandler 1977, *The Visible Hand* p 79.

[56] *Ibid.* p 3.

[57] *Ibid.* p 83.

[58] Patmore 1985, *A History of Industrial Relations in the New South Wales Government Railways 1855 – 1929* p 10.

[59] Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* pp 254-255.

[60] Patmore, G. E. 1988, 'Arbitration and Bureaucracy: The New South Wales Government Railway Commissioners, 1892-1914', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol 30 No 4, pp 566-567.

[61] The English gauge set the two rails 4 feet and 8½ inches wide; the wider Irish gauge was 5 feet and 3 inches; the narrow gauge, popular in countries from Norway to India, was 3 feet and 6 inches. Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* pp 245-248.

[62] Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* p 245.

[63] Jackson 1976, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century*, pp 9-10.

[64] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century*, p 138.

[65] Cochrane 1980, *Industrialization and Dependence* p 31-32.

[66] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* pp 139-140.

[67] Ville 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs*.

[68] Ville, S. 2002, 'The Relocation of the Market for Australian Wool, 1880 – 1939', University of Wollongong Department of Economics, Working Paper Series 2002, http://www.uow.edu.au/commerce/econ/wplist.html Accessed 13/06/2006 p 1.

[69] Ville 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs* p 19.

[70] The following section relies largely but note exclusively on Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia*.

[71] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 198.

[72] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia*.

[73] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* pp 35-36.

[74] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 96.

[75] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* p 40.

[76] *Ibid.* pp 39-40.

[77] *Ibid.* p 45.

[78] *Ibid.* p 46.

[79] *Ibid.* p 46.

[80] *Ibid.* p 47-48.

[81] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 260.

[82] *Ibid.* p 260.

[83] *Ibid.* pp 265-266.

[84] *Ibid.* p 268.

[85] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 199.

[86] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* pp 63-64.

[87] *Ibid.* p 66.

[88] An aboriginal assembly, often festive with music and dancing.

[89] Hancock 1930, *Australia* p 199.

[90] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* p 65.

[91] Blainey 1995 *A Land Half Won* p 271-272.

[92] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* p 65.

[93] *Ibid.* p 56.

[94] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* pp 61-62.

[95] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* pp 124-125.

[96] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 272.

[97] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* pp 92-97.

[98] Tregenza, J. 2006, 'Giles, William (1791 - 1862)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition.

[99] The following biographical summary relies on Lowndes, A. G. 'Knox, Sir Edward (1819 - 1901)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition.

[100] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* p 4.

[101] http://www.asap.unimelb.edu.au/bsparcs/biogs/P002619b.htm Accessed 24/10/2009;
http://www.mininghall.com/MiningHallOfFame/HallOfFameDatabase/Inductee.php?InducteeID=1215 Accessed 13/12/2009.

[102] http://www.mininghall.com/MiningHallOfFame/HallOfFameDatabase/Inductee.php?InducteeID=1139 Accessed 24/10/2009.

[103] Tennent, K. 2009a, *Management and Networks - To what extent were Free-Standing Companies Controlled from the Home Country? With reference to four Scottish examples, 1865 – 1990.*
http://personal.lse.ac.uk/tennent/K%20Tennent%20management%20and%20networks.pdf Accessed 01/08/2009;
Tennent 2009b, 'The Free-Standing Company in Pastoral Investment' p 4.

[104] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* pp 30 – 31.

[105] See Patmore 1988, 'Arbitration and Bureacracy' pp 570 – 571 and Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 30.

[106] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 31.

[107] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 30. As stated, compulsory arbitration was legislated from 1901. Further development of industrial relations in Australia are discussed in section 5.1.1.

[108] Linton, J. E. 1969, 'Cottee, William Alfred (1833 - 1904)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Australian National University, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030430b.htm Accessed 30/05/2009.

[109] Walsh, G. P. 2006, 'Hill, James Richard (1836 - 1898)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040448b.htm Accessed 12/09/2009.

[110] Atchison, J. 2006, 'White, Robert Hoddle Driberg (1838 - 1900)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060419b.htm Accessed 12/09/2009. Appendix 6 includes bank managers amongst managers from various industries.

[111] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development* p 10.

[112] Between 1886 – 1890, wool constituted 66% of exports. Jackson, 1977, *Australian Economic Development* p 21.

[113] *Macquarie Encyclodaedia of Australian History*.

[114] Ville 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs*.

[115] *Ibid*. p 14.

[116] *Ibid*.

[117] *Ibid.*p 35.

[118] Rutherford, J. E. L. 2006, 'Rutherford, James (1827 - 1911)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Copyright 2006, updated continuously, ISSN 1833-7538, published by Australian National University http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060089b.htm Accessed 11/06/2009.

[119] *The Macquarie Encyclopedia of Australian Events* records iron smelting at Berrima, NSW in 1847. http://www.credoreference.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/entry/macevents/mining Accessed 11/06/2009. The first blast furnace was established at Mittagong in 1848. Further smelters were established in Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria during the 1870s. *Macquarie Encyclopedia of Australian History*, http://www.macquarienet.com.au/article?recid=X1083&db=heritage Accessed 30/07/2008.

[120] A horse race run in Sydney each year.

[121] O'Neill, S. 'Coppin, George Selth (1819 - 1906)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030430b.htm Accessed 18/04/2009.

[122] *Such is Life* is set in 1883, was written in the 1890s and published in 1903. Barnes, J. (ed.) 1981, *Joseph Furphy*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, pp xi – xxv.

[123] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 119.

[124] Jackson 1977, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* p 5.

[125] N. G. Butlin 1964, *Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900* p 438.

[126] *Ibid.* p 440.

[127] *Ibid.* p 438-9.

[128] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 327.

[129] *Ibid.* p 318.

[130] Tom Roberts, Arthur Streeton, Francis Conder, Fred McCubbin and others went to Heidelberg in the Yarra Valley and painted the landscape as awash with fierce light. Tom Roberts produced his shearing tableaux 'Shearing the Rams' and 'The Golden Fleece'. He and Fred McCubbin painted the hot dry bush with its bright light and eucalypt

haze. They glorified the bush worker – the shearer, the miner and even the bushranger, but they also painted the city and town life. At the same time, they removed groups of aborigines, who had often been included in landscapes, from the canvass, Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia* p 144.

[131] Published from 1880 by J F Archibald. *The Bulletin's* catchcry was 'Australia for Australians' and it sought contributions from swagmen, stockmen, miners, shearers, drovers and other rural occupations. Amongst these were Barcroft Boake, Henry Lawson, 'Banjo' Patterson, Joseph Furphy, C. J. Dennis, 'Steele' Rudd and 'Breaker' Morant. Patterson's *The Man from Snowy River* was published in 1890 while Lawson's *The Song of the Republic* featured in *The Bulletin* in 1887. Both later had collections of verse published by local publisher Angus and Robertson.The focus of its interest was clearly 'the bush', believing that this was where the 'real Australia' lay. Its purpose was to make Australians articulate, Hancock 1930, A*ustralia* p 296.

[132] *Ibid.* p 61.

[133] *Ibid* p 60.

[134] *Ibid.* p v.

[135] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 130.

[136] *Ibid.* pp 131-132.

[137] See Austin, A. G. 1977, *Australian Education 1788-1900: Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia*, Pitman Publishing, Melbourne. Cited in Booth, A. L. Kee, H. J. 2009, 'The University Gender Gap in Australia: A Long-run Perspective', Paper presented to the Conference on Australian Economic History, Canberra, March 2009. http://econrsss.anu.edu.au/pdf/DP610.pdf Accessed 13/10/2009.

[138] Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia* pp116-117.

[139] *Ibid.* p 117.

[140] *Ibid.* p 117.

CHAPTER 5: THE RISE OF THE DIRECTING MANAGER

[1] Wren, D. A. and Van Fleet, D. D. 'History in Schools of Business', *Business and Economic History*, Vol? no? pp 29-35 p 29.

[2] http://www.tuck.dartmouth.edu/about/history/index.html Accessed 13/01/2009.

[3] http://www.forddiscovery.com/heritage/ford-milestones.htm Accessed 22/09/2009.

[4] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 145.

[5] Still, B. 1956, *Mirror for Gotham : New York as seen by contemporaries from Dutch days to the present*, New York University Press, New York p 205.

[6] Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia,* p 169.

[7] http://www.forddiscovery.com/heritage/ford-milestones.htm Accessed 22/09/2009.

[8] Blainey uses the term 'directing manager' to describe the most senior manager, sometimes called the general manager, who directs the operations of the company, as opposed to a manager who merely carries out the directions of the board. Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* pp 3 – 6.

[9] For a detailed account of the technological advancement of a glass company during the inter-war period, see Fountain, H. 2000, 'Technology Acquisition, Firm Capability and Sustainable Competitive Advantage: A Case Study of Australian Glass Manufacturers' in Merrett, 2000, *Business Institutions and Behaviour*, pp 89 – 108. This case highlights the choices and dilemmas faced by a business in evaluating and adopting technological innovations from the USA, Great Britain and Europe. Glass containers were essential to the expansion of consumer goods markets.

[10] The post-war re-construction of Japan saw its manufacturing sector in steel and plastics rise to prominence in the 1960s, followed by Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, then, in the 1990s, China.

[11] In 1986, BHP became the first Australian company to declare A$1 billion net profit. Its history is not only of mining and steel production but vertical and horizontal integration, diversification, divestment, raising capital and portfolio management. Its nickname is 'The big Australian' and it remained Australia's largest public company until the 1990s, when Telstra was floated on the ASX.

[12] Qantas was founded in 1920, becoming and remaining the largest air carrier in Australia. See Benns 2009, *The Men Who Killed QANTAS*, Random House, North Sydney.

[13] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 146.

[14] BHP later divested itself of the Whyalla plant in 1990 and closed the Newcastle steelworks in 1999.

[15] Moreso World War II than World War I.

[16] http://www.goodyear.com/corporate/history/history_byyear.html Accessed 21/09/2009.

[17] http://www.gabr.net.au/biogs/ABE2305b.htm   Accessed 21/09/2009; Fountain 2000, 'Technology Acquisition, Firm Capability and Sustainable Competitive Advantage pp 91 – 92.

[18] www.ford.com.au/inside_ford/heritage/Heritage.asp Accessed 22/09/2009.

[19] http://home.austarnet.com.au/jamieson/holdenhistory.html Accessed 22/09/2009; http://www.cultureandrecreation.gov.au/articles/holdencar/index.htm Accessed 22/09/2009; Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* pp 197-198.

[20] http://www.chemlink.com.au/orica_hist.htm Accessed 21/09/2009.

[21] See Crawford 2008, *But Wait … There's more* for advertising; Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* and Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom' for management consulting and the sub-section 4.6.2 on management education.

[22] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* pp 144-145.

[23] Blainey 1995, *A Land Half Won* p 330-334.

[24] For a list of successive governments and Prime Ministers since Federation, see Appendix 7.

[25] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 15.

[26] See Section 4.3.2 Freedom of Contract.

[27] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* pp 30 - 31. The 'managerial prerogative' is an important concept in Australian industrial relations, but it is not clear when this term came into use.

[28] Sutcliffe 1967, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* p 216.

[29] *Ibid.* pp 227-228.

[30] This era perhaps represented the golden period of trade unions, as there was a proliferation of unions and high levels of membership. The 1970s was the high water mark for green bans, boycotts, and strikes for higher wages. During the 1980s and 1990s overall membership declined, though some unions remained well supported.

[31] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 107.

[32] *Enterprise*, 1979 p 12.

[33] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 145.

[34] "By 1913, large employers with more than 100 employees employed over 40 per cent of the manufacturing workforce." Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 15.

[35] Wright 1995, The Management of *Labour* pp 16-18.

[36] By 1929, Australia had a higher rate of motor vehicle ownership than Great Britain and was surpassed only by the USA, Canada and New Zealand. See Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia* p 169.

[37] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 168-169.

[38] Blainey 1993, *The Rush That Never Ended* p 336.

[39] The canning, bottling and packaging factories appear to be a neglected area of research, perhaps due to their smaller size and family or co-operative ownership. But their mechanisation was central to the growth of retail, suburbs and the consumer society, leading into areas of branding, marketing and company mergers. They include companies like Edgell's, Arnott's, Campbell's and IXL, and growers' co-operatives. While given small treatment in this dissertation, it is an area for further research as to the role of the manager and changes to management practices.

[40] The involvement of consultants in the development of business practice is dealt with in this section while the history of the management consulting industry is outlined in a subsequent section of this chapter.

[41] Blainey, 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* p 2.

[42] *Ibid.* pp 2, 5, 6.

[43] Blainey uses the term 'career manager' to describe a manager with considerable experience as a salaried manager. That is to say, a manager who has enjoyed a career in that capacity. Directing managers and career managers are not mutually exclusive. Essington Lewis, for example was both a 'directing manager' and a 'career manager'. Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* pp 5 – 6.

[44] *Ibid.* p 5.

[45] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 107.

[46] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* p 5.

[47] Merrett, D. and Ville, S. 2000, 'The Development of Large Scale Enterprise in Australia, 1910 – 64', in Merrett, D. (ed.), *Business Institutions and Behaviour*', Frank Cass, London, pp 13 – 46, specifically p 31.

[48] BHP, APM, CSR, British Tobacco, ICI, ACI, Dunlop and Curtaulds.

[49] Yorston 1955, 'Control in the Corporation Part 1', *Australian Accountant*, volume 25, June 1955 p 234.

[50] See section 5.7.6 The Business Knights.

[51] Wheelwright, E. L. & Miskelly, J. 1967, *Anatomy of Australian Manufacturing Industry: The Ownership and Control of 300 of the Largest Manufacturing Companies in Australia*, Law Books Company, Sydney p 1.

[52] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* p 3; Nettle, D. 1990, *Management Control in Australia: An Historical Perspective,* PhD thesis, Department of Sociology, Macquarie University p 26.

[53] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour pp 24 - 28.*

[54] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 26.

[55] *Ibid.* p 66, pp 27-28.

[56] Dunford 1988, 'Scientific Management in Australia'.

[57] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 26.

[58] Marshall, J. G. and Trahir, R. C. S. 1981, *Industrial Psychology in Australia to 1950: An annotated Bibliography,* Bundoora, La Trobe University Library pp 7-8.

[59] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* pp 69-70.

[60] *Ibid.* p 25.

[61] *Ibid.* p 28. See also section 5.2.3 The Rise of Industrial Psychology.

[62] *Ibid.* p 27.

[63] *Ibid.* p 28. Advertising grew and changed business earlier than management consultants prior to 1940. The growth of the Australian advertising industry is discussed later in this chapter.

[64] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* pp 67-68

[65] http://www.ahri.com.au/scripts/cgiip.exe/WService=AHRI-LIVE/ccms.r?PageId=10910 Accessed 22/10/2009.

[66] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 44.

[67] *Ibid.* The Rise of Industrial Psychology is outlined later in this Chapter.

[68] Fleming, Merrett and Ville 2004, *The Big End of Town*. The authors used asset value as the governing criterion. In this paragraph asset value in expressed in Australian pounds. See also their earlier article Merrett and Ville 2000, 'Large Scale Enterprise in Australia' pp 13 – 46p 31.

[69] Fleming, Merrett and Ville 2004, *The Big End of Town* pp 202-204.

[70] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 15.

[71] Fleming, Merrett and Ville 2004, *The Big End of Town* 1930 data in Appendices A, B, and C.

[72] Patmore 1985, *A History of Industrial Relations in the New South Wales Government Railways 1855 – 1929*; Patmore 1988, 'Arbitration and Bureacracy'; confirmed in a telephone interview in 1999.

[73] Patmore 1985, *A History of Industrial Relations in the New South Wales Government Railways 1855 – 1929* pp 307, 315-316.

[74] An editorial appeared in Australasian Manufacturer on 8 August, 1917, criticising Fraser's address. See Marshall and Trahir 1981, *Industrial Psychology in Australia to 1950,* p 7.

[75] Selzer, A. & Sammartino, A. 2009, *Nominal Wage Rigidity Prior to Compulsory Arbitration: Evidence from the Victorian Railways, 1902-21,* Paper presented by Andrew Selzer to the Conference on Australian Economic History, Canberra, March 2009.

[76] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 20.

[77] Barry Jones led a very public life as teacher, quizmaster, politician, cabinet minister, academic, and President of the Australian Labor Party.

[78] Jones outlined the traditional three-sector analysis, the Porat-Parker four-sector analysis and his five-sector analysis. For details of his categorisation of sectors and industries, see Jones, B. 1983 (second edition), *Sleepers, Wake!,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne pp 46-55. While Jones' analysis serves the purpose of illuminating the historical strength of the services' sector, his analysis varies from that of Keating, both in the length of the time series and the categorisation. Some caution, therefore, should be exercised in accepting Jones' analysis. See Keating,

M. 1973, *The Australian Workforce: 1910-110 to 1960-61*, Department of Economic History, The Australian National University, Canberra.

[79] Jones 1983, *Sleepers Wake!*, pp 46-79.

[80] Jones 1983, *Sleepers Wake!*, p 55.

[81] For an exposition of the Australian development of accounting regulation, education as a professional body during the twentieth century, see Carnegie 2009, 'The Development of Accounting in Australia' pp 284- 293. Carnegie concentrates on the development of accounting as a 'professional' body rather than the development of the industry and the relationship between the major firms and business, which is more central to this dissertation.

[82] This section is based on Crawford 2008, *But Wait, There's More ....* pp 6-167.

[83] This section ostensibly relies upon the research of Christopher Wright into the management consulting industry in Australia published in Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour*; Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom'; Wright, C. 2003, *Promoting Demand, Gaining Legitimacy and Broadening Expertise: The Evolution of Consultancy-Client Relationships in Australia*, in Kipping, M. and Engwall, L. (eds), 2003, *Management Consulting: Emergence and Dynamics of a Knowledge Industry,* Oxford University Press, Oxford. Wright's coverage was more expansive and this section presents an outline.

[84] Kipping, M. and Engwall, L. (eds), 2003, *Management Consulting: Emergence and Dynamics of a Knowledge Industry,* Oxford University Press, Oxford pp 9-10.

[85] Littler 1982, *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies* p 114.

[86] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 27.

[87] Farrer, K. T. H. 2006, 'Walker, Fred (1884 - 1935)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A120399b.htm Accessed 14/09/2009.

[88] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 27.

[89] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom' p 93. Harold B. Maynard was the founder of the H.B. Maynard Company of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and a major contributor to the advancement of the industrial engineering profession, largely through his *Industrial Engineering Handbook.*

[90] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom' pp 92 - 96; Wright 2003, *Promoting Demand* pp 186 - 188.

[91] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom' p 93.

[92] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom' p 90.

[93] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom' pp 92 - 96.

[94] This section is based on the annotated bibliography of Marshall and Trahair 1981, *Industrial Psychology in Australia to 1950.*

[95] These lectures are discussed further in sub-section 5.7.3 Bernard Muscio.

[96] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 150.

[97] *Ibid.* p 154.

[98] The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps are commonly referred to as the ANZACs.

[99] *Blainey 1997, A Shorter History of Australia.* p 155.

[100] *Ibid.* p 157.

[101] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 15.

[102] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 157.

[103] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 16.

[104] Blainey 1996, *The Tyranny of Distance* pp 243-264.

[105] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 159.

[106] *Ibid.* p 162-163.

[107] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p16.

[108] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 176.

[109] *Ibid.* pp 174-175.

[110] Mcintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia* p 175.

[111] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* pp 16-17.

[112] Merrett, D. T. and Ville, S. 2009, *Financing growth: New issues by Australia firms, 1920-1939,* Paper presented to the Conference on Australian Economic History, Canberra, March 2009.

[113] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 179.

[114] *Ibid.* p 181.

[115] *Ibid.* pp 182-183.

[116] *Ibid.* p 187.

[117] Wright, 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 38.

[118] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 190.

[119] *Ibid.* p 185.

[120] This section pursues the themes of growth and expansion which characterised the post World War II period more so than the first half of the twentieth century with the World Wars and Great Depression. It initially provides an

overview of the post World War II period, then discusses the role of the branch structure and the occupation of manager in growth and expansion during the twentieth century. While returning to earlier periods, this structure has been adopted in preference to strict chronological segmentation to provide a long-run view of trends in these areas. It differs in the earlier treatment to other areas such as advertising, company structures and dynamics, scientific management and management consulting which were discussed within their periods.

[121] Lansbury and Spillane 1983, *Organisational Behaviour* p 11.

[122] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 38.

[123] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* pp 197-198.

[124] *Ibid.* pp 202-203. The Snowy Mountains Scheme was a grand hydro electricity generation scheme in the high mountains of New South Wales.

[125] *Ibid.* pp 196-197

[126] *Ibid.* p 202.

[127] Blainey 1993, *The Rush That Never Ended* pp 327-333.

[128] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 203.

[129] Blainey 1993, *The Rush That Never Ended* p 336.

[130] Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 204.

[131] Blainey 1993, *A Shorter History of Australia* p 340.

[132] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* pp 41-42.

[133] Government growth and expansion was a feature of this period but receives limited treatment in this dissertation. Chapters 3 and 4 contended that Australia's first and early managers were in private sector roles while Chapter 5 similarly asserts that there were few 'managers' in the public sector prior to the 1980s. Further research is required to confirm the numbers of employees known as 'managers' in various functions across the decades of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and clarify this situation.

[134] Ville 2000, *The Rural Entrepreneurs* p 172. Ville notes that 'agents' and 'managers' became interchangeable terms during this period, but his study did not extend to examine how this came about. This would be an interesting area of further research and represents another chapter in the history of the wool industry in Australia.

[135] The data sample from the *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online* contained a significant number of entries in this period where the occupation of the father was a manager (eg bank manager, property manager, company manager, etc.).

[136] The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* provides a listing of people who gained prominence in Australian society and shows the progression of some people through management roles, but it doesn't list the many ordinary people who achieved less or the roles a noteworthy person did not occupy.

[137] Hill, A. J. 'Burrows, Frederick Alexander (1897 - 1973)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, Australian National University, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A130353b.htm Accessed 07/11/2009.

[138] Mitchell does not explain how he has used the occupation data from the 1947 census. The source of these statistics is unclear and categories for the 1947 and 1961 censuses related to occupational classifications such as professional, domestic, commercial, etc. Palmer, G. 1963, *A Guide to Australian Economic Statistics*, Macmillan and Co., Melbourne p 73-74. This is confirmed by Keating who explains the various changes in coding and classification in 1961 as well the problems of definition and using census data as a means of estimating the workforce, Keating 1973, *The Australian Workforce* pp 26 – 33 and 34 – 58. The data in Appendix 7 and other material in this chapter suggests that post World War II growth in the number of managers was rapid, but how rapid remains an area for further research.

[139] Pollard pursues the question of how Britain was overtaken by the USA and Germany during the second half of the nineteenth century and argues that British management lacked formal management education. The development of formal engineering and management education in France, Germany and the USA surpassed that in Britain and was one of the main reasons for Britain's 'decline'. Pollard 1989, *Britain's Prime and Britain's Decline*. For a more recent summary of the debate about Britain's decline, see Tomlinson, J. 2000, *The Politics of Decline: Understanding Post-War Britain,* Longman, Harlow.

[140] Sampling advertisements is an indication of prospective workforce requirements and job nomenclature rather than existing positions and job nomenclature. The number of advertisements fluctuates according to economic conditions, with advertisements increasing during favourable economic conditions.

[141] This section is based on Brash, D. 1966, *American Investment in Australia*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.

[142] Brash undertook his study at a time when popular concerns about the levels of profit of GM-H and 'American domination' of investment were high, Brash 1966, *American Investment in Australia* pp 1 – 6.

[143] Brash 1966, *American Investment in Australia* pp 8 – 9. Canada is included with the USA as Ford Motor Company was registered in Canada.

[144] Brash 1966, *American Investment in Australia* pp 10 – 11.

[145] 224 of the 590 board members in his 1962 survey.

[146] Brash 1966, *American Investment in Australia* pp 105 – 124.

[147] Brash 1966, *American Investment in Australia* p 125.

[148] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 28.

[149] Mitchell 1998 reported that Rydge's claimed a circulation of 22,000 copies and a readership of 83,600 people in late 1960. By 1969 the circulation had increased to 26,323.   Mitchell 1998, *Management Discourse and Practice in Australia* p 69.

[150] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 21.

[151] Rogers 1988, *A History of The Foundation and Development of The Australian Institute of Management* p 1.

[152] Rogers, L. 1998, *A History of The Foundation and Development of The Australian Institute of Management,* The Australian Institute of Management, Sydney pp 1-2, 7.

[153] Rogers 1988, *A History of The Foundation and Development of The Australian Institute of Management* p 1.

[154] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* p 82.

[155] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 55.

[156] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* p 83.

[157] Appendix 16 contains a summarised history of the MBA.

[158] http://www.canadian-universities.net/MBA/MBA_History_Canada.html Accessed 22/09/2009.

[159] Barry, B. 1989, 'Management education in Great Britain', in Byrt, W. (ed.) 1989, *Management Education: An International Survey*, Routledge, London.

[160] http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/about Accessed 13/01/2009.

[161] Latreuille 2001, *Growth of the MBA,* http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2001/jul/27/mbas.business Accessed 07/11/2009; For a complete history of the formation of the London and Manchester business schools in Great Britain, see Larson, M. 2003, *Practically Academic: The Formation of the British Business School,* Ph D thesis, School of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

[162] Barsoux 1989, *Management Education in France,* in Byrt (ed.) 1989, *Management Education: An International Survey*, Routledge, London, pp 120-150 p 124.

[163] Cochrane, P. 1985, *'*Company Time: Management, Ideology and the Labour Process1940-1960*', Labour History*, No 48 May pp 54-68; Marshall and Trahir 1981, *Industrial Psychology in Australia to 1950* p 61.

[164] Ralph Report 1982, p 44.

[165] Barry, Dowling and Tonks 1995, *Management Education in Australia*, p 5.

[166] *Inquiry into Management Education* [The Ralph Report] 1982, Australian Government Printer, Canberra p 44.

[167] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* pp 83-4. See the subsection 4.6.1 for the international adoption of the MBA, an example of American management exports.

Page 352

[168] Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour* p 71.

[169] Byrt clarified that a six-week residential course for executives was run in January and February 1956, roughly modelled on the Harvard executive programs, see Byrt 1989, *Management Education* pp 84-85; see also Ralph Report 1982, p 35.

[170] Ralph Report 1982, p 35.

[171] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* pp 85-86.

[172] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* p 87; Ralph Report 1982, p 44.

[173] Krause, E. A. 1996, *Death of the Guilds" Professions, States, and the Advance of Capitalism: 1930 to the Present,* Yale University Press, New Haven pp 11-13.

[174] Larson outlines the various bodies, committees, reports, responses and politics that ostensibly paralysed the management education industry prior to the foundation of the two British business schools; see Larson 2003, *Practically Academic.*

[175] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* pp 87-92.

[176] Warren M. Cannon, William C. Frederick and Ezra Solomon. *Report of the Committed of Inquiry into Post-graduate Education for Management* (The Cyert Report) 1970, Government Printer, Canberra. One British academic was also invited but declined. Byrt 1989, *Management Education* p 93.

[177] Cyert Report, 1970 p 1.

[178] The report made no mention of women as managers, only men. Cyert Report, 1970 p 10.

[179] Barry, B., Dowling, P.J., & Tonks, G. 1995, *Management Education in Australia*, University of Tasmania, Hobart.

[180] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* p 93.

[181] Cyert Report, 1970 p 2.

[182] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* p 95.

[183] Osborne, G. 2006, 'Delprat, Guillaume Daniel (1856 - 1937)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A080295b.htm Accessed 05/10/2009.

[184] Blainey, G. and Smith A. G. 1986, 'Lewis, Essington (1881 - 1961)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 10, pp 87-92, Melbourne University Press, Carlton. http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100084b.htm Accessed 17/03/2009 . This section summarises Blainey & Smith.

[185] Marshall and Trahir 1981, *Industrial Psychology in Australia to 1950,* p 61.

[186] O'Neil, W. M. 1986, 'Muscio, Bernard (1887 - 1926)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 10, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp 650-651. http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100632b.htm Accessed 14/03/2009; Urwick (ed.), 1963, *The Golden Book of Management,* pp 252-255.

[187] The following relies on Bourke, H. 1986, 'Mayo, George Elton (1880 - 1949)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 10, pp 465-466, Melbourne University Press, Carlton. http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100454b.htm Accessed 21/02/2009; and Urwick (ed.), 1963, *The Golden Book of Management, pp 220-224.*

[188] Hassard argued that Western Electric was no ordinary employer and that contextual factors have largely been ignored in accounts of the Hawthorne studies. Hassard, J. 2009, *On Teaching Hawthorne: The Western Electric Company and the 1915 Chicago River Disaster (Missing Actors in the Hawthorne Studies Drama),* Paper presented at the Management History Research Group 2009 Workshop at York, July 2009.

[189] They defined this as the interplay between the social and technical systems of work organisation.

[190] http://info.anu.edu.au/mac/Newsletters_and_Journals/ANU_Reporter/_pdf/vol_28_no_05/emery.html Accessed 04/10/2009.

[191] This section largely relies on Nettle 1990, *Managerial Control in Australia*, Chapter 2 pp10-38.

[192] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business* p 3.

[193] Nettle 1990, *Managerial Control in Australia* pp 29-30.

[194] *Ibid.* p 30.

[195] Wheelwright and Miskelly 1967, *Anatomy of Australian Manufacturing Industry* p 2.

[196] Beckingsale and Co.1964, *The Australian Board of Directors*, Beckingsale Management Services Ltd., Melbourne p 3.

[197] McMichael, M. E. 1976, 'Australian Board of Directors: Organisation and Functions', *The Australian Director*, August pp 9-19.

[198] Wheelwright and Miskelly 1967, *Anatomy of Australian Manufacturing Industry* p 3.

[199] Rolfe, H. 1967, *The Controllers*, Cheshire, Melbourne pp 34, 52-55.

[200] Nettle 1990, *Managerial Control in Australia* p 20.

CHAPTER 6: THE RISE OF MANAGEMENT

[1] The theme of the world wars as events that dominated the twentieth century is argued more particularly in Blainey 2005, *A Short History of the 20th Century*, but also appears in Blainey, G. 2000, *A Short History of the World*, Penguin Books Australia, Ringwood and Blainey 1997, *A Shorter History of Australia*.

[2] The Menzies government was in power between 1939 and 1941 and from 1949 to 1966. Menzies remains the both the longest serving prime Minister and the Prime Minister who served the longest term. See Appendix 9.

[3] The phrase is often attributed to McLuhan, M. and Fiore, Q. 1968, W*ar and Peace in the Global Village: an inventory of some of the current spastic situations that could be eliminated by more feedforward,* McGraw-Hill, New York.

[4] Bond was a regarded as a national hero after Australia II won the America's Cup in 1983. He was charged following the collapse of Bond Corporation. See section 6.2.9 Prominent Managers.

[5] Australian authorities sought Skase to answer questions and then charges relating to the failure of Quintrex. See section 6.2.9 Prominent Managers.

[6] Packer and Murdoch were predominantly media moguls. Packer sold his television network to Bond at a record figure and bought them from Bond when his corporation was failing.

[7] The 'cold war' was, in essence, the arms race between USA and USSR, where each side sought greater military strike power over the other. Nuclear capability raised questions about whether the first missile strike would result in nuclear annihilation of the planet.

[8] While the reports of journalists and film footage were filed during World War II, the Vietnam conflict was the first to be broadcast on television. Television played an important role in public opinion, with regular reports of both the conflict overseas and the demonstrations against conscription in Australia.

[9] Macintyre 1999, *A Concise History of Australia*, pp 231-233.

[10] *Ibid.*, p 233.

[11] The Returned Servicemen's League was the peak body for returned servicemen and was dominated by World War II veterans with a small contingent of Korean veterans. Vietnam veterans were a relatively small number and suffered an uneasy relationship with other members as their conflict did not end decisively. They received no hero's welcome at the time and their repatriation was often problematic with substance abuse and symptoms of trauma.

[12] 'Green bans' were brought to prominence in NSW by the Builders' Labourers' Federation, which imposed industrial bans on historic buildings in parts of Sydney including The Rocks and Paddington. As a result, many early colonial buildings were preserved for ongoing use.

[13] *Macintyre 1999, A Concise History of Australia,* p 233. The combination of inflation, low productivity and high unemployment was known as 'stagflation' and confounded traditional economic theory.

[14] Manning Clark published his third volume of *A History of Australia* in 1973; Geoffrey Blainey's *Tyranny of Distance* was reprinted in 1970, 1971, 1974, 1976, 1977, and 1980; Donald Horne's *The Lucky Country* was a best seller.

[15] Nettle 1990, *Management Control in Australia*, pp 30-34.

[16] Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business*.

[17] It took seven years for television to overtake radio. See section 5.2.1 The Rise of Advertising Agencies.

[18] The motor lorry or truck also played a pivotal role in consolidating regional and state markets. It effectively held a monopoly on intra-city deliveries but as road infrastructure and lorry technology improved, it competed with rail and sea. During from the 1970s it competed with rail on interstate and inter-city freight and won.

[19] This section relies largely on Kelly, P. 1992, *The End of Certainty: the Story of the 1980s,* Allen and Unwin, St Leonards.

[20] Economic rationalism has become such a part of public discourse nowadays, that its emergence is often overlooked. Competition and productivity were the twin pillars of the doctrine of economic rationalism, a view that measures and values things in economic terms, that is to say, their capacity to be bought and sold, to generate income or expenditure as entities in a market economy. It incorporates the 'user pays principle', that the person (or group of people) who consume the goods and services should pay for those goods and services. Economic rationalism advocates that, wherever possible, an enterprise should be self-funding, able to generate sufficient revenue to sustain its activities in the marketplace, rather than being propped up by subsidies from government or some other body. Such an approach provided the impetus to charge the consumer for goods and services that had previously been free or sold at lower cost because of subsidies. Economic rationalists prefer the market forces of supply and demand or private enterprise models of business, to tariffs, subsidies and big government.

[21] 'Globalisation' was a term of the 1990s, when computers and communications eroded the effects of distance.

[22] The popularisation of air travel through bigger, faster planes and cheaper fares played a vital role in business, social and cultural exchange.

[23] The Hawke-Keating government's economic rationalist agenda was spelt out in the Prime Minister's Policy Statement of 23 June 1987.   http://www.library.unisa.edu.au/BHPML/speeches/Prime/policy.pdf   Accessed 21/10/2009.

[24] Kelly 1992, *The End of Certainty*, pp 1-2, p 661.

[25] Lloyd, C. 2002, 'Regime Change in Australian Capitalism: Towards a Historical Political Economy of Regulation', *Australian Economic History Review,* Vol. 42, No. 3 pp 238-266. Lloyd places the changes of the 1980s within the international and historical contexts.

[26] Fleming, Merrett and Ville, *The Big End of Town,* p 223.

[27] http://www.asx.com.au/about/asx/history/history_ASX.htm Accessed 10/10/2009.
http://www.stockmarket.com.au/australian-stock-exchange-asx/history-of-the-stock-market/ Accessed 10/10/2009.
The Australian Share Price movements 1900- 2009 are graphed in Appendix 12.)

[28] Kelly 1992, *The End of Certainty,* p 31.

Page 356

[29] For a comprehensive account of the development of various forms of media in Australia, see Cunningham, S. and Turner, G. (eds.) 2010 (third edition), *The Media and Communications in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest. For a history of Australian commercial radio, see Griffin-Foley, B. 2009, *Changing Stations: the Story of Australian Commercial Radio*, UNSW Press, Sydney. For a history of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, see Inglis 1983, *This is the ABC*.

[30] The power of the electronic and print media lay in their ability to channel information to the electorate and were broadcasting and printing every day.

[31] Comment of Geoff Reece, a former Advertising Executive with Jackson Wayne (and author's uncle).

[32] Newspapers, radio and television.

[33] http://www.aph.gov.au/library/intguide/sp/media_regulations.htm Accessed 02/12/2010. The cross media ownership laws operate in a more technical fashion with different limitations applying to the owner of a television licence and a newspaper proprietor. The changes ended the existing two station rule' with a rule based on an audience reach rule.

[34] Phrases like this became popular in business circles.

[35] Lansbury and Spillane 1983, *Organisational Behaviour,* pp 17-18.

[36] As defined by Jones. Jones 1983, *Sleepers, Wake!,* p 79.

[37] McCloud, P. and Siniakis, C. 1993, 'Trends in numbers of management students and managers 1970s-1990s', *Enterprising Nation: Renewing Australia's Managers to Meet the Challenges of the Asia Pacific Century - Research Report Volume 1*. Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

[38] Actual figures compared to estimates to 2009 are graphed in Figure 4 in Chapter 7 section 7.3.5.

[39] These two categorizations present obvious definitional and taxonomic interpretations of the ABS which are open to debate. Both taxonomies interpret some categories of employment as management roles when they are not called 'managers'. In a sense, the latter taxonomy reflects a conscious interpretation of what management is. The timing of the re-classification supports changed awareness and consciousness of management. A conservative conclusion is that the data indicated a *prima facie* upwards trend in the number of managers.

[40] Unfortunately the ABS changed their classifications again in August 1997.

[41] See the section below regarding *The Australian Manager* by Byrt and Masters.

[42] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* p 95.

[43] Byrt 1989, *Management Education* p 95.

[44] Ralph Report, 1982 p 22. This definition could equally be applied to a supervisor, foreman or director and is therefore a reflection more of nomenclature than function.

[45] Ralph Report, 1982 pp 27-28.

[46] Barry, Dowling and Tonks, 1995, *Management Education in Australia.*

[47] McLeod and Siniakis, 'Trends in numbers of management students and managers 1970s-1990s.'

[48] Baritz outlines a history of the use of social science in American Industry, presenting many 'experts' as mere sophists with opinions for hire. Baritz, L. 1974, *The Servants of Power: a history of the use of social science in American Industry*, Greenwood Press, Westport

[49] This section again ostensibly relies upon the research of Christopher Wright into the management consulting industry in Australia published in Wright 1995, *The Management of Labour*; Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom'; Wright, C. 2003, *Promoting Demand, Gaining Legitimacy and Broadening Expertise: The Evolution of Consultancy-Client Relationships in Australia*, in Kipping, M. and Engwall, L. (eds), 2003, *Management Consulting: Emergence and Dynamics of a Knowledge Industry,* Oxford University Press, Oxford. Wright's coverage was more expansive and this section presents an outline.

[50] McKenna, C. 1995, 'The Origins of Modern Management Consulting', *Business and Economic History*, Vol 24 No 1 p 52.

[51] http://www.kpmg.com.au/default.aspx?tabid=167 Accessed 06/09/2009.

[52] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom'. p 101.

[53] The size of the management consulting industry in 1983 was estimated to be over $90m, see Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom' p 99.

[54] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom', p 101.

[55] The list that this table summarises is contained in Appendix 19. It is not an exhaustive list and thus indicative of general trends rather than definitive.

[56] Byrt and Masters 1974, *The Australian Manager,* pp 35-36.

[57] Byrt, W. and Masters, P. 1982 (revised edition), *The Australian Manager,* Sun Books, Melbourne. Several possibilities arise for the omission of this passage: perhaps there was strong readership reaction to the comments of the first edition, perhaps it was considered likely to offend the intended readership, or perhaps it was no longer relevant. Whether this was a case of editorial censorship or revision remains a mystery.

[58] Byrt and Masters 1982 (Revised edition), *The Australian Manager,* p 3.

[59] Byrt and Masters 1982 (Revised edition), *The Australian Manager,* p 3.

[60] Byrt and Masters 1982 (Revised edition), *The Australian Manager,* p 75.

[61] See, for example, Stoner *et al.* 1985, *Management in Australia,* was an Australian edition based on the second American edition of Stoner's *Management.* Stoner *et al.* 1985, *Management in Australia,* p vii.

[62] See, for example, Lansbury and Spillane 1983, *Organisational Behaviour*; Spillane, R. 1985, *Achieving Peak Performance: the psychology of success in the organisation,* Harper and Row, Sydney*;* and McLaughlin, Y. 1989, Australian Management: a practical guide for managers, supervisors and administrators.

[63] Watson 2003, *Death Sentence,* p 24.

[64] See, for example, the Prime Minister's Speech at BHP's Centenary Dinner in Melbourne on 13/08/1985, http://www.library.unisa.edu.au/BHPML/speeches/prime/1985_Aug_centenarydinner.asp Accessed 21/10/2009; and the Prime Minister's Policy Statement of 23 June 1987 http://www.library.unisa.edu.au/BHPML/speeches/Prime/policy.pdf Accessed 21/10/2009. The latter leaves no doubt about the 'economic management' agenda of the Labour government, using that term three times and referring to 'management' in differing contexts a further eight times.

[65] For a discussion of *techne, epistome* and *rhetoric,* see 'Epistêmê and Technê', http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/episteme-techne/ Accessed 14/03/2006; Aristotle (reprinted 1991), *The Art of Rhetoric'*, Penguin, London*;* and 'Aristotle's Rhetoric', http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/ Accessed 14/03/2006.

[66] See, for example, the work of Milton Rokeach and George England in Rokeach, M. 1968, *Beliefs, attitudes, and values : a theory of organization and change*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco; Rokeach, M. (ed.) 1979, *Understanding human values : individual and societal*, Free Press, New York; England, G., Dhingra, O. P. and Agarwal, C. 1974, *The manager and the man : a cross-cultural study of personal values*, Kent State University Press, Kent; England, G. W. 1975, *The manager and his values : an international perspective from the United States, Japan, Korea, India, and Australia*, Ballinger Publishing Company, Cambridge; and England, G. W. 1978, "Managers and their Value Systems: A Five Country Comparative Study", *Columbia Journal of World Business* 13, No. 2 pp 35-44.

[67] Wolack provides an overview of the definition of values by Rokeach, England and others in Wolak, A. J. 2007, "Managerial culture in Australia and Canada: an historical analysis" PhD Thesis, Macquarie University p 34-35.

[68] There are a number of conceptual and operational problems in the measurement of values and attitudes compared to behaviour. There are also issues of sample selection for managers, such as defining who is a manager and whether the same definition is applied in each culture and each study. As this dissertation has argued and demonstrated, managers are not a homogeneous population and have changed considerably over time. Measurement of values relies on the construction of scales or axes and the development of questions pertaining to the scales or axes. Jones provides a critique of Hofstede's four dimensions to characterise cross-cultural differences and many of his criticisms apply equally to Rokeach and England. See Jones, M. L. 2007, "Hofstede – Culturally Questionable?, http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1389&context=commpapers Accessed 25/04/2010.

[69] England 1975, *The Manager and His Values* p 10; England 1978, "Managers and their Value Systems", p 40-41.

[70] Lansbury and Spillane 1983, *Organisational Behaviour.* See chapter entitled "The context of organisational life in Australia; Hofstede, G. 1980, *Culture's Consequences: International differences in work related values*. Sage, Beverly Hills; and Jones 2007, "Hofstede – Culturally Questionable? .

[71] Spillane, R. M. 1980, "Attitudes of Business Executives and Trade Union Leaders to Industrial Relations: Twenty Years Later", *Journal of Industrial Relations*,, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp 317-325; Walker, K. F.1959, "Attitudes of Business Executives and Trade Union Leaders to Industrial Relations", *Occupational Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 33, pp 157-165.

[72] Lansbury and Spillane 1983, *Organisational Behaviour,* p 22.

[73] *Ibid,* pp 22-23.

[74] This section is based on Dunphy and Stace 1994, *Under New Management*.

[75] Dunphy and Stace 1990, *Under New Management.*

[76] Dunphy and Stace 1994, *Under New Management*, p 40.

[77] Dunphy and Stace 1994, *Under New Management*, pp 44-46.

[78] Dunphy and Stace 1994, *Under New Management*, p 49.

[79] Dunphy and Stace 1994, *Under New Management*, pp 117-118.

[80] Dunphy and Stace 1994, *Under New Management*, pp 180-181.

[81] Dunphy and Stace 1994, *Under New Management*, pp 5-9.

[82] Dunphy and Stace 1994, *Under New Management*, pp 95-96.

[83] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom' p 14.

[84] Dunphy and Stace 1990, *Under New Management*.

[85] http://www.ketupa.net/bond.htm Accessed 19/05/2008.

[86] http://www.ketupa.net/seven1.htm Accessed 03/06/2008.

[87] As outlined in Chapter 3 the earliest manager was working in 1799, so the rise of the salaried manager occurred over a period of some 170 years.

CHAPTER 7: MANAGEMENT DOMINATES

[1] Management is an applied discipline and Australian organisations became the focus of case studies for business students. A seminal work in this field was Dunphy and Stace 1990, *Under New Management*. It was followed by publications by the Centre for Corporate Change during the 1990s.

² The applications of performance based remuneration were potentially broader than those of technology and may have been more important in certain instances. Technology essentially a tool in the hands of management and its workforce for the purpose of productivity. It was particularly relevant to manufacturing, but computers were adopted broadly across the services sector. The case is often made that computers and communications technology have resulted in job losses, but they also created entirely new industries.

³ This approach involved setting performance targets for individual employees and business units within the firm. Targets were linked to remuneration bonuses, providing a structured incentive scheme. It also allowed business to align salary payments to revenue.

⁴ For a brief account of the property bubble see, for example, Yuzawa, T. 2009, 'Recent Trends of business history in Japan', Paper presented to the Asia Pacific Economic Business History Conference in Tokyo, February 2009. http://www.uow.edu.au/commerce/econ/ehsanz/Tokyo%20Conference%202009/Papers/Yuzawa.pdf Accessed 22/08/2009; while Ferguson 2009, *The Ascent of Money* points to the broader role of property and government policy in the global financial crisis of October, 2007. Garside provides an interesting commentary on Japan in Garside, R. 2007a, 'Institutional Capacity and Social Capability: Japan's 'Deviant' Capitalism in the High-Growth Period and Beyond', in Garside, R. (ed.) 2007, *Institutions and Market Economies,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, pp. 65-86. Australia's long-standing economic relationship with Japan is outlined in Pokarier, C. *An interest in Japan: The political economy of Australia‑Japan investment linkages*, Paper presented to the Asia Pacific Economic Business History Conference in Tokyo, February 2009.

⁵ Kelly argued that the 1990s heralded the third phase of Australia's European history since colonization, namely the adoption of market philosophy with its international revolutions in communications and global markets, becoming integrated into the Asian Pacific region. Kelly 1992, *The End of Certainty*, p 660.

⁶ Reduction of the scope of government halted a trend of increased state paternalism. While various government instrumentalities joined the market-place, reducing the scope of government, the expenditure of federal, state and local governments increased in dollar terms.

⁷ For many years personal savings had formed an important source of funding for capital markets. The decline in personal savings occurred in conjunction with increased use of personal credit.

⁸ The decline of savings as a source of investment had raised concerns about Australia's vulnerability in a credit squeeze. The Great Depression of 1929 resulted from a credit squeeze. The US economy and the world economy remained vulnerable to a credit squeeze during the 1990s. The US government pursued a strategy of expansion through borrowing. Whereas the flow of funds continued (largely through loans from the Chinese government), the credit crunch from October 2007 occurred because of bad debts, particularly loans in the sub-prime mortgage market; Ferguson 2009, *The Ascent of Money*.

⁹ Productivity through industrial reform was a key policy area in the election campaign.

[10] One of Howard's key electoral tactics was to mimic the Keating government's economic management policies, but to differentiate his party in the area of social policy. Megalogenis, G. 2006, *The Longest Decade,* Scribe, Melbourne pp 180-189.

[11] Adams, P. (ed.), 1997 *The Retreat from Tolerance: a snapshot of Australian society.* Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Sydney. Frank comments extensively on the George W Bush regime's de-funding the left following its marginal electoral victory in the USA; Frank, T. 2008, *The Wrecking Crew,* Henry Holt and Company, New York.

[12] The speeches of the 'shock jocks' were largely motivated by economic considerations, much the same as newspapers and television – ratings lead to revenue.

[13] See Blainey, G. 1989, *The Great Seesaw: A New View of the Western World¸* Macmillan, Melbourne especially pp 290 ff.

[14] Frank, T. 2000, *One Market Under God,* Doubleday, New York; Manne, R. 1998, *The Way We Live Now: The Controversies of the Nineties,* Text Publishing: Australia; Megalogenis 2006, *The Longest Decade*.

[15] Both in Australia and elsewhere, the 1990s saw privatisation and corporatisation of numerous government-controlled instrumentalities and the imposition of the 'user pays principle' for a wide range of services. Notable examples were the Commonwealth Bank, Qantas, Commonwealth Serum Laboratories, Telstra, coal, power, water, rail, airports, port facilities, roadworks, etc. Victoria was the most zealous of the states in this regards from 1992 slashing government expenditure and re-structuring the public service; Carlin, T. M. 2004, 'Output based Budgeting and the Management of Performance', *Macquarie Working Papers in Management*, MGSM WP 2004-7, March 2004, Macquarie Graduate School of Management, North Ryde.

[16] Liberal Party Campaign launch speech, 2004. http://australianpolitics.com/elections/2004/ Accessed 20/10/2009.

[17] OECD data reported here estimates GDP using an expenditure approach and % increases are the author's calculations. The data thus reports movements in nominal and not real magnitudes.

[18] Megalogenis 2006, *The Longest Decade.*

[19] *Reinventing Government* was first published in the USA in 1992 and became a popular and influential management book, both in the USA and Australia. Frank describes it as the instruction manual of the Clinton Adminstration. See Frank 2008, *The Wrecking Crew* p 134*;* and Osbourne, D. E. (originally 1992) 1993, *Reinventing Government: how the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the public sector*, Plume, New York.

[20] In Victoria, the Kennett Liberal government privatised many more services than NSW including electricity and gaols. See Carlin 2004, 'Output based Budgeting and the Management of Performance'.

[21] In NSW and later other states, the Roads and Traffic Authority (RTA) was given the authority to cancel driver's licences if fines remained unpaid. Imprisonment provisions for fine defaulters were removed.

[22] In NSW, the Greiner government required agencies to engage accredited management consultants for numerous purposes including such as business cases for major information technology projects. Its also established the Office for Public Management to review business plans and capital works projects.

[23] Adams (ed.) 1997, *The Retreat from Tolerance*; Megalogenis 2006, *The Longest Decade.* An outstanding corporate failure in this area was ABC Learning which began by buying up child care centres, many of them independent, and then floated its business on the Australian Stock Exchange. The organisation held a corporate profile, sponsoring major events, until it failed in 2007.

[24] Evaluation of government services and programs was another outcome of economic rationalism. This resulted in the development of measures for services, including health, education and corrections.

[25] Sales taxes were a raft of measures including excise on alcohol and tobacco, tariffs on imported goods and a tax added to the wholesale value of goods. Tran-Nam, B. 2002, 'The Chinese and Australia Tax Systems: A Comparative Overview', http://www.atax.unsw.edu.au/research/RePEc/discus/ATAXDiscussionPaperNo11.pdf Accessed 22/08/2009.

[26] For a history of computer technology prior to 1996, see Campbell-Kelly, M. and Asprey, W. 1966, *Computer: A history of the Information Machine,* Basic Books, New York; for its application to business systems, see Baltzan, P., Phillips, A., Lynch, K. and Blakey, P. 2009 *Business Driven Information* Systems, McGraw-Hill, North Ryde; for a history of the computer and the information discipline in Australia, see http://www.rogerclarke.com/SOS/AISHist.html Accessed 03/10/2009; and for the broader aspects of technology and its impacts on society, see Johnson, D. G. and Jameson, M. 2008, *Technology and Society:building our sociotechnical future*, MIT Press, Cambridge.

[27] Initially this occurred between PCs but later via multiple PCs connected to network servers.

[28] The facsimile transmission machine was an intermediate curtailment of letters and the post during the 1980s.

[29] The introduction of early mainframe computer systems with business application software typically included a large number of date fields in the database. In many cases these fields storing the year were formatted as two digit fields rather than four, meaning that after the year 99 the field would revert to 00, which people feared would be read as 1900. Dates and times are an integral part of computer systems and each system had to be thoroughly checked and assessed as to whether the systems would continue to function in the year 2000. Similar risk assessment was undertaken with security and alarm systems, airline and airport navigation, etc.

[30] Year 2000 projects became known as Y2K and produced both a flood of revenue for the management and IT consulting houses and a flurry of frenzied activity in 1999.

[31] The phenomenal success of Microsoft was achieved largely through a "product bundling" arrangement whereby PCs were sold with Microsoft software already installed on the hardware.

[32] IT resulted in changed organisational structures. Often the Director of IT was a board member while other times s/he reported to the Director of Finance. Many Managing Directors and organisations struggled with the onset of computers. Issues of the role and risks of contractors, permanent staff, outsourcing, complexity, and confidentiality posed many challenges and produced many failures.

[33] Investment in business applications or corporate systems was typically in the order of millions. During the 1990s, companies were investing around 20% of their annual budget or more in IT systems.

[34] The market correction of October 2008 reduced the All Ordinaries Index to 3,200 points on 6 March 2009, but by August, 2009 it had recovered trade above 4,000 points.

[35] Ferguson 2009, *The Ascent of Money.*

[36] The best examples of the first large international trading companies were the Dutch East India Company and the British East India Company.

[37] Frank, T. 1997, *The Conquest of Cool*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago; Frank 2000, *One Market Under God*.

[38] 'The Corporatisation of Cool', *The Age,* 16 January 2003, http://www.theage.com/articles/2003/01/15/1042520669318.html Accessed 28/12/2005.

[39] *Ibid*.

[40] Frank 2000, *One Market Under God*. Capitalism was revived and liberated in the USA by both Democrat and Republican Presidents and governments.

[41] See earlier chapter 'The Rise of Management'.

[42] Extrapolation of the ABS data consolidated in the *Karpin Report*, discussed further in this chapter. *Enterprising Nation* [The Karpin Report], 1995b, Research Report Vol 1, Report of the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra pp333-392.

[43] Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training, 1999, *Australia at Work: Just Managing?* Prentice Hall, Sydney. While part-time workers often struggled to obtain increased hours, full-time workers increased the hours they worked, often without recompense.

[44] As institutional investors placed superannuation fund monies with big business, the benefit to the large investor was a benefit to the small investor. For a brief historical account of the role of small investors in public companies, see Blainey 1976, *The Politics of Big Business: A History*.

[45] Fleming, Merrett and Ville 2004, *The Big End of Town,* p 224.

[46] Ferguson 2009, *The Ascent of Money*.

[47] Macneil, J., Testi, J. Cupples, J., and Rimmer, M. 1994, *Benchmarking Australia*, Pittman Publishing, Melbourne.

[48] Interestingly, the authors argued that the origins of benchmarking and best practice lay in Japan, well before being recognised as a formal business practice in the USA in 1980.

[49] See, for example, Baritz 1974, *The Servants of Power*; Crawford 2008, *But Wait … There's more*; Schwarzkopf, S. 2008, *Respectable Persuaders: The Advertising Industry and British Society, 1900–1939*, PhD Thesis, University of London,, etc. who give examples of the use of surveys and questionnaires in the USA, Australia and the UK, respectively.

[50] The survey gave rise to the cult of personality testing. For a critique of the futility of trait theory and personality testing, widely sold and practiced in business, see Spillane, R. 1994, 'Personality or Performance?: the case against personality testing in management', *The Macquarie Management Papers,* No 29, Macquarie Graduate School of Management, North Ryde.

[51] Crawford 2009, *But Wait, There's More …* p 134. The first uses of market research were probably around 1930, the year the American company, J. Walter Thomson, opened its first Australian office in Melbourne. Crawford 2009, *But Wait, There's More …* pp 73- 74 and 89.

[52] Social researcher Hugh Mackay worked on the nation's first TV survey at the McNair Survey, not long after television was introduced in Australia (on 16 September 1956) and then in the ABC's audience research department in 1960. Mackay, H. 2002, *Media Mania: why our fear of modern media is misplaced*, UNSW Press, Sydney p 14.

[53] Crawford 2009, *But Wait, There's More …*

[54] The author (an MBA student in the late 1990s) recalled being astounded, firstly, at the number of surveys proposed by business students in group assignments, and secondly, at the conclusions that were drawn without reservation by business students from the results of the surveys. The difference between a business student and a social science graduate was certainty.

[55] A phrase used throughout the Karpin Report referring to the twenty-first century.

[56] Ashenden and Milligan 1994, 'Standards scrutinised as courses grow', *Weekend Australian,* 25-26 June, p. 41.

[57] *Karpin Report* 1995b, p 23.

[58] Jones1983, *Sleepers, Wake!*

[59] *Karpin Report* 1995b, p 60.

[60] *Karpin Report* 1995b, p 530.

[61] *Karpin Report* 1995a, p ix.

[62] See, for example, Barry, Dowling and Tonks 1995, *Management Education in Australia*; Hibbard, G., Pocknee, G. & Taylor, G.A. 1996, *Practical Australian Strategy,* Prentice Hall, Sydney.

[63] *Karpin Report* 1995a, p xi.

[64] Barry, Dowling & Tonks 1995, *Management Education in Australia*.

[65] The Hawke-Keating government de-registered the Federated Ship Painters and Dockers' union, formed in 1900, following the Costigan Royal Commission, appointed by the Fraser government in 1980.

[66] Prime Minister Hawke had achieved public prominence as the President of the ACTU and colossus in the Arbitration Court. How ironic it was that he should be instrumental in peeling back the power of the union movement!

[67] Ludeke provides an extended account of the main events of the Comalco cases in Ludeke, J. T. 1996, *The Line in the Sand: The long road to staff employment in Comalco*, Wilkinson Books, Melbourne. See also Hamberger, J. 1995, Individual Contracts: Enterprise Bargaining, http://www.wrc.org.au/documents/WP39.pdf   Accessed 03/12/2010. At Bell Bay, management's attempted to remove the trade union from the negotiation process and later employed staff on individual contracts. The resulting dispute was heard before the Australian Industrial Relations Commission in 1994. In the Weipa case, management again offered individual employment contracts rather than a group or combined award, while at Boyne Island, management initially proposed an Enterprise Flexibility Agreement (EFA) to be negotiated with the union. The union refused to be a party in the negotiations so management sought to negotiate directly with the staff and gained majority consent for the EFA. The Weipa and Boyne Island similarly were determined by the Australian Industrial Relations Commission.

[68] For an expansive account of this industrial conflict, see Trinca, H. and Davies, A. 2000, *Waterfront: the Battle that Changed Australia*, Transworld Publishing, Milsons Point.

[69] McLeod and Siniakis1993, 'Trends in numbers of management students and managers 1970s-1990s', *Enterprising Nation*.

[70] *ABS 6291.0.55.003* - May, 2009.

[71] The expansion of management education took place within an overall expansion of the tertiary education sector. In 2009, education was Australia's largest export industry and a ready market for skilled migrants following their graduation.

[72] From 2001 the category was Management and commerce.

[73] The universities offered a hierarchy of programs such as Graduate Certificate, Graduate Diploma, Master of Management, Master of Business Administration, Doctor of Business Administration, Ph D. Some universities offered specialist qualifications in their programs to create a further range of programs eg Master of Management in Marketing, Operations, Finance, Public Administration, Information Technology, etc. The Australian Graduate School of Management introduced a qualification in Organisational Change as well as an Executive MBA. A sporting analogy seems apt here: as in the *Tour de France*, competing teams constantly observed each other's tactics and breakaway groups were closely monitored by the *peleton*.

[74] It is difficult to estimate the size of this industry. It may have been as large as the management consulting industry, but probably not.

[75] These fees were far from insignificant. By way of example, in the mid-1990s the Macquarie Graduate School of Management (MGSM) was charging roughly $1,000 per subject. So a Master of Management program of 10 subjects would generate $10,000 income for the institution while a Master of Business Administration of 16 subjects would raise $16,000. By the end of the century, a Master of Business Administration program was costing $20,000 with further charges for course materials.

[76] http://www2.agsm.edu.au/agsm/web.nsf/Content/AbouttheAGSM-TheDeansOffice-History Accessed 13/10/2009.

[77] http://www.mbs.edu/go/about-mbs/our-school/history Accessed 13/10/2009.

[78] Professor Spillane later taught a similar subject at the AGSM for a brief period and the Melbourne Business School amongst other organisations developed a program of philosophy for managers.

[79] http://www2.agsm.edu.au/agsm/web.nsf/Content/AbouttheAGSM-TheDeansOffice-History Accessed 13/10/2009.

[80] http://www.mba4success.com/pages/news/news_content.php?id=348&header=Melbourne-Business-School-and-the-University-of-Melbourne-to-merge Accessed 20/10/2009.

[81] Wright 2000, 'From Shop Floor to Boardroom'. p 101.

[82] Andersen, Coopers & Lybrand, Deloitte & Touche, Ernst & Young, KPMG, Price Waterhouse Urwick.

[83] For a discussion of how professions support knowledge and transaction costs in global markets, see Boyce 2007, 'The Professions as Systems that Support Transactions Involving Knowledge'.

[84] The list that this table summarises is contained in Appendix 15. It is not an exhaustive list and thus indicative rather than definitive.

[85] *WorkChoices* attracted considerable popular and academic interest. Two monographs that deal with quite different aspects of *Work Choices* are Mackinnon, B. H. 2007, *Behind Work Choices, How One Company Changed Australia's Industrial Relations*, Heidelberg Press, Heidelberg; and Ross, I., Trew, J. And Sharard, T. 2006, *Bargaining Under Work Choices*, LexisNexis Butterworths, Chatswood; while Justice Rothman provides a legal and industrial relations perspective in Rothman, S. 2006, *The Evolution of Labour Law and Significance of Workchoices*,

http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/Supreme_Court/ll_sc.nsf/pages/SCO_rothman100806 Accessed 03/12/2010. Historical comparison to the Harvester Judgement is made in Harris, I. and Robbins, B. 2007, *From Harvester to Workchoices*, http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/asslh2/harriss.html Accessed 30/12/2010. See also Ellem, B. 2006, *Beyond Industrial Relations: WorkChoices and the Reshaping of Labour, Class and the Commonwealth,* http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lab/90/ellem.html Accessed 03/12/2010 for an analysis of the provisions of the legislation and it impacts on broader social issues.

[86] ACIRRT 1999, *Australia at Work: Just Managing?*

[87] Watson 2003, *Death Sentence.*

[88] Watson 2003, *Death Sentence,* pp 1-3.

[89] Watson 2003, *Death Sentence,* p 90. He also recounts the story of the sacking of John Kerrin, the man who had replaced Paul Keating as Treasurer in 1991, because he did not know the language of economics.

[90] See, for example, the Prime Minister's Speech at BHP's Centenary Dinner in Melbourne on 13/08/1985, http://www.library.unisa.edu.au/BHPML/speeches/prime/1985_Aug_centenarydinner.asp Accessed 21/10/2009; and the Prime Minister's Policy Statement of 23 June 1987 http://www.library.unisa.edu.au/BHPML/speeches/Prime/policy.pdf Accessed 21/10/2009.

[91] The 'lucky country' was a symbol of the resource economy and a phrase made famous as the title of a book by Donald Horne.

[92] "To be sure, there are concerns such as overseas debt which need careful management." Speech by the Prime Minister to the National Press Club in Canberra on 21 March 1990, http://australianpolitics.com/elections/1990/90-03-21_hawke-national-press-club.pdf Accessed 20/10/2009.

[93] "In his concluding remarks, Keating said the government had transformed Australia into a modern industrial country, more competitive and open than in 1983." Howard and Keating televised debate 11/02/1996. http://australianpolitics.com/elections/1996/feb9-11.shtml Accessed 21/10/2009.

[94] Press conference held by the Prime Minister, John Howard at Parliament House, Canberra on 30 August 1988 announcing the October 1988 election.   http://australianpolitics.com/elections/1998/300898.shtml   Accessed 21/10/2009.

[95] Press conference held by the Prime Minister, John Howard at Parliament House, Canberra on 29 August 2004 announcing the October 2004 election.   http://australianpolitics.com/news/2004/08/04-08-29b.shtml Accessed 21/10/2009.

[96] Typical management discourse discusses strategies, stakeholders, priorities, achievements, re-structures, processes, quality, improvement, goals, priorities, costs, benefits, performance, results, empowerment, better products and services, etc.

[97] The professionalization of elite sports throughout the 1990s and 2000s was evident in the Olympic sports as well as rugby, football, basketball, netball, golf, tennis and others,For a history of the professionalization of sport in Australia at the elite level prior to 1995, see Westerbeek, H., Shilbury, D., & Deane, J. 1995, 'The Australian sport system, its history and an organisational overview,' *European Journal for Sport Management*, Vol. 2 No. 1 pp 42-58.

[98] A further work in a more satirical vein is Marks, B., Marks, R., and Spillane, R. 2006, *The Management Contradictionary* Michelle Anderson Publishing, Melbourne.

[99] Watson 2009, *Bendable Learnings*.

[100] See later section 7.3.14 Lies, Jibberish and Jargon.

[101] Drucker, P. F. 1997, 'The Future That Has Already Happened', *Harvard Business Review*, September-October, 1997, p 20.

[102] The same conceptual and operational problems in the measurement of values and attitudes compared to behaviour raised in the previous chapter are again noted. These include issues of sample selection for managers, such as defining who is a manager and whether the same definition is applied in each culture and each study. As this dissertation has argued and demonstrated, managers are not a homogeneous population and have changed considerably over time.

[103] Hampden-Turner, C. and Trompenaars, F 1993, *The seven cultures of capitalism : value systems for creating wealth in the United States, Britain, Japan, Germany, France, Sweden, and the Netherlands*, Piatkus, London.

[104] See Section 6.2.6 Journals and Publications.

[105] Spillane, R.M. 1996, Unpublished research.

[106] Westwood, R. I. and Posner, B. Z. 1997, "Managerial Values Across Cultures: Australia, Hong Kong and the United States', *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, Vol. 14 No. 1 pp 31-36.

[107] Peters, H. and Kabachoff, R. 1999, *Shared Beginnings and Diverse Histories: A Comparison of Leadership Behaviour in Five Coutries with Anglo-Saxon Based Cultures*, Management Research Group, Portland; Ashkanasy, N., Trevor-Roberts, E. And Earnshaw, L. 2002 "The Anglo Cluster: Legacy of the British Empire", *Journal of World Business*, 39 pp 28-39.

[108] Wolak 2007, "Managerial culture in Australia and Canada" p 55, 70-78. In many ways, Wolak's thesis can be derived from Ward 1965, *The Australian Legend*.

[109] Accountants, lawyers and computer professionals gained status in the age of material prosperity, sometimes referred to as 'the rise of the nerd'.

[110] Megalogenis 2006, *The Longest Decade*. In this monograph, Megalogenis' argues the continuity between the 1990s and early 2000s.

[111] This section is based on Mackay, H. 1993, *Reinventing Australia: the mind and mood of Australia in the 1990s*, Angus & Robertson, Pymble; Mackay, H. 1999, *Turning Point: Australians choosing their future*, Pan Macmillan, Sydney; Mackay, H. 2002, *Media Mania: why our fear of modern media is misplaced*, UNSW Press, Sydney; and Mackay, H. 1999a 'Australia at a Turning Point', http://www.naa.gov.au/exhibitions/events/mackay.html Accessed 17/03/2008. Hugh Mackay is peerless in describing Australians' sociological and psychological state in the present age.

[112] This section is based on Hamilton, C. 2003, *Growth Fetish*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest; and Hamilton, C. and Dinniss, R. 2005, *Affluenza: When too much is never enough*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

[113] This section is based on Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training 1999, *Australia at Work: Just Managing?*.

[114] The most telling example of business surpassing morality was the rise of the gambling or 'gaming' industry with casinos and the legalisation of other forms of gambling. As the Packer business empire invested in its Crown Casino chain it achieved spectacular growth in revenue and overtook its media interests. Gambling machines were extended and increased in hotels and clubs and became a significant portion of revenues. While the tobacco industry became further regulated, alcohol and gambling were de-regulated and expanded considerably. Tobacco, alcohol and gambling are all addictive and have extensive social consequences.

[115] Carlin, T. M. and Ford, G. 2005a, 'A Governance Perspective on Executive Options Plans – Reflections on some Australian Empirical Evidence', *Macquarie Working Papers in Management*, MGSM WP 2004-04, March 2005, Macquarie Graduate School of Management, North Ryde p 7.

[116] *Ibid.* pp 3-7; http://www.asic.gov.au/asic/asic.nsf/byheadline/CLERP+9?openDocument Accessed 13/01/2010.

[117] *Ibid.* pp 10-11.

[118] Carlin, T. M. And Ford, G. 2005b, 'Empirical Evidence in the Use, Size and Cost of Executive Options Schemes in Australia', *Macquarie Working Papers in Management*, MGSM WP 2005-16, August 2005, Macquarie Graduate School of Management, North Ryde.

[119] Ferguson 2009, *The Ascent of Money,* pp 1-2.

[120] *Ibid.* p 41.

[121] http://www.pc.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/93596/06-chapter3.pdf Accessed 13/01/2010 p 49.

[122] http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/E9212914680188E3CA2573930012ED8E/$File/63020_aug%202007.pdf Accessed 12/01/2010. Annual figure was calculated as weekly earnings $1,103.60 x 52.

[123] *Ibid.* p 64.

[124] An interesting case was the attempted private equity purchase of Qantas in 2008. While offering to purchase the airline for $11.1 billion, Qantas executives stood to make $91 million should the offer be accepted, with CEO Geoff Dixon to receive a cash payout of $8 million to then return to his desk with a performance fee of up to $60 million, while Chief Financial Officer, Peter Gregg stood to make $5 million. Dixon was paid $5.3 million the previous year and Gregg $3.7 million. Dixon maintained that it would be business as usual with a management re-structure and a $3 billion cost-cutting program to proceed regardless. With such obvious financial incentives, executive management was highly motivated to endorse the purchase, irrespective of the consequences. Dixon left the

company in November 2008 with a severance pay-out of $12 million to devote himself to charity work. See Bennis 2009, *The Men Who Killed Qantas* pp 179-183, 241.

[125] Starbuck 2009, 'What advice would Peter F. Drucker, the sage of Claremont, have given in the current crisis?', Paper presented at the Management History Research Group 2009 Workshop at York, July 2009.

[126] *Ibid.* pp 26-27.

[127] Bryson, B. 1999, *Notes from a Big Country*, Black Swan, London p 370.

[128] Bryson 1999, *Notes from a Big Country*, p 375.

[129] Watson 2003, *Death Sentence: The Decay of Public Language*; Frank, T. 2000, *One Market Under God*.

[130] The linkage between share price and executive remuneration drew some criticism throughout the period but has achieved greater attention more recently since the global financial crisis of October, 2007.

[131] Irony and absurdity intended here.

[132] Ferguson, N. 2009, *The Ascent of Money*, Penguin, London.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

[1] 150 years since the formation of public companies in the 1820s.

[2] For an interesting discussion of the broader theme of the rise and prospective fall of the American empire, see Ferguson 2005, *Colussus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*.

[3] Fleming, Merrett and Ville 2004, *The Big End of Town*.

[4] Chandler (originally 1962) 1966, *Strategy and structure*; Chandler 1977, *The Visible Hand*; Chandler 1990, *Scale and Scope*.

[5] Pollard 1965, *The Genesis of Modern Management*; Pollard 1981, *Peaceful* Conquest; Pollard 1989, *Britain's Prime and Britain's Decline*.

[6] Blainey (originally1966) 1996 (revised edition), *The Tyranny of Distance*.

[7] A strength of the Australian tradition of business and management history has been its focus on international comparisons. The Japanese provide a pertinent counterpoint to western philosophy, with their heavily pluralistic culture. Their combination of industrial prosperity, eastern philosophy and culture, and a welfare state is particularly relevant to the problem of the 'I' the 'me' and the 'we'.