**Government Emblems, Embodied Discourse and Ideology:
An Artefact-led History of Governance in Victoria, Australia**

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Abstract

Government emblems are a rich source of historical information. This thesis examines the evidence of past governance discourses embodied in government emblems. Embodied discourses are found within an archive of 282 emblems used by local governments in Victoria, Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They form the basis of a history of governance in the State of Victoria from first British exploration in 1803 to the present day. This history of governance was written to test the main contribution of this thesis: a new graphic design history method called discursive method. This new method facilitates collecting an archive of artefacts, identifying discourses embodied within those artefacts, and forming a historical narrative of broader societal discourses and ideologies surrounding their use. A strength of discursive method, relative to other design history methods, is that it allows the historian to seriously investigate how artefacts relate to the power networks in which they are enmeshed. Discursive method can theoretically be applied to any artefacts, although government emblems were chosen for this study precisely because they are difficult to study, and rarely studied, within existing methodological frameworks. This thesis demonstrates that even the least glamorous of graphic design history artefacts can be the source of compelling historical narratives.

Acknowledgements

Declaration

The examinable outcome contains no material which
has been accepted for the award to the candidate
of any other degree or diploma, except where due
reference is made in the text of the examinable
outcome; to the best of the candidate's knowledge
contains no material previously published or written by
another person except where due reference is made
in the text of the examinable outcome; and where
the work is based on joint research or publications,
discloses the relative contributions of the respective
workers or authors.

Signed

Katherine Hepworth

Date

Grammar and spelling

The English grammar and spelling used in this thesis is Australian Standard English, as set out in *Style Manual* (1994, sixth edition) by the Department of Communication, Information Technology and the Arts, Australian Commonwealth Government. Australian Standard English closely follows British spelling and grammar conventions, with some minor variations.

Layout and typeface

This thesis uses a modified version of the official thesis layout required by Swinburne University of Technology. External page margins comply with Swinburne University of Technology thesis guidelines. Within these pre-determined external margins, each page has been divided into two columns; the left column is reserved for the thesis text, and the right for thesis figures. The column devoted to figures is essential, given close relationship between the text and figures, and also the large number of figures. Without these figures, much of the text in this thesis would be unintelligible.

The text throughout is 10/21pt set in Formata.

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INTRODUCTION

At the political center of any complexly organized society... there is both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing. No matter how democratically the members of the elite are chosen... or how deeply divided among themselves they may be... they justify their existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtences that they have either inherited or, in more revolutionary situations, invented. It is these—crowns and coronations, limousines and conferences—that mark the center as center and give what goes on there its aura of being not merely important but in some odd fashion connected with the way the world is built. The gravity of high politics and the solemnity of high worship spring from liker impulses than might first appear.

—Clifford Geertz (Geertz, 1983/1999, p. 16)

Artefacts of all kinds are inextricably bound up in relationships of power. From their initial production until they cease to be used or displayed, artefacts are enmeshed in processes of exchanging and maintaining power at all levels of society. Our constant use of artefacts to mediate power is arguably a defining attribute of humanity (Walzer, 1967, p. 193). Most of the time, artefacts participate implicitly in this mediation. People are seldom conscious of the bulk of the power exchanges they participate in, let alone the role of artefacts within those power exchanges. However, sometimes artefacts are used in power exchanges in explicit ways. Where people are both conscious of, and proud of, a specific power exchange, it is common for artefacts to feature ostentatiously in that exchange. For example, the use of various artefacts in the ritual of crowning a new monarch.

In the passage on the previous page, anthropologist Clifford Geertz elaborates on the significance of explicit uses of artefacts and ritual in exchanges of political power. The way he incorporates the role of artefacts and ritual into a description of political power is unique and compelling. Geertz emphasises the political functions of artefacts and rituals, that they 'mark the center as the center.' Artefacts inevitably also mark the fringe as the fringe, though usually in more implicit, and less celebrated ways.

Political philosopher Crispin Sartwell elaborates on the relationship between artefacts, political power and ideology, identifying the type of artefacts and rituals that Geertz describes as 'concrete effects of political systems' (Sartwell, 2010, p. 2). He argues

that ideologies are inherently aesthetic, that they elicit sensory experiences which are interpreted as good or bad, compelling or dull. He goes on to argue that these aesthetic qualities of ideologies are felt through the artefacts that are associated with the production and use of those ideologies (Sartwell, 2010, p. 6).

The artefacts involved in exchanges of political power have been included in various graphic design histories, although these studies tend to focus on the aesthetic value of their physical form, rather than the aesthetics of the ideologies associated with their production or use (Forty, 1995, p. 223). The overwhelming focus on form in the literature regarding the kinds of artefacts Geertz mentions above, while in itself of some value, has the unfortunate effect of sidelining the role artefacts invariably play in power exchanges.

This thesis argues that, when it comes to the study of political artefacts, historical methodologies are suffering an extended hangover from the arbitrary division of phenomena into aesthetic or functional categories in the humanities from the eighteenth century onwards. In universities, and in the collection of knowledge more generally, artefacts are commonly separated into those that are primarily aesthetic, cultured or primitive, and those that are primarily functional, scientific or quantitative (Witkin, 1990, p. 326). Academic study of the various elements described in Geertz's passage illustrates this division of knowledge, with the study of power exchanges and the artefacts used within them being divided between disciplines.

Power exchanges are primarily studied in political science, the discipline devoted to them; while artefacts

used in power exchanges that are judged to constitute art or design of quality are studied in art history or design history. On the rare occasions that political scientists do engage with artefacts, their lack of understanding of basic elements of content and form often leaves their analyses lacking (Rose, 2008, p. 37; Sartwell, 2010, p. 49). Those artefacts involved in power exchanges that are considered to have a meritorious appearance for cultural reasons (as is the case in much of Geertz's work) are studied in anthropology. This artificial separation dissuades investigation into the functional aspects of artefacts and phenomena that are usually appreciated for their aesthetic qualities, and vice versa. It encourages investigation of either the form or the function of artefacts and phenomena, to the exclusion of the other.

Although this has been an accepted division for some time, exceptions abound and ideas about the separation of power exchanges and the artefacts central to them have been occasionally challenged. For example, historian Ernst Cassirer argues that study of artefacts can inform the investigation of political ideologies (Cassier, 1946/2007, p. 28). Similarly, although embroidery is typically considered a craft product, and is consequently studied in terms of aesthetics and technique, feminist art historian Rozsika Parker treats embroidery as a fundamentally political medium, investigating the interpersonal and societal power exchanges in which particular embroidery pieces have played a part over time (Parker, 2010, p. xiv).

Although graphic design historians are yet to extensively investigate political process or the relationship between

form and function, some design historians have begun to acknowledge the importance of considering form and function together. Design historian Kjetil Fallan observes that 'any artefact is always both a tool and symbol… the relation between the two is complex and dynamic, subject to changes in time, situations and culture' (Fallan, 2010, p. 45). What Fallan refers to here as a 'tool' can also be considered the function of an artefact; and his reference to a 'symbol' can also be understood as the form of an artefact. Fallan highlights how function and form are starting to be acknowledged by some design historians as simultaneously present and mutually interdependent in artefacts. This bodes well for the consideration of the political functions of artefacts in future design histories.

The advantages of studying function and form together have also been acknowledged in anthropology. In a survey of her field, anthropologist Michelle Hegmon identifies a trend in anthropology literature wherein 'a number of researchers have related the symbolic content of material culture to the operation of society' (Hegmon, 1992, p. 524). While this thesis does not presume to shed light on the operation of society, it does claim that graphic design history has the capacity to critically examine the role of artefacts in power exchanges.

Although the history that follows is referred to as a 'history of governance' rather than a 'graphic design history', this thesis is firmly situated within the graphic design history canon. As a discipline, graphic design history is concerned with both the designed artefacts, and the roles those artefacts play in society (Blauvelt,

1994b, p. 213). The history in this thesis was written to demonstrate how designed artefacts can be used as the basis of a historical narrative that concentrates on power exchanges. It is based on in-depth investigation of 282 artefacts, and the main contribution of this thesis, discursive method, is a contribution to graphic design history methods.

The gaps

This thesis responds to gaps in several divergent bodies of academic knowledge. At the outset, this research was intended to address a gap among graphic design history methods. However, as the research progressed, it became clear that the gap originally identified in academic knowledge was surrounded by others. In the course of doing this thesis, three further gaps were identified: the paucity of Australian graphic design histories, hardly any academic writing on government emblems, and no serious investigations of the relationship between artefacts and power.

Australian graphic design history

Very little research has been conducted on Australian graphic design, and there are few histories in the field. While there are some picture books that include large quantities of Australian graphic design artefacts, these books do not offer a coherent historical narrative let alone any critical reflection on the artefacts they contain. There are no comprehensive histories of graphic design in Australia. This thesis is certainly the first history related to Australian government emblems.

Government emblems

This thesis is also one of only a handful of academic publications focussing on government emblems from any discipline worldwide. While occasional references to a particular government emblem occur in heraldry reference texts and in a few histories, government emblems are seldom discussed in any depth or investigated in their own right. As discussed previously, this was the appeal of government emblems as a subject of study for this thesis.

Artefacts and power

In the literature on power, many scholars have suggested the crucial role graphic design artefacts play in power exchanges (Larner & Walters, 2004, p. 498; Rose, 2008, p. 36; Smith & Campbell, 1998, p. 177). Unfortunately, beyond hints at the significance of artefacts to power exchanges, political theorists have yet to offer any extensive investigations into the subject. Scholars in history, interpretive archaeology and material culture studies have shown an interest in the relationship between artefacts and power for some time, but they appear to be lacking a significant conceptual structure on which to theorise the relationship (David, Sterner & Gavua, 1988, p. 366; Fry, 1989, p. 15; Hegmon, 1992, p. 525; Kostelnick, 2004, p. 226). These issues are identified in chapter two, Methodology, before the original concept of embodied discourse is presented as a means to conceptualise how evidence of past power exchanges are embodied within artefacts.

Graphic design history methods

Historians writing about graphic design artefacts use three existing history methods that are described in detail in chapter one. These methods have their origins in art history, religious history and scientific method; not particularly relevant or compelling bases for studying the content, form and function of graphic design artefacts past or present. While several graphic design historians have identified a need for methodological innovation, none have yet to come up with working methods (Blauvelt, 1994a, p. 198; Bush, 1994, p. 228; Margolin, 2009a, p. 103). In discussion of methods by graphic design historians, method and ideology are commonly confused. This is also addressed in detail in chapter one.

With an awkward subject matter on her hands (subject matter that highlighted the shortcomings of existing graphic design history methods) the historian set out to find an alternative way of doing graphic design history. Discursive method, presented in chapter three, is founded on relativist understandings of knowledge, investigation and power. Each step and sub-step in discursive method has been developed and performed in keeping with these relativist foundations. Discursive method is therefore posited as an original contribution to a field in need of methodological innovation.

Contributions

This thesis presents four discrete contributions to academic knowledge; one major contribution, and three minor ones. The first contribution is the original concept of embodied discourses. Extending philosopher Michel Foucault's work on discourses in texts, embodied discourse is a relativist theory of how artefacts contribute to power exchanges. Based on the theory of embodied discourse, this thesis argues that evidence of past discourses is embodied in both the form and content of artefacts, and that this evidence is identifiable.

Discursive method is the second, and main, contribution to academic knowledge that this thesis makes. It is a significant, original method for writing artefact-led histories. Although discursive method was developed specifically to address challenges presented in the course of this research, it has the potential to be used to write histories led by other artefacts.

Thirdly, this thesis contributes an archive of 282 previously undocumented local government emblems from Victoria, Australia. In the course of this research, these emblems have been collected, formatted and stored in physical and electronic formats that ensure they can be used by future historians. Fourthly and finally, this thesis contributes an artefact-led history of governance in Victoria, Australia, using discursive method and the emblem archive in combination.

Archives as arguments

This thesis begins with the presumption that all design artefacts are political; meaning that they participate in, contribute to and are the products of governance and power relationships. Graphic design historian Anne Bush has equated collections of graphic design artefacts with arguments (Bush, 1994, p. 228). Collections of artefacts are arguments in the sense that each one presents a partisan view of some aspect of the world; these views inevitably vary, and the interplay between them is often like a heated conversation, in the sense that multiple partisan voices are raised in conflict. The difference is that the argument waged among artefacts is silent, static and primarily visual. This thesis argues that archives 'argue' through the rhetorical means of embodied discourse technologies. Rhetoric is generally understood to be persuasive or influential communication. It is usually intentionally persuasive, but not always so (Richards, 2007, p. 3). Embodied discourse technologies are the means through which artefacts acquire and disseminate discursive, ideological biases. All artefacts acquire biases through the contexts in which they are situated. There are two main kinds of context; the first is association and use, and the second is point of origin.

Artefacts acquire some ideological biases through association and use. For example, many artefacts contain references to illustrious ancient cultures, particularly Rome. These references are commonly used to shape popular perceptions and legitimise rule (Geertz, 1983/1999, p. 15; Mattingly, 2010, p. 11). Empires are established, legitimised and maintained

using artefacts and rituals that have a compelling connection to the past as well as current cultural quiddity. Graphic design artefacts in particular, are extensively used by nation states 'as a visual shorthand to represent shared ideals' promoting an officially sanctioned, and mediated version of national values (Hill and Helmers, 2004, p. 4). This mediation of both Empire and national ideals through artefacts is vital for maintaining the legitimacy of rule.

Artefacts acquire other ideological biases through the interplay of factors relating to point of origin: time, place, space and production technologies. For example, looking at the production processes used to make an artefact, in combination with the date it was made, can reveal class biases inherent in the production of that artefact. That a poster was printed using letterpress printing in 1901 suggests it was an item for mass consumption, as letterpress was a common and economical printing process. In contrast, that a poster was printed using letterpress in 2012 suggests it is an exclusive item, as letterpress is now a niche production process used primarily for bespoke artisan work.

However, anthropologist Ian Hodder reminds us that 'material culture is durable and can be given new meanings' (Hodder & Hutson, 2003, p. 165). So, using the poster analogy, if either the 1901 poster or 2012 poster were cut up and used, say, in a scrap-booking project, the pieces of the poster would have a production value that was neither mass nor elitist, as now it is used in an amateur craft work that speaks more of a "low" folk tradition.

Similarly, when a motorcycle associated with infamous biker gangs uses an eagle on the petrol tank, a symbol more commonly used to represent empires or nations, it acquires a dramatically different, more subversive meaning. In the instance of the eagle representing empire or nation state, the symbol is used to reinforce the legitimacy and establishment traditions of the state (Hobsbawm, 2009, p. 4). When the eagle becomes associated with biker gangs, it becomes an anti-establishment symbol, part of what sociologist Dick Hebdige calls a style of revolt (Hebdige, 2002, p. 2).

This is a compelling way of thinking about the rhetorical nature of artefacts; it suggests that the ideological biases embodied in artefacts are somehow both fluid and active. The examples above demonstrate that rhetorical force and the nature of the argument among artefacts change according to their context (Dilnot, 2010, p. 14). Who views an artefact, their connection with the primary producer of the artefact — whether they are from the same culture or generation, or share similar space — considerably affects the artefact's rhetorical force. The communication of rhetoric depends upon three conditions: the artefact itself; the viewer's prior experience and knowledge, beliefs and values; and the space and context in which the artefact and the viewer meet.

Although artefacts contain traceable evidence of governance and power relationships of all kinds, this thesis is particularly concerned with governance discourses embodied in artefacts that are, as in Geertz's example, used in the establishment and maintenance of political power. In terms of artefacts, it focuses on

government emblems, artefacts that literally 'mark
the center as the center' (Geertz, 1983/1999, p. 16).
In the history presented in chapters four and five,
government emblems are used as a starting point for
an investigation into how governance in Victoria has
changed over time.

i.1. Government Emblems

Figure i.1.A.
Three different kinds of government emblem
From left to right: coat of arms, seal and logo

Government emblems are any symbol used by governments for official purposes. 'Emblem' is a general term referring to '[a] visual image carrying a symbolic meaning' (Chilvers, 2009, p. 203). Emblems used by governments include flags, devices, national or regional flora, fauna and gemstones. The use of the term in this thesis is limited to symbols that visually represent governments in an official, day-to-day capacity. The government emblems presented in this thesis are visually diverse, as they are chosen for their functional purpose, representing governments in their day-to-day business, rather than for their aesthetic qualities or similarities.

The three different kinds of emblem studied in this thesis are coats of arms, seals and logos (see Figure i.1.A). The three types of emblem look different because of the bodies of knowledge informing their creation and the expertise of their creators. Coats of arms are usually assembled through a formal process employing official heraldic knowledge. Seals generally originate from an informal process that combines knowledge

from multiple fields, and commonly includes amateur knowledge of heraldry. Logos are designed using a process of corporate identity design.

i.1.1. Coats of Arms

Coats of arms are complex symbols created according to the strictures of a symbolic system called heraldry. Used from the twelfth century onwards, coats of arms were originally issued by European monarchs (or their representatives) in reward for military accomplishment or civic services of merit (Pinnock, 1840, p. 6). They were first used in jousting tournaments and military battles, and derive their name from being prominently placed on shields of armour during these activities (Child, 1965, p. 27; Pinnock, 1840, p. 6).

Traditionally, coats of arms are created by experts in heraldic symbolism known as heralds, who are employed by European monarchs. However, many coats of arms used today have been created by someone other than a monarch's representative. In official heraldic terms, these unofficially produced coats of arms are known as 'paraheraldry' or 'arms of assumption' (Neubecker, 1977, p. 263; Pinnock, 1840, p. 10). Today, coats of arms are most commonly used by families, educational institutions and governments. Often when governments acquire other kinds of emblems, such as a seal or a logo, they keep their coats of arms for particular ceremonial or legislative purposes.

Coats of arms are the most complex kinds of government emblems in terms of the sheer volume of symbols they contain (see Figure i.1.1.A). Coats of
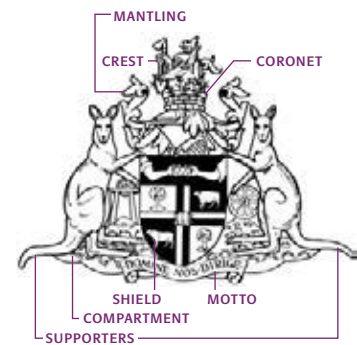
Figure i.1.1.A.
City of Waverley coat of arms with parts identified

arms consist of many parts, and each of these parts can include several symbols. They are generally issued in colour, but it is common for the colours in a particular coat of arms to be lost over time, as only black and white or stone carving versions remain (Neubecker, 1977, p. 86). In the centre of a coat of arms there is always a shield, or escutcheon. In official heraldry, the shield always has a crest and coronet above it, and motto below. Between the coronet and the shield it is customary to include mantling: decorative ribbons floating upwards and around the coronet. Usually to the left and right of the shield stand animals or human figures; these are known as supporters. Supporters are an optional feature of coats of arms, but they are customarily included. Sometimes these figures stand on a mound of grass or soil, known as a compartment, that stretches across the base of the coat of arms.

i.1.2. Seals

The term 'seal' is commonly used to refer both to a stamp used to identify a family, organisation, person or place, and the imprint that such a stamp leaves when pressed into clay, ink or wax (Kleiner, 2011, p. 39). Seals have been used across many cultures for thousands of years. Seal imprints have long been used on documents to identify their author, symbolise approval of a high authority and to ensure privacy, in the case of wax seals used to close documents. Seal imprints have also been used on commercial goods since ancient times, sometimes to identify the owner of goods or their provenance. (Lyding Will, 1979, p. 334; Mortimer, 2009, p. 88).

GOVERNMENT NAME

MOTTO
PICTORIAL SCENE

Figure i.1.2.A.
Borough of Queenscliffe seal with parts identified

Up until the late 1980s, seals were a crucial part of corporate law. The 'company seal' of an organisation had to be affixed to a contract in order for that contract to be binding (Brough, 2005, p. 44; Tomasic, Bottomlee & McQueen, 2002, p. 238). While this is no longer the case, many organisations have seals remaining from the time when they were essential for legal purposes.

In this thesis what is referred to as a seal is a mark that is reminiscent of the imprint of a round seal in common usage in the twentieth century. These seals can generally be identified as 'armorial seals' or 'pictorial seals'. When the centre of a seal contains an illustration, it is commonly known as a pictorial seal. Seals containing a shield are known as armorial seals.

All seals in this thesis, whether pictorial or armorial, have several common identifying marks (see Figure i.1.2.A on page 18). The most striking identifying aspect of contemporary seals is their round shape, which is commonly emphasised by one thick line, or one thick and two thin lines outlining the seal's shape. Within this border sits text that follows the round shape of the outside of the seal. This text includes the name of the entity the seal represents, and sometimes additional information, such as a year or location. Inside of the row of text there is usually another round border, inside which there can be a variety of symbols. Often the centre of a seal includes a motto, one or more shields, or a pictorial scene.

i.1.3. Logos

Logos are simple emblems used to represent companies, organisations, products, experiences and occasionally, individuals. Logos are widely regarded as the symbolic embodiment of an organisation's innate qualities (Baker, 1989, p. 286). First used in the early twentieth century, logos are now the standard tool for visual representation of all commercial pursuits, and many non-commercial ones (Raizman, 2003, p. 132; Whitbread, 2009, p. 84). Since the late 1970s, Australian governments at all levels, as well as individual government departments, have been acquiring their own logos. Logos are now ubiquitous in the visual representation of Australian governments.

Logos are generally simpler than coats of arms and seals, containing less individual parts (see Figure i.1.3.A on page 20). The simplest logos contain only the name of the body they represent. Because they are constructed solely of letters (also known as type), this kind of logo is strictly called a 'logotype', but they are often referred to as a logo (Whitbread, 2009, p. 84). Some logos consist only of an image. The most common kind of logo, however, contains both image and text. Logos commonly abbreviate the name of the entity they represent (Raizman, 2003, p. 291). Sometimes a logo includes an extra line of text, variously called a payoff, strapline, or tagline that is intended to communicate some intrinsic quality of the entity the logo represents (Burtenshaw, Mahon & Barfoot, 2006, p. 113). Strictly speaking, the word 'logo'

Figure i.1.3.A.
Cardinia City Council logo
with parts identified

refers only to the image, but is commonly used to refer to all the elements associated with it: image, company name and strapline.

Logos are commonly used as the centrepiece of corporate identity and branding strategies, and are commonly associated with these larger communication exercises. This thesis focuses exclusively on the marks used by governments to identify themselves, so government emblems, corporate identity and branding are outside the scope of this research. The emblem archive documented in this thesis is extremely large as it stands; the inclusion of any extra corporate identity or branding elements would have made it unmanageable.

i.1.4. Emblem Archive

The emblem archive compiled during this research contains 282 emblems, used by 198 local governments in Victoria, Australia, over approximately 150 years. The emblems are stored digitally in high resolution file formats, to preserve the artefacts and enable their future study by other researchers. Most of the digital files in the archive are black and white, however 84 contain colour. The form and content of the emblems in the archive is extremely varied, suggesting a disparate range of influences on Victorian governments over the 180 years since Victorian settlement.

The emblem archive was crucial to writing this thesis. Discursive method was first used to collect the emblems, and later used to identify discourses embodied in the emblem archive. These embodied discourses formed the basis of the two part history presented in chapters four and five. Where relevant,

emblems from the archive are shown in figures throughout this thesis. The complete emblem archive is presented in Appendix II (see page 423). Electronic copies of the emblem archive are also available from the historian upon request.

Misleading dates

Throughout this history, the year printed on any emblem should not be taken as indicative of the date of the council's creation or of the emblem's first use. For example, the year included in the City of Hawthorn's seal, '1860', is misleading (see Figure i.1.4.A). Although it is not possible to determine, within the scope of this research, the exact date of the first use of the City of Hawthorn emblem, it is certain it was not used in 1860, as in 1860 the City of Hawthorn did not exist. The year relates to the council's former incarnation as the Municipal District of Hawthorn. While the City of Hawthorn was established in 1890, this emblem bears several indicators of being produced in the early twentieth century. The typeface, Futura, was only designed in 1927, and the emblem appears to be produced using a combination of bromide and pen and ink. Bromide was only used for production from the 1930's onwards (Pipes, 2001, p. 20). Such discrepancy between the year printed on the emblem and evidence of much later first use is typical throughout the emblem archive. Therefore, the year printed on any emblem used in this thesis should not be taken as indicative of either the date of the council's creation, or of the emblem's first use.

Figure i.1.4.A.
Inaccurate year
City of Hawthorn seal

i.2. Australian Governments

The organisation of Australia's governments has some bearing on the artefact-led history of governance in chapters four and five of this thesis. Victoria is one of six States of Australia, and is situated in the lower eastern 'corner' of the Australian mainland (see Figure i.2.A). States are the second, or middle, tier of the three level Australian parliamentary system. Australia has three tiers of government: Federal, State and local government (see Figure i.2.B). Despite the existence of an Australian Federal government, Australia is not a federation in the true sense.

Federation refers to the division of governance functions between two or more levels of government (Rittberger & Bulpitt, 2009, p. 196). In this system, national governments address issues concerning the nation as a whole, such as defense policy, while lower tiers of government address issues of more local concern, such as local environmental issues. This division of responsibilities is usually roughly stated in each nation's Federal Constitution (Watts, 1981, p. 4). In most nation states with a federal parliamentary system, notably Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, governments of all levels (local, provincial, regional and national) participate in the federation, giving all governments at all tiers equal legislative and parliamentary standing. In these classically federalist systems, governments at all levels are democratically elected, as well as having a defined sphere of authority. They determine their own policies and laws, and cannot

Figure i.2.A.
Australia with the State of Victoria highlighted

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
(COMMONWEALTH)

STATE GOVERNMENT
(STATES)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT
(COUNCILS)

Figure i.2.B.
The three tiers of Australian government, with the official name of each tier in brackets

be overruled by any other government in the federation on subjects within their own sphere (Moran, 2009, p. 36).

In Australia, only the State and national governments participate in the federation, as local government is not mentioned in the Australian Constitution. Local government in Australia was established through Acts of the legislature in each Australian Colony in the nineteenth century and continues to operate by virtue of Acts of the State Parliaments today. Also, although the Australian Constitution grants States autonomy in certain areas, in practice, State policies can be (and have been) overruled by the federal government (Brumby, 2009, p. 20). This is understandable given that State and local governments are financially dependent on the Federal government; complicity is required for States to receive their full funding allocation. For local government in Australia, 'their State program is still the major determinant of their role, their functions and their structure' (Bowman, 1976, p. 66).

As a result, local government areas in Australia are, in effect, smaller administrative units of State government, who, in turn, are in many respects operational subdivisions of the Federal government. The main function of local government then, from a State governance perspective, is the distribution of State services in accordance with State government policy (Lowell, 2005, p. 2; Soul & Dollery, 2000, p. 44). Local governments (known as 'councils' in Australia, see Figure i.2.B) have a small degree of autonomy and democratic accountability in performing these functions. They are able to collect a limited amount

of taxes in the form of rates for services to properties. Although local government does not participate in Federal democracy, there is a separate electoral system for local government, in which Councillors are elected to each local government. These Councillors only have a modest amount of influence over local government policy. Even in the day to day running of councils, the contributions of elected representatives are minimal. Since at least the 1970s, the State governments have considered the electoral aspect of local government marginal, with more than one commission into local government reform finding that 'the "wishes of the people" is not, and should not be, of overriding importance' in questions of local government reform (Soul & Dollery, 2000, p. 44).

Much time, effort and resources have been spent by Australian State and local governments to present an illusion of local government autonomy. These measures have contributed to locally driven ideals and policies arising in Australian local governments that are not strictly in accordance with their State's policies. To further the impression of local government autonomy, the States show a certain grace toward such diversions, so long as they are not in direct conflict with State policy. The underlying structure of dependence remains, and Victorian local governments are still very much at the mercy of the Victorian State government's whims.

The inevitably close links between State and local government policy in Australia provide a unique opportunity for the historian of governance. In the Australian system, local governments serve as something like the far-reaching tentacles of State

governance. Although individual local governments'
policies may veer slightly from the direction imposed
by the State government, the governance trends
that influence those policies remain fairly constant
throughout Federal, State and local governments.
The governance discourses found embodied in the
local government emblem archive can therefore be
seen as indicative of those influencing both the local
governments and the State government, and to a lesser
extent, the Federal government. For the historian's
purposes then, Australian local governments act as
the 'capillaries' of State power described by political
scientist Nicholas Rose (Rose, 2008, p. 136). Study of
Victorian local governance is, to a significant degree,
a study of governance across two tiers of Victorian
government.

i.2.1. State and state

In political science literature relating to Australia, the
term 'state' with a lower case 's' refers to either a
political concept or a tier of Australian government,
depending on the context. The first definition of 'state'
refers to legitimate, organised rule over a territory, or to
put it more bluntly, 'the organization of domination, in
the name of the common interest' (Burnham, 2009, p.
507). Contemporary governments qualify as states by
this definition (so long as the departments and public
infrastructure they depend upon are considered) but
the concept of a 'state' is distinct from the concept
of government and from specific types of rule (for
example, a monarchy or a democracy). Therefore, states
are often referred to with descriptors specifying the
type of state they are; for example 'nation state' (one in

which the concept of nation is intrinsic to legitimising
the government's rule) or 'democratic state' (one in
which the government has democratic principles) or
even 'democratic nation state'.

In reference to Australian politics, 'state' is the title of
individual governments in the second tier of Australian
Federation. When referring to Australian politics, it
is often necessary to refer to the states (second tier
of government) and the theoretical states in the
same discussion. Australian parliamentary libraries
have devised a simple system to minimise confusion
between the two meanings of the same term: states
as tiers of government are referred to with a capital
'S', for example, when referring to the Victorian State
government; the term for a state as in the concept of
'statehood' remains uncapitalised. In order to reduce
confusion in what is a study potentially fraught with
ambiguity, these capitalisation standards are used
throughout this thesis.

i.2.2. Australian Political Parties

LABOR PARTY: AUSTRALIA'S TRADITIONAL CENTRE-LEFT PARTY

LIBERAL PARTY: AUSTRALIA'S CONSERVATIVE-RIGHT WING PARTY

Figure i.2.2.A. The naming of Australia's two main political parties is potentially
confusing

The State and federal parliaments of Australian
governments operate according to the Westminster
system or 'two party system.' Under this system of
government there are always two political parties that
dominate all others. These two dominant political
parties alternate between filling the roles of the elected,
ruling party and the official opposition. This system
dissuades significant changes in the proportion of

elected representatives, making it difficult for any other political party, apart from the dominant two, to come to power (Disch, 2002, p. 108; Rhodes, Wanna & Weller, 2009, p. 7).

The two major political parties that have shared the roles of ruling and opposition parties in both Australian federal parliament and Victorian State parliament since World War II have been the Labor Party and the Liberal Party (see Figure i.2.2.A) (Rhodes, 2005, p. 132). These political parties are mentioned in this thesis from time to time, and therefore require some explanation, since they are potentially confusing. The Labor Party is closely affiliated with the trade union movement, which in turn is generally associated with social welfare issues in Australia. This affiliation makes the Labor Party the more left-leaning of the Australian political parties. The Liberal Party is Australia's dominant right wing, conservative party. The Australian Liberal Party's name is misleading, as political parties identifying themselves as liberal are usually left leaning. The party took its name in 1945, based on the conservative fiscal ideas of classical liberalism (Rhodes, 2005, p. 138). However, the policies of the Liberal Party have always been further right that what is commonly thought of as liberal politics. Today, the policies and political position of the Liberal Party are similar to those of the United States' Republican Party.

i.3. Thesis Structure

Over the following five chapters, this thesis presents a new design history method and a new history of 150 years of Victorian governance. Presenting both the method and a history written using that method provides the opportunity to test the effectiveness of the method by reading the history. This thesis follows an atypical, but helpful, structure.

Chapter one, Literature Review, provides in-depth analysis of the methods commonly used to write histories of graphic design artefacts. This chapter proposes that the method used to write a history determines the focus of that history. Five existing methods are identified in a broad range of literature, including texts identified as graphic design histories and texts from other history disciplines. The steps involved in each method, as well as their strengths and weaknesses are identified. The existing methods are determined to be insufficient because of their empiricist theoretical foundations, and their dependence on existing archives. Finally, a case is made for investigating the possibilities of establishing a relativist foundation for a graphic design history method.

Chapter two, Methodology, investigates alternative methodological foundations upon which a new method could be based. The aim of the methodological search was to establish a rigorous theory basis for artefacts to lead narrative formation. This chapter presents a serious reflection on relativist approaches to inquiry generally, historical investigation specifically, power generally and power as it relates to artefacts. Although some of the concepts presented in this chapter are

highly abstract, they are presented in a sequence whereby each concept lays the intellectual ground for the following one. Chapter two concludes by presenting the original concept of 'embodied discourse'. Without this theoretical innovation, the method presented in chapter three, Discursive Method, would not have been developed.

Chapter three, Discursive Method, presents the detailed method used for writing the relativist, artefact-led history presented in chapters four and five. It provides an intricate account of each step and sub-step performed in the process of forming the historical narrative. To clarify the process of using discursive method as much as possible, many illustrations are used in this chapter. After the process of each step and sub-step are explained, the results of performing that step are presented. This gives a clear picture of how each small process in discursive method contributes to the final development of the emblem archive and the artefact-led history of Victorian governance.

Chapters four and five, called Governing the Body and Governing the Mind respectively, contain a two part history of governance in Victoria, Australia. Governing the Body focuses on the ideologies affecting the first one hundred years of Victorian governance: colonialism, classical liberalism and exclusionism. All of these ideologies are preoccupied with the governance of physicalities, land, people and things. Governing the Mind focuses on the ideologies that gained influence over Victorian governance in the twentieth century: nationalism, Keynesian welfarism and neoliberalism. In contrast to the ideologies covered in the previous

chapter, these ideologies are concerned with governing how citizens think about physicalities, instead of governing the things themselves. This two part history can be considered the ultimate findings of using discursive method.

Disclaimer

This history is unique among approaches to graphic design history in that it considers the role of the designer as marginal in the emblem creation process, relative to the role of discourses. Rejecting the common focus on the creativity of individual designers, this history instead considers the creators of government emblems, designers and heralds, as well as their decisions about the form and content of the emblems, primarily as results of external discourses they are surrounded by and participate in. In this thesis, the designers' and heralds' work is therefore treated as the result of social processes rather than of individual invention. Names of designers and heralds are not included, and their opinions on their own work have not been sought. It should also be noted that the authorship of most of the local government emblems in the archive is unknown, and was not sought for the reasons above. However, any effort to establish authorship of the emblems was unlikely to bring much success, as they are not artefacts that many designers are particularly proud of designing. Also, governments seldom acknowledge the designers of their emblems (Taffe, 2008).

1. LITERATURE REVIEW: METHODS USED IN HISTORIES OF GRAPHIC DESIGN ARTEFACTS

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1.   Connoisseurship Method

1.2.   Hagiographic Method

1.3.   Empirical Method

1.4.   Alternative Methods

1.5.   Limitations

Introduction

In order to demonstrate the importance of, and need for, methodological innovation in graphic design history, this literature review focuses on the methods used in graphic design histories and other histories of graphic design artefacts. The best known graphic design survey texts are covered, as are more specialist graphic design histories. This chapter also includes histories which focus on graphic design artefacts that would not typically be described as graphic design history.

As it stands at present, the graphic design history canon is small and, for an academic discipline, fairly new. Graphic design history was first discussed as a unique field of design education in the 1983 in the United Kingdom, the same year as the first graphic design history text book was published (Triggs, 2009, p. 326). The field originated out of a need identified by design educators, and has remained education-focussed to this day.

Many of the authors of histories of graphic design artefacts are graphic design practitioners first, and writers second. Few have pursued formal study of history; commonly their interest in history is the interest of a practitioner or educator, and their use of methods are necessarily less precise than those of classically trained historians. Many of the characteristics of the canon described in the following pages are related to these strong ties with graphic design education and practise.

Methodology and ideology

All histories are shaped by two aspects of the historian's treatment of her subject: methodological approach, or method, and ideological standpoint, or ideology (see Figure 1.A) (Howell & Prevenier, 2001, p. 13). The method used determines the process and the focus of a history. By definition, a method is 'a regular and systematic way of accomplishing something' (Conley, 2004, p. 198). A methodology is a theoretical perspective about, or a discussion of methods. Methods are practical in the sense that they consist of steps that will be carried out when researching and writing a history.

The ideological standpoint is like a theoretical spotlight that is shone on the historian's subject; depending on where it comes from (which ideology is behind it), it will illuminate different parts of the historian's subject. An ideology is a set of political beliefs that determines experience of phenomena (Eagleton, 1991, p. 16). Ideologies influence the historian's moral and political stance on their subject, even when the historian is attempting to be impartial (Taylor, 2003, p. 2). Ideologies are theoretical in the sense that they affect thought directly, and action only indirectly. Often the historian does not consciously choose either their method or ideology; they write in the style they know, in accordance with their own (ideological) belief system. In these situations, writing history can appear to be a craft based on impartial investigation of factual evidence (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 1).

Graphic design historians rarely discuss methods in their work, and when they do, methods are often

HISTORIAN

METHOD
(PRACTICAL)

IDEOLOGY
(THEORETICAL)
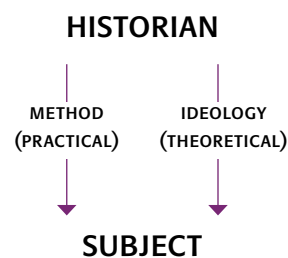
SUBJECT

Figure 1.A.
Method and ideology
two tools historians use when approaching their subject, whether they acknowledge them or not

confused with ideological standpoints. For example, some graphic design histories show a definite influence of poststructuralist, Marxist or feminist ideologies, and these are sometimes referred to as employing alternative methods. But in these cases, the history has essentially been assembled using one of the three basic methods. In histories with a strong ideological influence, concepts from other fields have penetrated the narrative of the history, but they have not affected the method, the process of researching and writing the history itself (Attfield, 1989, p. 202; Bush, 1994, p. 228; Goodall, 1996, p. 203; Teymur, 1996, p. 158). When graphic design historians do not consciously choose a methodology and an ideology, they often use the method of connoisseurship and write from a modernist ideological standpoint (see page 54 for more on this point).

This chapter provides evidence of the methods used in existing graphic design histories based on close reading of a large number of histories of graphic design artefacts. Within these histories, the hallmarks of various history methods have been identified.

Modernist ideology

Although this chapter focuses on methods, something should be said about the pervasiveness of modernist ideology in graphic design history. The ideology of modernism has had such a strong hold over both graphic design practise and graphic design history, that it is commented upon briefly. Modernism is an ideology which holds that the material substance of the social world can be rationally investigated and explained (Hall, 1996, p. 4). This view is so inherent in

graphic design practise that graphic designer Jeffery Keedy has observed that '[i]n graphic design, there is no alternative to modernism' (Keedy, 1995/2009, p. 171). Keedy refers specifically to how modernism was, as he then saw it, insidiously creeping in to the postmodern style so prevalent in graphic design artefacts from the mid-1990s onwards.

Design historian Anne Bush argues that the nature of graphic design practise makes the use of modernist ideology in graphic design history appear obvious or common sense to graphic designers. In backing up this claim, she refers to various linear, rationally-based graphic design practise methods: information design, typesetting, and the use of grids in publication design (Bush, 1994, p. 230). She argues that repetition of these practises, practises that provide seemingly objective solutions to apparently clear-cut problems, gives graphic designers a false sense of linear cause and effect in knowledge generally, and in knowledge of past events specifically.

In spite of its prevalence in graphic design histories, the use of modernist ideology has come under attack from within and outside of the field (Dilnot, 1984a, p. 9; Fallan, 2010, p. 8; Forty, 1995, p. 239; Fry, 1988, p. 43; Hannah & Putnam, 1996, p. 135; Margolin, 2009a, p. 103). In terms of graphic design histories, *A History of Graphic Design* by graphic design historian Phillip Meggs has received particular criticism for showing heavy modernist influence (Drucker, 2009, p. 64; Nooney, 2006, p. 23), although it is common in other histories of graphic design, too. The criticisms of modernist ideology have been summarised as the

'four sins of modernism': functionalism, reductionism, essentialism and universalism (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 297).

Functionalism emphasises certain functions (of artefacts, organisations or processes), to the exclusion of consideration of all other functions and contexts (Verbeek & Kockelkoren, 2010, p. 93). From this perspective, so long as a design solution is 'functional' in the modernist sense, it must also, by definition, be beautiful, good and worthy (Attfield, 1989, p. 200). In her critique of functionalism, design critic Erica Nooney elaborates that functionalism: 'equate[s] a design's value to the social value of the thing designed, obscuring the condition that form and representation are political and ideological' (Nooney, 2006, p. 29). Graphic design histories tend to give precedence to artefacts that share this functionalist aesthetic and celebrate designers who produce such work. Reductionism is 'seeing a complex whole in terms of its – more basic – parts' (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 297). This is evident in graphic design history in the form of a preoccupation with the single narrative, and with the lone creative wolf creating functionalist works in isolation (Conway in Fallan, 2010, p. 8).

Essentialism is the assumption that 'things or structures have one set of characteristics which is basic, or in a cognate sense "foundational"' (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 297). Design historian John Walker has identified this essence, or source meaning within the artefact as the 'machine aesthetic' of functionalism (Walker, 1989, p. 159). Essentialism dictates that consideration of aesthetics *is* consideration of function. Any extra

attention to function, either in terms of use or effects is resisted because, by modernist reasoning, it is superfluous. In the selection criteria for design histories and archive collections, there is an assumption that some artefacts are more designed, and more worthy of documenting than others because of when and where they were made and by whom, but also depending on their evocation of the machine aesthetic. Even artefacts from before and after the height of modernist influence on graphic design practise are measured against this machine aesthetic. The focus is on the extent to which they deviate from the aesthetic that is treated as the norm. In this way, the 'machine aesthetic' has come to be associated with 'good design' (Julier in Nooney, 2006, p. 21).

Universalism, 'presuming that theories are unconditional or transhistorical', is evident in the preoccupation among graphic design historians with the history and development of pictograms, the Swiss school (or International school) and specific typefaces that embodied universalist sentiment, particularly Univers and Helvetica. Swiss typefaces from 1930s Switzerland have had a profound effect on graphic design practise and graphic design history. The Swiss school, or International style, as it has come to be known, is inextricably linked to corporate identity design. The philosophy of the Swiss school remains central to corporate style manuals and the composition of logotypes for large corporations. This is despite widespread acknowledgement that the premise for these developments, the assumption of universalism, is false.

The universalism aspect of modernism has had unprecedented effect over graphic design practise in the past and still resonates with a significant number of contemporary practitioners. Universalism is convenient to graphic design practitioners as well as compelling; if pictograms and certain typefaces communicate the same to all viewers (note the trans-human suggestiveness of the term 'universal') there is no need to test their effectiveness or justify their use.

The importance of methods
The lack of discussion about and development of methods is something graphic design history shares with design history as well as design practise (Conley, 2004, p. 196). Design strategist Chris Conley argues that the necessity of developing new methods for a relatively new field is seldom acknowledged among design practitioners. He makes a cogent case for the importance of methodological development that is as pertinent to graphic design history as it is for his more practical subject area. Conley identifies several reasons why the development of new methods is both useful and essential.

He begins his argument in favour of developing methods by observing that 'the development of methods, basic principles and theory are at the foundation of any formalized discipline' (Conley, 2004, p. 202). New methods also assist in accommodating new problems and subject matter. This is as true of accommodating new artefacts and new kinds of archives into graphic design histories as it is for problems that arise in design practise. Also, '[m]ethods improve communication about the purpose and value'

of graphic design history as well as design practise (Conley, 2004, p. 213). Clear, explainable methods are key to ensuring graphic design history becomes increasingly relevant to both graphic design education and graphic design practise.

Without adequate focus on methods, history appears to be a somewhat mysterious craft. This mystique is not helpful either for the development of the field or for establishing links with other disciplines (Conley, 2004, p. 214). When historians clearly identify their work as studying graphic design artefacts and use transparent processes that facilitate their stated objectives, it will be easier for historians and practitioners from other fields to see how the work relates to their own.

Discussing methods openly, as Conley suggests, requires significant reflection about method on the part of historians. However, unless graphic design historians can look as critically at their process as they look at their subjects, they are destined to write histories that contain the same limitations as others written before them. For example, many of the well-worn criticisms of graphic design history specifically relate to the repeated use of connoisseurship method. Such criticisms include the call for historians to move away from art historical approaches at the First Symposium on the History of Graphic Design in 1983 (Triggs, 2011, p. 3), as well as graphic designer Andrew Blauvelt's call for more discursive graphic design histories (Blauvelt, 1994a, p. 198). However, without significant debate about methods, the origins of these flaws in process are not pinpointed within their critiques, and are inevitably

repeated. Methodology, the discussion of method, is therefore essential to graphic design history reaching maturity as a field.

Design history and graphic design artefacts
Histories of design generally, and histories of various other design disciplines – particularly industrial design, architecture and interior design – employ a wide range of methods (Adamson, Riello & Teasley, 2011, p. 3; Clark & Brody, 2009, p. 1; Lees-Maffei & Houze, 2010, p. 1, 9; Lupton, 1993, p. 7). Although design historian Kjetil Fallan observes that methodological innovation is not a priority area of study within design history, nevertheless numerous methods used in these fields build on theories drawn from material culture, sociology and anthropology (Fallan, 2010, p. 56; Triggs, 2011, p. 3). In contrast, graphic design histories have a fairly limited methodological repertoire. Comparison between the range of approaches employed in graphic design histories and other design histories indicates that the former employs fewer methodological approaches.

On the surface, it appears that graphic design historians could adapt some of the methods used in design history survey texts. However, differences in the nature of graphic design artefacts and other design artefacts make this task more difficult than it may at first sound. This section demonstrates how graphic design historians face challenges relating to their subject that design historians generally do not deal with.

The form and function of graphic design artefacts differ from other design artefacts in fundamental ways that are not readily accounted for by design history methods

(see Figure 1.B). Typically, design histories are about artefacts that have a physical form (Fry, 1988, p. 43; Walker, 1989, p. 12). These artefacts owe their existence to having a performative function (what the artefact was made to do). They also have a symbolic or communicative function, but it is usually secondary to the performative function; what the artefact was made to do is more important than what the artefact says. For example, an Eames armchair speaks compellingly to many people, but this communication is secondary to the fact that it is a chair. It was created for sitting in, but has become much more. Even when design artefacts become so stylised that their performative function is outshined by their strong tactile and visual messages (think Marc Newson's Lockheed Lounge), the performative function maintains a strong presence.

		DESIGN ARTEFACTS	GRAPHIC DESIGN ARTEFACTS
PHYSICAL FORM		3D	2D
FUNCTION	PRIMARY	PERFORMATIVE	COMMUNICATIVE
	SECONDARY	COMMUNICATIVE	PERFORMATIVE

Figure 1.B. Differing qualities of design artefacts and graphic design artefacts

In contrast, graphic design artefacts are made first and foremost to communicate; any other functions they have are secondary. For example, a poster may be created to publicise an event. Communication about the event is the primary function of the poster, that it is decorative or beautiful is secondary. This is a small but crucial difference that is often lost when design historians write about graphic design artefacts. Design historians are used to writing about the meaning inherent in form and performative function, whereas the form and performative function of graphic design artefacts are secondary to their main purpose of

communicating. To understand graphic design artefacts as compelling historical objects, their communicative function must be taken into account; otherwise they lack cultural, political and social significance.

Another way graphic design artefacts differ from other design artefacts is that they often do not have a physical form. When it comes to graphic design artefacts, there is often no form, as well as no performative function, for historians to consider. Logos, for example, exist digitally and sometimes legally as intellectual property. They are usually only collectable or examinable when they appear on something else; for example, a building, or a report. Similarly, brands and corporate identity systems exist only in the minds of the people viewing them. The cultural, political or social significance of a brand can seldom be seen when looking at one, or a few of the artefacts that contribute to it — promotional material, signage, stationery and uniforms — in isolation. For historians who use material culture approaches, immaterial graphic design artefacts are particularly awkward subjects. Considering these differences between graphic design artefacts and other design artefacts, there is a case to be made for the development of methods which can address the qualities that are peculiar to graphic design artefacts.

In consequence of the fundamental differences between most design artefacts and graphic design artefacts, design history survey texts rarely include graphic design artefacts. Historians working with design generally apparently either cannot, or will not, seriously integrate graphic design artefacts into overall histories of design (Adamson, Riello & Teasley, 2011, p. v-vii;

Clark & Brody, 2009, p. vii-xii; Fry, 1988, p. 7; Fallan, 2010, p. v-vi; Lees-Maffei & Houze, 2010, vii-xii; Walker, 1989, p. v).

Scarcity

Some scholars argue that there are fewer, and less diverse, histories of graphic design artefacts relative to histories of artefacts created in other design disciplines because of the ephemeral nature of the bulk of graphic design artefacts (Baker, 1989, pp. 277-278). Ephemeral graphic design artefacts include annual reports, billboards, catalogues, forms, invitations, magazines, maps, newspapers, packaging, pamphlets, paperback books, presentation slides, signage, stationery and websites. In fact, the only graphic design artefacts that are not ephemeral are high quality, hard cover books, and signs that are permanently affixed to buildings or the ground, that are made out of a robust metal or wood.

The ephemerality of most graphic design artefacts poses two, related problems for historical study: these artefacts lack both durability and prestige. In his history of nineteenth century English railway timetables, graphic design historian Mike Esbester identifies these two problems in relation to the artefacts he studies, but they can readily be applied to other ephemeral graphic design artefacts (Esbester, 2009, p. 93).

In terms of durability, the bulk of things produced in the course of graphic design practise are not made to last for a long time. In the case of railway timetables, Esbester cites thin, poor quality paper as the main degenerating factor. When considering graphic design

artefacts generally, there are numerous other factors, including handling and everyday use, poor quality printing, poor quality storage and sun bleaching. Preservation of graphic design artefacts without loss of quality over time is a challenge for archivists.

In terms of prestige, ephemeral graphic design artefacts are fundamentally profane. In everyday life they are familiar, necessary and are often taken for granted (Jubert, 2006, p. 12; Rennie, 2010, p. 435). As graphic design scholar Ellen Lupton has pithily observed, 'Graphic design is everywhere, yet nowhere' (Lupton, 2006, p. 6). She speculates on whether the ubiquity of ephemeral graphic design artefacts ironically renders them unnoticeable. With the notable exception of posters (which are commonly treated as an art form by historians), they also lack prestige, and are therefore seldom considered worthy of writing about. Historians regularly treat graphic design artefacts as essentially concerned with surface appearance and style, and this treatment in turn fosters a sense that graphic design artefacts lack substance or meaning. They are not readily thought of as 'authentic' cultural artefacts in the sense that everyday ephemera from ancient times and from tribal societies are.

Graphic designer Andrew Blauvelt offers a unique insight into why graphic design artefacts have come to be perceived as inauthentic subjects for histories. He argues that the ephemerality of graphic design artefacts 'creates a condition of "presentness" which, in turn, creates an ahistorical sensibility about the objects' (Blauvelt, 1994b, p. 208). Graphic design historian Inge Economou supports Blauvelt's observation

of the 'presentness' of graphic design artefacts, but argues that this presentness only emerged in artefacts produced around the turn of the twenty first century. She supports this case with her observation that graphic design practise in the late 1990s and early 2000s 'celebrates the "postmodern moment"' (Economou, 2003, p. 15).

While presentness may play a factor in the relative lack of graphic design histories, design historian Clive Dilnot offers yet another alternative explanation for the relative paucity of graphic design histories. He takes a compelling and dramatically different perspective from the other authors. Dilnot argues that many histories include artefacts produced in the course of graphic design practise, but that these histories are seldom considered graphic design histories by either their authors or audiences. He argues that this is due to graphic design practitioners distancing themselves from histories of all kinds, referencing the same professional ahistoricism as Blauvelt. Where Blauvelt attributes ahistoricism to graphic design artefacts, Dilnot attributes it to graphic designers themselves. Dilnot cites the influence of modernism on graphic design practise and argues that the way graphic design is taught promotes this anti-historical view (Dilnot, 1984a, p. 9).

METHOD	FOCUS
CONNOISSEURSHIP	ARTEFACTS
HAGIOGRAPHIC	DESIGNERS
EMPIRICAL	EVIDENCE

Figure 1.C.
Common methods used in histories of graphic design artefacts

Common methods

In spite of the lamentations of various scholars about its substance and approach, a considerable amount of graphic design histories — and histories of objects and images that can be considered graphic design artefacts

— has been written over the last forty years. Reviewing a substantial portion this literature provided the basis of the methodological inquiry in this chapter.

Histories of graphic design artefacts commonly use one of three main methods: connoisseurship method, hagiographic method or empirical method. Each of these methods has a particular focus (see Figure 1.C). Connoisseurship method focuses on artefacts and artefact-related issues such as style groupings of artefacts, trends in artefacts and considering entire bodies of work of a particular designer. Hagiographic method focuses on designers and designer-related issues, including particular design schools and groups of designers determined by geographic location or stylistic movement. Designers are invariably depicted as heroes when hagiographic method is used, with positive and creative attributes emphasised and negative aspects of the designers' life and work typically absent. Empirical method differs from the other two methods used in graphic design histories in that it focuses not on a particular kind of subject, but on textual evidence that can verify events and facts related to both artefacts and designers.

Each of the following three sections is devoted to one of these three methods commonly used to write histories of graphic design artefacts. These sections follow a standard format. First, the method is introduced, and the process of using it is described. The descriptions of methodological process have been written based on examination of a large number of histories using that method. The methods used to research and write histories are evident in the final form

they take. In any history, the points of focus, how the narrative is structured, and the way evidence is used all give clues as to which method was used.

Some histories employ a mix of two or more methods. As a method is a set of steps, more than one method may be used to write a history. It is common for the steps in one method to be supplemented with an additional step taken from another method. Methods are often combined when no single method is sufficient for communicating the breadth of detail that the historian wants to convey about her subject.

Following this description, each section contains several sub-sections that provide examples of graphic design history texts that have been written using the method. The fourth section of this chapter, Alternatives, highlights two methods that have sometimes been used in histories of graphic design artefacts. Finally, the last section, Limitations, details the shortcomings of all the methods described previously. This section identifies the shortcomings of using empiricist methods, and argues for the development of a rigorous, relativist method for writing histories of graphic design artefacts.

1.1. Connoisseurship Method

Connoisseurship method is used to document artefacts in terms of aesthetic value, authorship, lineage, materials, place of origin, techniques and time (Hatt & Klonk, 2006, p. 40; Scallen, 2004, p. 15). Originally, connoisseurship method was focussed on identification and verification of the time, place and author origins of artworks. However, the method has since expanded to include consideration of artists' personality and experience (Hatt & Klonk, 2004, p. 14). Connoisseurship method is used both for building archives and for writing histories, though connoisseurs (users of the method of connoisseurship) are seldom both historians and collectors.

GAIN ACCESS TO ARTEFACTS

↓

VERIFY ARTEFACTS

↓

INVESTIGATE AUTHORSHIP

↓

RESEARCH CONTEXT

↓

WRITE NARRATIVE

Figure 1.1.A.
Narrative formation process using connoisseurship method

Figure 1.1.A illustrates the process of writing a history using connoisseurship method. Histories written using this method begin by gaining access to particular artefacts. Because connoisseurs often seek out artefacts for their rarity and value, the artefacts they study are frequently found in private collections. The next stage of connoisseurship method involves ascertaining the authorship and origins of artefacts. This is the main focus of connoisseurship method, so histories using this method often include plentiful detail about the date and location in which artefacts were first designed and then first printed. Because of the strong focus on origins, these histories also often include details about the administrative processes and tasks that preceded the release of particular artefacts.

Next, the connoisseur researches context; this is a relatively brief step in connoisseurship method. Context in this method focuses on details of the life of the

designer who produce the artefacts, as well as his peer group. Other context, such as what the artefacts were used for, and cultural conditions relating to the production of the artefacts, are conspicuously absent in histories written using connoisseurship method.

This method produces histories that focus on the appearance of artefacts, and that usually focus on a small selection of artefacts chosen for their aesthetic merit. The focus on one or a few artworks was originally intended to keep art histories based firmly on examples of art practise (Kleinbauer, 1989, p. 107). While meaning, use and the broader context of artefacts are sometimes mentioned in histories formed using connoisseurship method, they are commonly mentioned as asides; the appearance of artefacts generally, and their beauty particularly, is the main subject of such histories (Lauritzen, 1988, p. 79). In this method, sometimes descriptions of particular artefacts or an oeuvre are presented as representative of the social and cultural conditions of an age (Hatt & Klonk, 2005, p. 47).

Connoisseurship method is predominantly used in art history, but is also commonly used in graphic design history (Beirut, 2007, p. 34; Blauvelt, 1994b, p. 208; Bush, 1994, p. 220; Forty, 1995, p. 242; Wilkins, 1992, p. 4). In graphic design history, connoisseurship method is often evident in a preoccupation with the authenticity of artefacts, a focus that has been widely criticised (Fallan, 2010, p. 12; Forty, 1995, p. 223; Margolin, 2002, p. 235; Walker, 1989, p. 12; Woodham, 2010, p. 293).

Criticism has also been levelled at the very selective nature of graphic design histories written using connoisseurship method (Heller, 2004, p. 137).

The heralding of particular artefacts or oeuvres as revealing insights into the broader context of an age is common to both fields. In art history, artefacts from particular times and places are of particular interest to historians using connoisseurship method; for example, Renaissance oil paintings (Scallen, 2004, p. 213). Similarly, in graphic design history, historians using connoisseurship method tend to study specific artefacts as well as certain kinds of artefacts. In terms of specific artefacts, the London Tube map is a particularly well worn subject for graphic design histories (Bhagat, 2009, p. 485). In terms of kinds of artefacts, twentieth century posters have been extensively studied using connoisseurship method (Aulich, 1998, p. 345; Gallo, 1975; Jubert, 2006, p. 13; Koscevic, 1988, p. 55; Margolin, 2009b, p. 427; Stanley, 1989, p. 6). Connoisseurship method is also used in the majority of the survey texts of graphic design history. Graphic design historian Paul Jobling suggests that much of the use of connoisseurship method is attributable to uncritical repetition of the focus and structure of very early graphic design history education material (Jobling, 2003, p. 260).

1.1.1. Survey Texts

A History of Graphic Design by Meggs has been a commonly used teaching text in graphic design education for three decades. As such, it has had a significant impact over several generation of graphic design practitioners, shaping their understandings of graphic design. In this major work, Meggs uses a method which is part connoisseurship method and part hagiographic method. Depending on the time period he is writing about, he shifts from focus on a type of artefact to focus on a designer or group of designers (Meggs, 1983, p. 37, 251). When discussing groups of artefacts, Meggs is true to the aims of connoisseurship method of establishing origin, authorship and production technique. As is also typical of histories written using connoisseurship method, when he mentions broader issues of major contemporary economic and political events, they are discussed briefly, as backdrops for the chronologically and stylistically determined artefact groupings that are the main subject of his history.

In his shorter, but no less influential *Graphic Design: A Concise History*, graphic design historian Richard Hollis also uses connoisseurship method, although his approach to graphic design artefacts incorporates some use of semiotics, discussed later in this chapter (see 1.4.3 on page 80). As is typical of connoisseurship method, Hollis prioritises the origins of graphic design artefacts, specifically year and location, as well as authorship. Like Meggs, Hollis also mentions social

context briefly, as a backdrop to his main narrative of artefacts, designers, design movements and styles (Hollis, 2001, p. 155).

The lesser known and used survey text *Typography and Graphic Design* by graphic design historian Roxane Jubert uses a similar combination of connoisseurship method and hagiographic method to Meggs. This is in spite of her ambitious claim to incorporate 'the role of technology; the impact of politics; the importance of international interchange, encounters and relationships; the role of the patron, and of teaching and training; the effections of texts;… [and] the importance of reception and dissension' (Jubert, 2006, p. 15). Jubert succeeds in mentioning all of these considerations at various times in her book, but as illustrative context, rather than integral to the narrative. The artefacts in this book mostly feature beautiful typographic examples; the focus on beauty is also typical of histories written using connoisseurship method. Where Jubert's method differs from standard connoisseurship method is in her artefact groupings. The artefacts are largely grouped according to the technological style that produced them, rather than the standard aesthetic style or designer groupings.

Typography and Graphic Design is essentially a history of the western alphabet and typography that traverses many times, artefacts and places (Lupton, 2006, p. 6). Like Meggs, and as is typical of histories using connoisseurship method, Jubert has a strong focus on chronology and accurate dating of artefacts (Jubert, 2006, p. 14). At one point, Jubert identifies herself as a connoisseur with her wish to see a science

of graphic design history in the future (Jubert, 2006, p. 13). Practitioners of connoisseurship method have long prided themselves on their scientific method (Hatt & Klonk, 2006, p. 41). Jubert argues that the central subject of her book, typography, must be at the centre of graphic design histories.

Graphic design historian Stephen Eskilon shares Jubert's ambitions to cover a vast terrain of history in his survey text *Graphic Design: A New History*. As the title suggests, Eskilon aspires to produce an unprecedented graphic design history. Many of the visual examples Eskilon uses have not appeared in previously published graphic design survey texts, but this illustrative originality does not extend to overall content, treatment or method. The content of this book is similar to Jubert's in its focus on giving typographic history a more central place in a graphic design history survey text. In terms of method, *Graphic Design: A New History* sits with the majority of other graphic design survey texts in using connoisseurship method, with the occasional hagiographical sections (Eskilon, 2007, p. 133, 199).

Eskilon and graphic design historian Johanna Drucker have both criticised the results of connoisseurship method. Their criticisms include the focus on chronology, authentication of artefacts and presentation of stylistic groupings of artefacts as natural inherent in histories produced using connoisseurship method (Drucker, 2009, p. 70; Eskilon, 2007, p. 10; Triggs, 2009, p. 329). It is somewhat ironic then, that Eskilon's own survey text employs connoisseurship method, and consequently produces the same pitfalls.

1.1.2. The Poster

The poster is perhaps the graphic design media that has received the most attention in histories. Posters have been compelling and intriguing for historians from a range of disciplines, including graphic design history. Some scholars consider the poster more artistic than other graphic design artefacts, and therefore more worthy of historical study (Koscevic, 1988, p. 55). Others value particular posters as the output of a notable designer (Le Coultre & Purvis, 2007, p. 35; Stanley, 1989, p. 6). Graphic design histories that focus on posters invariably use connoisseurship method, sometimes with slight methodological variations.

The classic connoisseurship approach is shared by curator Želimir Koscevic and collector Eliot Stanley. In his detailed study of Yugoslavian posters, Koscevic primarily groups the diverse posters in his study by style, but maintains emphasis on identification of the artists and designers who made the posters (Koscevic, 1988, p. 60). Stanley, on the other hand, focuses on the output of one artist, Rockwell Kent. Stanley focuses on the artistic merit of Kent's work, and provides a character sketch of Kent as an under-recognised artistic genius (Stanley, 1989, p. 16). Many of the artefacts illustrating Kent's paper have been made as war propaganda, and as is typical of histories using connoisseurship method, the war, as well as all other context, is seldom mentioned.

Power and posters

The study of posters through connoisseurship method is the closest that graphic design historians generally get to addressing politics, power or the political processes that graphic design artefacts are inevitably involved in. Due to a combination of the limiting scope of connoisseurship method and a general lack of understanding of (as well as interest in) power, these treatments are often surface at best. When historians use connoisseurship method to write about graphic design artefacts that have overtly political purposes, those artefacts inevitably appear benign. In these histories, political context is considered insofar as it is deemed to be an influence on or driver of stylistic or content changes, and with an emphasis on artefacts judged to have particular aesthetic quality. Beyond this, connoisseurs see considerations of politics and power as obfuscating their subject (Bowlt, 2002, p. 36; Golec, 2009, p. 421). Some connoisseurs explicitly state that there is no link between the aesthetics of the artefacts they study and the power relationships in the societies in which they were produced (Coradeschi, 1987, p. 68).

A typical example of benign history of artefacts with overtly political purposes is contained in Eskilon's *Graphic Design: A New History*, in his treatment of posters in the section entitled 'Art Deco and Colonialism.' This section addresses tourism posters promoting European colonies to European audiences. The focus of this section alternates between the period styles displayed in the posters and the administrative details involved in the posters being produced. Colonialism is barely mentioned, and the images

included in these posters, images that treat colonial nations and colonial peoples as novel possessions of Europe, are not discussed (Eskilon, 2007, p. 179). Eskilon provides a similarly politically bereft account of posters used in the October Revolution in Russia. Extensive information is provided about the artists who created the posters, and the governmental administration procedures that contributed to their production. Their political role, beyond a brief mention of 'agitprop', is not addressed (Eskilon, 2007, p. 197). Similarly, details about the politics of the Revolution itself are scarce, as is common in the bulk of histories of Soviet posters intended for a primarily American audience. The Russian state's ideological program, the inspiration and motivation for the Russian constructivists' work, is hardly mentioned in coverage of posters in graphic design history survey texts, and when it is, it is attributed to individual designers, as if it were their own ideological inspiration (Meggs & Purvis, 2006, p. 290).

In their survey text, *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide*, Johanna Drucker & graphic design historian Emily McVarish give war propaganda posters and public information posters a similarly de-politicised treatment. Like Eskilon, they emphasise the administrative arrangements within governments that allowed production of the posters (Drucker & McVarish, 2008, p. 237). Although there are brief mentions of posters encouraging conformity and propagating stereotypes, relationships between the posters and the social and political events they promoted and warned of are not made. Although Drucker and McVarish do not establish

political and power contexts for the posters they write about, they go further than Eskilon in the sense that they identify associations between changes in visual style and changes in governance ideology. For example, they relate Stalin's rule of Russia to 'strong shapes and recognizable silhouettes... an organizing image on a mass of workers' (Drucker & McVarish, 2008, p. 240). Such comments are intriguing, but are sadly scarce in Drucker and McVarish's survey text.

Similarly, the Russian constructivist movement has been much discussed in terms of its compositional dynamism and unique practise methodologies, with scant regard for how it fits within the broader revolutionary picture (Drucker & McVarish, 2008, p. 194). The time and place in which these artefacts are created is often documented, sometimes including a reference to the designer's utopian aspirations, but including very little discussion of the contemporary social and political context and impacts of the artefacts within Russia.

Graphic design historian Steven Heller's detailed account of early Soviet visual communication exhibits similar pitfalls to those found in the sections of survey texts dealing with graphic design artefacts with overtly political functions (Heller, 2008, p. 133). Heller's book on the graphic design of totalitarian governments, *Iron Fists*, typifies the treatment of design artefacts with an overt political function and is exemplary of many of the other pitfalls of design historical narrative besides. The book begins with judgements of aesthetic value; Heller tells us that the four governments he writes about — the Soviet government of Russia, Nazi government

of Germany, Fascist government in Italy and Maoist government in China — were chosen because artefacts produced by them were judged by the author to be the most original and aesthetically pleasing. He goes on to introduce the work with a comparison of communication in totalitarian regimes to branding, retrospectively attributing a contemporary design practise method to designers and artists who could have had no conception of branding method (Heller, 2008, p. 8). In doing this, Heller both retrospectively constructs a tradition of branding and reduces the artefacts he studies to the level of consumption. The creators of the political imagery he discusses are given heroic designer status, and much is made of their artistic educations, backgrounds and their own descriptions of the work. Historical details are used primarily to explain the artefacts; political and social context is absolutely secondary to the heralded images.

References to political concepts, such as the nature of democracy and totalitarianism are frequently taken from authors of fiction rather than any reputable source and the tone of discussion of these concepts is generally sensationalist and dystopian, further contributing to the sense that Heller is not really interested in the production, use or effect of the artefacts he studies in anything but the narrowest sense (Heller, 2008, p. 10). While Heller's book presents some original and fascinating research, in his effort to discuss political artefacts, he has succumbed to his own critique of graphic design history generally, writing about 'ideal formal attributes — what is inherently interesting from a design perspective,' and avoiding

discussion of inextricably related political concepts such as government, citizenship, identity and nation (Heller, 2004, p. 137).

Graphic design artefacts with overtly political functions have been written about with more success by graphic design historian Maud Lavin. In her essay 'A Baby and a Coat Hanger,' Lavin discusses how the design of public information posters used in the abortion debate in the United States in the 1970s shifted the emphasis of the debate from social and moral issues to a polar divide between foetuses' rights and women's rights. She attributes this shift in large part to 'right to life' campaigns using polemic prose, the use of sonogram imagery of foetuses, sometimes misshapen or dead, and other provocative design strategies (Lavin, 2001, p. 146).

This article is a rare example in graphic design history as it avoids connoisseurship method and hagiographic method. Instead, it documents the relationship of historical graphic design artefacts – that are, incidentally, both ephemeral and political in nature, and not at all identified with the canon – with public political debate. This article could be said to be a history of the Roe v Wade abortion debate *through* public information posters. The posters are not the stars of the article, rather they are used to enrich understanding of a pubic debate that has already been well documented from other, less designerly, viewpoints. Here Lavin relies on her professional understanding of visual rhetoric, the way visual elements of an artefacts contribute to partisan communication.

1.2. Hagiographic Method

Hagiography is both a description of a type of history and a method for conducting that type of history. For clarity, the method of hagiography is referred to here as hagiographic method. This method venerates an individual or a group, presenting them as moral, professional or vocational exemplars (Higgitt, 2007, p. 4). Hagiographic method focuses on documenting the positive attributes of a person or group to the extent that evidence becomes a secondary consideration in the historical narrative (Averintsev, 2004, p. 22). Rather than attempt impartial treatment of evidence, every event in a person or group's history is presented as part of a seamless stream of meaningful occurrences that are linked with the superiority of their example (Bush, 1994, p. 222). Hagiographies are produced based on the needs of a community to hold up particular people or groups as examples, rather than based on scholarship from a distance (Refslund Christensen, 2005, p. 324). For example, hagiographies of Catholic saints are written by Catholics, and often by clergy. Similarly, hagiographies of graphic designers are generally written by other graphic designers, thereby maintaining the 'great master' mystique surrounding graphic design practise (Glaser, 2007, p. 144).

Hagiographic method is commonly associated with histories of religious figures generally and histories of saints specifically, because of the frequency with which religious orders produce them. Nevertheless, secular hagiographies abound (Levy, 2012, p. 207). Hagiographic method is frequently used because of a cultural perception that the subjects of the history

DEFINE RESEARCH SUBJECT

↓

RESEARCH CHARACTER

↓

COLLECT ARTEFACTS

↓

RESEARCH CONTEXT

↓

WRITE NARRATIVE
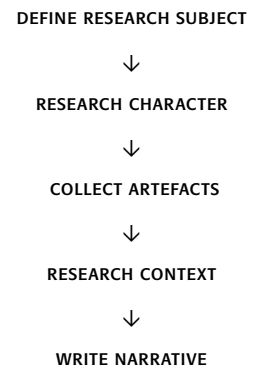
Figure 1.2.A.
Narrative formation process in hagiographic method

cannot, or should not, be described in less than reverential terms. This is true of hagiographic method in graphic design history as much as in other fields. For example, a graphic design history that is critical of Milton Glaser, or the Soviet agitprop artists and designers, is almost unthinkable.

In the process of writing a history using hagiographic method, the historian first identifies her subject (see Figure 1.2.A). This subject is usually one individual but is sometimes a group of people. The individual or group already has a reputation as being remarkable for some personal, professional or religious reason, and it is understood at the outset that the history will bolster this reputation.

Next, the character and life experiences of that person are researched, with particular attention paid to events that cast him or her in a positive light. A narrative is built up that threads together events in which the person or group ultimately triumphs, along with the positive attributes for which the person or group is known. Next, so-called evidence of the person or group's greatness is collected, in the form of artefacts relating to the source of their merit. For a history of a religious figure, this includes artefacts that 'prove' a miracle. For histories of a graphic designer, this includes examples of that designer's work that are celebrated as superior to the work of his peers, or sometimes superior to the rest of the graphic design discipline. The focus of this step is on collecting artefacts that contribute to the esteem and reputation of the subject of the history. Next, the historian using hagiographic method researches context, by studying the times in

which the person or group lived. Again, only context that presents the subject in a favourable light is included.

Hagiographic method is commonly used in graphic design histories (Wilkins, 1992, p. 4). Evidence of this method can be seen in the highly selective use of historical sources and artefacts, and presentation of a designer, or school of designers, in a wholly positive light. Their work and lives are celebrated, and held up as examples to follow. Specifically, hagiographic method is common in graphic design history survey texts, in designer monographs and in academic papers on the careers and output of individual designers and studios (Blackwell, 1995, p. 12; Donnelly, 2006, p. 282; Le Coultre & Purvis, 2007, p. 9; Margolin, 1997, p. 11). In critiques of design history, hagiographic method is commonly referred to as the 'designer as hero' model (Fry, 1988, p. 53). While this term is descriptive, it is illuminating to consider these histories within the broader hagiographical literature.

Graphic design historians Teal Triggs and Johanna Drucker have both suggested that at least some of the positive documentation of designers and their output is due to the complexities of gaining copyright permission (Drucker, 2011, p. 199; Triggs, 2009, p. 328). In order to get permission to reproduce a designer's work, a historian depends on the goodwill of that designer or the holder of copyright over their works. A critical review not only spoils the relationship with that designer, but has the potential to dissuade other holders of archives from working with the historian, once she is known to have been critical.

1.2.1. The Hero

The designer as hero is a pervasive narrative in graphic design histories, particularly in graphic design survey texts (Wilkins, 1992, p. 5). Even in the survey texts whose authors aspire to write innovative histories, adulation of famous designers and artists is commonly incorporated (Eskilon, 2007, p. 152, 317; Jubert, 2006, p. 191). Another kind of graphic design history, the designer monograph, also uses hagiographic method. Because designer monographs show work only in relation to its creator, they seldom show the broader cultural, professional and societal influences that inevitably contributed to the final form of the work (Triggs, 2009, p. 328). This is an effect of using hagiographic method, but it does not need to be the case. As design theorist Chris Conley argues, design activity 'does not need to be portrayed as a mysterious search for insight or involved with inexplicable creative leaps' (Conley, 2004, p. 214). Nevertheless, graphic design histories written using hagiographic method and connoisseurship method fuel the mystique.

Artists and designers from three distinct periods are repeatedly revered in the designer as hero, hagiographic model: interwar Europe, the United States in the 1970s, and digital age graphic designers. In the first period, Peter Behrens, El Lissitzky and Alexander Rodchenko are frequently celebrated, along with many lesser known European artists and designers (Bowlt, 2002, p. 38; Curtis, 1987, p. 30; Messerli Bolliger, 1993, p. 43; Moos, 1993, p. 123; Simmons, 2000, p. 328). In the second period, superstar graphic designers from various eras are celebrated. 'Superstar graphic designers' refers

to individuals who are well known among graphic design educators, historians and practitioners, and whose work is collectively accepted as exemplary. These first wave of these superstar graphic designers, from the 1970s, includes Milton Glaser, Paul Rand, and Bob Gill. The superstar graphic designers of the digital age, Jonathan Barnbrook, Neville Brody and David Carson are also regularly celebrated in scholarly articles, survey texts, trade journals (Blackwell, 1995, p. 12; Eskilon, 2007, p. 420; Hollis, 2001, p. 212).

Designer and epistemologist Otto Neurath is frequently treated as a heroic visionary in histories written using hagiographic method. Neurath is best known in graphic design histories as the designer of ISOTYPE pictographic language (Neurath & Kinross, 2009, p. 97; Vossoughian, 2008, p. 7). In his book *Otto Neurath: The Language of the Global Polis*, historian Nader Vossoughian variously celebrates Neurath as a 'social engineer', urban planner and utopian visionary. Similarly, media theorist Frank Hartmann provides a celebratory account of Neurath and ISOTYPE in his article 'Visualising Social Facts' (Hartmann, 2008, p. 279).

Another designer associated with ISOTYPE has recently benefitted from similarly celebratory treatment as Neurath has received. Recently design historian Keith Bresnahan wrote a hagiographic article on graphic designer Rudolph Modley and how he popularised ISOTYPE in the United States (Bresnahan, 2011, p. 5). Bresnahan claims to present an innovative and political history of graphic design artefacts, however his history presents a similarly hagiographic history as those about

Neurath. Bresnahan substitutes the designer, but not the method, ending up with similar results as those he seeks to avoid (Bresnahan, 2011, p. 8).

1.2.2.The Hero Academy

The title 'hero academy' is used in this section to collectively describe the various artistic and educational groupings that are repeatedly celebrated in graphic design histories. Many hero academies have been written about using hagiographic method. Three often celebrated groups in graphic design histories are the avant garde, the Bauhaus and Jugendstil (Margolin, 1997, p. 11). Similarly to the presentation of individual designers as triumphant heroes, these groups are regularly attributed with artistic brilliance and vast influence (Meggs, 1983, p. 204, 330; Moszkowicz, 2011, p. 248; Mueller-Brockmann, 1971, p. 192; Rothschild, 1998, p. 45).

As well as these main groups, individual design studios are frequently written about using hagiographic method, resulting in them being presented as hero academies. One such history is graphic design historians Maud Lavin's article about the German interwar design studio 'Ringl + Pit' (Lavin, 2001, p. 50; Triggs, 2002, p. 95). Lavin employs a feminist ideology in her history of the all female firm, but maintains use of a standard graphic design history method, with the result that the designers are celebrated as under recognised heroes.

1.3. Empirical Method

Empirical method is a way of writing history that explicitly employs empiricist scientific investigation. Empiricism is a system of investigation that seeks objective evidence in the form of 'provable facts' (Howell & Prevenier, 2001, p. 42). The common historical terms 'primary source' and 'secondary source' originated in empirical method, as a way to distinguish between the quality of sources of historical evidence. The main way empirical method differs from connoisseurship method and hagiographic method is that it attempts, and claims to attain, objectivity through reliance on present day evidence of past events (Gray, Williamson, Dalphin & Karp, 2007, p. 245; Singh, 2006, p. 113; Staley, 2006, p. 47). Empirical method is by far the most common method used among historians generally (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 1). The histories of graphic design artefacts that do not use connoisseurship method or hagiographic method generally use empirical method (Sturken, 2009, p. 168).

Figure 1.3.A outlines the process of using empirical method. The first step in using empirical method is defining a research question. Next, the historian searches for primary sources on which to base her history. Primary sources include all documents and artefacts that were created or used in the time and place that is the subject of the history (Trachtenberg, 2006, p. 141). Oral accounts of eye witnesses to events are also treated as primary sources. In empirical method, these sources are treated as the most authentic, since they are as close as the historian can get to her subject. They are studied in order to

DEFINE RESEARCH QUESTION

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INVESTIGATE PRIMARY SOURCES

↓

INVESTIGATE SECONDARY SOURCES

↓

COLLECT ARTEFACTS

↓

ANALYSE ARTEFACTS

↓

WRITE NARRATIVE
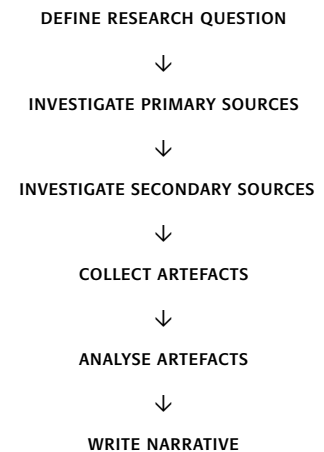
Figure 1.3.A.
Narrative formation process in empirical method

find out 'what happened', for the historian to gain an understanding of events and facts of the past. After exhausting primary sources, the historian searches for secondary sources. In empirical method, all other sources are known as secondary sources. These include other histories about the subject and second or third hand accounts of the subject. These texts are generally treated with caution, as they are considered subjective, in contrast to the primary sources which are considered as objective. Often secondary sources are consulted to make sure no glaring errors are included in the history and no major events are left out.

When empirical method is used in graphic design histories, it includes the collection of artefacts. The focus of this step is collecting graphic design artefacts, usually from pre-existing archives in libraries and museums. Because empirical method does not encompass interpretation of visual artefacts, the collected artefacts are usually analysed using an analytical tool borrowed from another history method. The analysis techniques commonly employed at this stage include connoisseurship method and semiotics.

1.3.1. Government Emblems

The only four academic histories of government emblems to date were written using empirical method. In the literature review, as well as looking for evidence of methods, the historian also looked for histories incorporating government emblems. In the extensive search of literature involved in this literature review, very few histories were found that included references to government emblems. During this search,

government emblems were not found in either the survey texts or the more specialist literature. Graphic design historians have, at times, discussed the symbols of particular nations and rulers, for example, Nazi symbols have been studied closely (Heller, 2000, p. 3), but other government emblems have rarely been considered.

In his PhD thesis and a subsequent article, design historian Michael Large writes about the Canadian national emblem, developed in 1965 (Large, 1989, 1991). The other author of articles on government emblems is design historian Javier Gimeno Martínez. His two, relatively recent articles focus on the nation building aspect of government emblems used in Catalonia, Spain (Martínez, 2006), and Flanders, Belgium (Martínez, 2008). In the first article, Martínez analyses seventeen logos developed for newly created Spanish autonomous regional governments (a fourth tier of government established as a conduit between state and local government) between 1979 and 1984. In the second, Martínez conducts a critical comparison between the logos developed for three autonomous Belgian governments after federalisation (1973–1993).

Both Large and Martínez discuss reasons for the development of new government logos, the political processes that influenced the final designs and the public response to the logos, with varying emphases in each article. Although there is considerable overlap in the subject areas studied by the two authors — both study government emblems in the forms of logos, and address motivations for their implementation and use — Large's writing focuses on the management functions

of the Canadian national emblem, while Martínez pays particular attention to the nation building attributes of regional government emblems. Both acknowledge that changes to emblems have, at least in part, been motivated by a desire by individual politicians or parties to visually leave their mark on the government and more broadly, on society.

Large's study of the Canadian national emblem is part of a broader inquiry into the nature of corporate identity and the role graphic design plays within it. His PhD thesis, *Graphic Design and Corporate Identity*, compares the corporate identity of the Canadian federal government with the corporate identity of the nation's telephony provider, Bell Canada (Large, 1989, p. iv). The thesis was followed several years later by an article about the Canadian Federal Identity Program, in which Large investigates the Canadian government emblem in greater detail, including a short history of the policy that lead to its use (Large, 1991, p. 32).

 In his study of the emblems of seventeen newly established Spanish regional governments and again in his study of the emblems of Belgian regional governments, Martínez charts the use of nation building strategies at sub-national (regional, within countries) and supra-national (across multiple countries) levels. He justifies his observation of nation building strategies at sub and supra national levels with his argument that nation building strategies are used wherever political power becomes focused (Martínez, 2008, p. 233).

In his article on Spanish government emblems, Martínez describes how the new regional government emblems of progressive governments at once bolster

visions of a new, more democratic Spain, while at
the same time claiming European allegiance through
incorporation of a 'North European' aesthetic
(Martínez, 2006, p. 54). Many Spanish regional
authorities developed logos with evident modernist
sensibilities, such as simple, angular pictograms and
the Helvetica typeface, in order to signal a sense of
newness. Martínez identifies the modernist aesthetic
of these logos as a supra-nation building strategy
aimed at aligning the governments with a unified
Europe (Martínez, 2006, p. 56). Each of these histories
demonstrate use of empirical method in frequency
of direct quotes from eye witnesses, and use of other
primary sources such as company documents and Acts
of Parliament (Large, 1991, p. 41; Martínez, 2006, p. 58).

1.4. Alternative Methods

In 1989, design historian John Walker offered a solution to what he saw as the problems facing design history at that time. His advice is as prescient for graphic design history today as it was for design history then. Walker writes:

> *the issues confronting design historians are comparable to those which have been faced by scholars in other disciplines... It follows that design historians can avoid crass errors, gain insight into their own practices, and save themselves time by attending to debates within the social sciences and by studying the writings of major anthropologists, sociologists [and] general historians* (Walker, 1989, p. 197).

Several graphic design historians have done just that. The writing of graphic design theorist and curator Ellen Lupton stands out as an exemplar of such incorporation of contemporary theories from other disciplines into her narratives (Lupton, 1998, p. 53; Lupton, 1993, p. 7). This section looks at three alternative methods that have rarely, but effectively, been used to write histories of graphic design artefacts.

1.4.1. Iconography

Icongraphy, sometimes referred to as iconology, has occasionally been used in histories dealing with graphic design artefacts (Bonnell, 1999, p. 258; Golec, 2008, p. 22; Golec, 2011, p. 85). Iconography is both the name of a historical method and the name of a type of history. As a method, iconography is a well-established art historical method intended to derive meaning

from artefacts through concentrated interpretation and analysis (Alexander, Bartmanski & Giesen, 2012, p. 103). The histories written using iconographic method are then called 'iconographies.' Popularised by historian Erwin Panofsky in the early twentieth century, iconographies typically focus on several motifs in which the historian has a particular interest.

Iconographic method consists of three steps: description, analysis and interpretation. In the first step, the historian attempts to describe the artefacts impartially. In the second step, artefacts are critically analysed in relation to other artefacts that contain similar visual motifs. In the final step, the artefacts are interpreted in a similar fashion to the interpretation in connoisseurship (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011, p. 286). This is a niche method that depends heavily on the historian's intuition and resources. Historians who use iconographic method frequently (referred to sometimes as iconologists) often have large multimedia collections of various motifs that they refer to when writing histories.

Sociologist Victoria Bonnell uses an adapted form of iconography in her history of propaganda posters (Aulich, 1998, p. 345). Her version of iconography is combined with quantitative historical method, which involves collecting statistical data about artefacts and evidence in order to test the generalising statements that are often made in histories. Bonnell uses the quantitative aspect of her approach to verify certain statements she makes about the large collections of artefacts she has access to, while she uses the sociological aspect to illuminate the symbolic

continuities between the iconography of the Russian

Orthodox church and the Soviet propaganda posters.

As well as studying posters as art objects, this history

ruminates on the political function of the form of

'the poster' in general, concluding that the aim of the

political poster is to conceal (Aulich, 1998, p. 346;

Bonnell, 1999, p. 258).

1.4.2.Historical Sociology

Some notable histories focussing on graphic design

artefacts use a method called historical sociology. As

its name suggests, historical sociology stems from

the blending of sociological theory with historical

method. As a discipline, sociology is concerned with

understanding the nature of societies past and present

(Plummer, 2010, p. 96). Sociologists attempt to make

sense of the societies they study by identifying patterns

across artefacts, places, social structures, and time.

The advantage of sociology for history is the notion of

collective consciousness, 'how entire societies imagine

and experience the world' (Howell & Prevenier, 2001,

p. 92). Historical sociology is generally concerned with

explaining past events, creating a cohesive, socially

contextualised historical backdrop for the study

of present day societies (Dean, 1994, p. 8). To this

end, it examines the relationships between actions,

artefacts and context, highlighting the aspects of these

relationships that change as well as those that stay

static over time (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 110, 141).

Histories written using historical sociology frequently

focus on modernity, this has been as true of graphic

design histories as of histories from other disciplines

employing historical sociology (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 112). Historical sociology is used in one major work of graphic design history as well as several smaller works. Historical sociology often involves the re-working of much documented past events, re-interpreting subjects that have had countless histories written about them previously. In this sense, Drucker and McVarish's book *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide* is in keeping with a common practise of historical sociological method. This is the only graphic design survey text to significantly veer away from connoisseurship method and hagiographic method. Instead, Drucker and McVarish weave a rich sociological historical narrative that emphasises the social role of graphic design artefacts.

Emphasising their commitment to sociological context, one of the first spreads in the book contains a single line of text: 'The graphic forms of design are expressions of the forces that shape our lives' (Drucker & McVarish, 2008, pp. xviii-xix). Drucker & McVarish's unique approach to a graphic design survey text extends to the layout of their book. They make use of large amounts of white space and short, pithy summary sentences. The form of the book emphasises their message that graphic design artefacts mediate communication and impact on the way knowledge is consumed.

Reminiscent of Jubert and Eskilon's incorporation of typographic history into graphic design history, Drucker and McVarish's incorporate the history of the alphabet, literacy and reading into the early part of their history (Drucker & McVarish, 2008, p. 26). The first half of their

history focuses on the development of communication technologies — books, printing and industrial production — while the last half focuses on types of artefacts, graphic styles and their cultural effects. In this book, graphic design artefacts are repeatedly treated as single examples of the broader phenomena of 'media.' This assists in providing an overall impression of graphic design artefacts as everyday objects with everyday functions. The book gives the impression that, in terms of social purpose, graphic design artefacts are comparable to television programmes and town criers from yesteryear; ubiquitous, but also culturally and socially significant. Although this may not sound remarkable, it is a feat that other graphic design survey texts have not accomplished. The methods used to produce the other survey texts have prevented them from providing such a thoroughly contextualised view of graphic design artefacts.

Although it has many strengths, Drucker and McVarish's book fails to address the political context of graphic design artefacts. Despite their methodological innovation, their treatment of artefacts does not consider questions of power or political use. This is particularly striking in the sections dealing with overly political design artefacts such as war propaganda posters (Drucker & McVarish, 2008, p. 240).

One ambitious project using historical sociology is Esbester's various histories of nineteenth century railway timetables in England. Esbester's narrative focusses on railway timetables, but is also permeated with contextual information about their production and use, as well as interpretations of their meaning. He

shows greater depth of engagement with his subject matter than many graphic design historians in his discussion of meaning of tabular information in society at the time. His suppositions about the 'grammar of the timetable' are original and compelling (Esbester, 2009, p. 97). Through the study of railway timetables, Esbester provides insight into the changing perception of time and space in the nineteenth century England.

A notable design historical study of corporate identity from outside of the field of graphic design history is sociologist Adrian Forty's holistic, sociological critique of the corporate identity of London Transport in 1995. Whereas surveys of a particular corporate identity usually encompass the logo, printed materials and signage of a company, in his study Forty also considers how the corporate identity was communicated through the overall plans for, and smallest details of, London Transport's stations, trains and buses. He argues that London Transport's attention to detail in supporting the corporate identity through every designed object was motivated by significant management problems. To increase profitability, the organisation needed people to travel more, and to increase employee morale and therefore productivity, management needed employees to identify with what was, at the time, a new organisation. A strong corporate identity was considered an effective way to achieve both these ends (Forty, 1995, p. 231).

1.4.3. Semiotics

Some of the early efforts to move away from connoisseurship method and hagiographic method in graphic design history came from design practitioners turned historians such as Hollis and Per Mollerup, both of whom used a semiotic framework to interpret design artefacts. Semiotics, or, as it is called by some, semiology, is 'the study of non-linguistic sign systems' using linguistic analyses and methods, based on the work of linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (Guirard, 1975, p. 1). Semiotician Pierre Guirard explains that semiotics is the study of signs in communication through a linguistic model because 'language is the most powerful and elaborate system of such signs' (Guirard, 1975, p. vii). More recent work has adapted Saussure's approach to applying language structures to the study of non-linguistic sign systems, making it somwhat more flexible. However, contemporary semioticians share with their forefathers the assumption that visual communication adheres to formal structures (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 20).

Coming from a cultural studies perspective, Hollis attempted to use semiotics to demonstrate how design artefacts mediate the social world (Drucker, 2009, p. 57; Hollis, 2001, p. 7). Mollerup used semiotics differently, as he comes from a more modernist-inspired practise perspective. In his study of trademarks, Mollerup uses semiotics to help explain how trademarks function, and to classify developments in the history of trademarks (Mollerup, 1998, p. 99).

Although semiotics has been used widely in graphic design history, its use has long been questioned

(Dondis, 1973, p. 68; Large, 1989, pp. 7-8). The application of linguistics to non-linguistic subjects has been a particular cause for criticism (Gagliardi, 1990, p. 29; Meggs & Purvis, 2006, p. 209). Even the Foreword to Guirard's book suggests that although thinking about semiology may be useful, it may be more beneficial for researchers to consider its ideas rather than to strictly adhere to the methods of formal semiotic analysis (Guirard, 1975, p. viii). This is sage advice from the author himself, since in semiology, 'symbolic structures were assumed to be timeless: little attention was paid to how such structures maintained their stability, what could cause them to change, and what generated them in the first place' (Hodder & Hutson, 2003, p. 126). Therefore semiotics is, in a sense, anti-historical; it does not account for change over time or culturally changed meaning.

Still, semiotics is pervasive as a tool used in design research and graphic design history. There is a common misunderstanding among many design researchers that all communication is equivalent to language. Intellectual historian Hayden White suggests this is a common misunderstanding across all the human sciences, due to academics equating language with representation. This is attributable to the influence of French Structuralists, who held the view that not only all representation, but all human phenomena could be considered in linguistic terms. White and Foucault argue that language is one of many tools used to represent, but that representation exists apart from language, and can be communicated independently of linguistics (White, 1973, p. 32). Communication

then, is concerned with representation, and the representation may or may not involve linguistic form. Many communication systems, even sophisticated ones, exist without linguistic structure, and often rely on non-linguistic visual cues. Some developments in cognitive psychology over the last 20 years support this view, and the distinction between linguistic and non-linguistic communication is now commonly accepted in anthropology (Hodder, 1994, p. 163). Anthropologist Christopher Tilley puts it perhaps the most succinctly when he says 'a design is not a word and a house is not a text' (Tilley, 2002, p. 23).

Non-linguistic visual communication (that is, everything we can see that does not involve words) shares some fundamental similarities with language, however they differ enough to render analyses of visual communication based on linguistic structures somewhat restricted. Effective communication through written and spoken language follows relatively static and repeated patterns and structures that lend themselves to formalist analysis. Although these rules are broken on a daily basis in common language use and are constantly evolving, they are still widely understood (Fromkin, Rodman, Collins & Blair, 1996, p. 122). For example, it is possible to assess, with a high degree of accuracy, an individual's proficiency at a particular language, and to measure the effectiveness of functional linguistic communication. Patterns and structures are also discernable in visual communication, but they are neither as static or widely understood as the rules in language (Dondis, 1973, p. 68).

While the effectiveness of visual communication is definitely discernable, for example in the affinity or repulsion people feel for particular motifs, symbols, photographic images or artworks, visual communication is not measurable in the same ways that language is. This is because visual communication contains more variables than linguistic communication, consisting of a larger number of symbols from a variety of structured and unstructured communication systems, of which written language is only one. The interpretation of the complex mix of these various symbols and communicative systems renders interpretation of visual communication far more dependent on the cultural background and prior experience of the viewer than interpretation of written or spoken language. The environmental and cultural context of visual communication affects understanding of it to a far greater extent than that of written or spoken language.

Methodologically, semiotics stems from an empiricist, structuralist tradition. Practically speaking, semiotic analysis has proved unhelpful for presenting observations on the relationship between government emblems and governance. Specifically, Guirard's suggestion that certain kinds of communication and knowledge are objective, including insignia such as government emblems, clashes with the premise of this study, namely, that subjective governance ideologies are communicated through government emblems (Guirard, 1975, p. 38).

1.5. Limitations

Each of the five methods outlined above contain inherent limitations that this thesis seeks to address. Each relies on established archives, places importance on authorship, and has an empirical theoretical foundation.

1.5.1. Established Archives

Several historians identify the limitations placed on graphic design history by archives, collectors and difficulties of accessing archives (Drucker, 2011, p. 199; Lavin, 1998, p. 1; Triggs, 2009, p. 328). Triggs observes that copyright permission can be difficult to obtain. Lavin argues that historians are dependent on the tastes of collectors for the histories they end up writing. Drucker notes that widespread digitization of old artefacts theoretically makes access easier, but in practise sometimes makes access harder to acquire. Growing awareness of digital rights management and generally increased digital literacy among corporations, art galleries and museums frequently results in access policies that make study of large collections or large images too impractical within common time and funding restraints of academic research.

Taken together, Drucker, Lavin and Triggs make a compelling case that archive access is highly problematic for graphic design historians. Rather than this being a problem for graphic design history per se, the historian argues that it is a problem of dependence on existing archives. This is not a new or unique problem; typographer Frederick Burgess was lamenting the increasing difficulties of accessing type

specimen books in 1966 (Burgess, 1966, p. 3). Luckily, present day historians have new tools for dealing with this challenge, tools that make finding solutions more efficient and effective than it was for Burgess and his peers.

As Drucker states, digitisation has become easier. Affordable documentation and reproduction technologies, in the form of smart phones, cameras and tablets, are everyday household items for many people, including historians. And as graphic design scholar Paul Rennie observes, graphic design artefacts are ubiquitous (Rennie, 2010, p. 435). Potential subjects are plentiful and readily available in the public domain, and our documentation of them is entirely legal. Most of us have the technology, and (usually) the skills for documentation.

Another source of graphic design artefacts is online photo sharing websites. Many people share their high quality digital photographs under 'copyleft' licences that grant permission for anyone to use them. Photographs shared under creative commons licences on websites such as wikicommons and flickr abound in photographs of graphic design artefacts, ordinary and unusual, old and relatively new. Yet another source that may become increasingly accessible is the archives of graphic design firms. Such sources will seldom unearth treasures from the Bauhaus or the entire works of a particular designer, but, given the widespread criticisms of graphic design histories that document 'more of the same', perhaps this is not a bad thing.

Preservation

Preservation presents several problems for historians interested in government emblems, as well as archivists. Historians can only research graphic design artefacts that have been preserved in some way, either through storage of the artefact itself or documentation of the artefact. To be preserved, the artefact must seem worthy of storage to someone and be readily stored in a format that can be accessed and used by future historians (Guyatt, 2010, p. 35). As has been shown, government emblems have little to recommend them in the common understanding of valuable design relics, as they are often anonymously designed, seldom considered beautiful design and are, in essence, immaterial artefacts. Graphic design historians commonly draw on design archives held in museums and university libraries for materials, and government emblems are not likely to be included in such archives. Where government emblems are preserved, it is often incidentally, on the cover of a government report, for example. The emblem's presence is unlikely to be recorded in many archives, and thus they are unsearchable. The historian looking for emblems is more likely to stumble upon them randomly than find them as a result of a considered search.

In the unlikely event that an archivist would want to preserve design files, their intangible nature would create problems. Only an archivist with expert knowledge of digital design files would be able to preserve government emblems in their original, digital format. Because this combination of skills, archiving and vector manipulation, is not common, the museum

or library interested in preserving emblems can only collect the physical representations of the emblem. This is akin to collecting impressions made by a stamp but not the stamp itself.

The hypothetical situation above also assumes the archivist would have adequate access to the emblems. Access is not easy for several reasons. Firstly, digital design files, while common when emblems are in use, tend to be deleted from most sources when they are superseded. Digital versions of emblems are most likely to be found in the archives of their creators, but, as so many emblems have unknown authorship, this is not particularly helpful to the archivist. In the case that digital files were given to a museum or university collection, there is the challenge of storage format. Over the last thirty years many different physical storage formats have been used, as well as digital file formats. The archivist who would successfully archive the digital vector version of a government emblem would also need to be expert at negotiating these logistics.

1.5.2. Authorship

Writing histories of government emblems presents difficulties for the historian, the biggest being their questionable authorship. This makes them an inconvenient subject for the historian who adheres to connoisseurship method, since they do not fit easily into the categories already described earlier in this chapter. The individual designers of government emblems are generally not well known and are rarely publicised. It is not in the interests of governments to acknowledge individual authorship of government

emblems, since they are part of a nation building symbolism, whether on a national, sub- or supra-national level (Martínez, 2008, p. 233). With the exception of high profile national and city government emblems, it is seldom in the interests of designers to promote their authorship of government emblems either, since government work is commonly regarded as unappealing for potential commercial clients — it is rarely spectacular or enticing in a designerly sense — and government work is not sought by many studios (Cozzolino, 2008).

When the designer is known, authorship is not necessarily attributable to the designer or his or her studio alone. Martínez suggests that government emblems should be considered as joint works of the design studio/artist and the government, given that the process by which they are created is collaborative far beyond the order of general commercial work by studios (Martínez, 2006, p. 53). Although government managers often commission graphic designers to carry out emblem work, both managers and designers must work with, and seek approval from, elected politicians throughout the design process. Martínez argues that the emblems resulting from this process cannot be solely attributable to the designer or the elected officials.

1.5.3. Empiricism

As well as being the name of a particular historical method, empiricism is also a theory of knowledge with a long history. Empiricism is central to most historical inquiry. As historians Anna Green and Kathleen Troup observe, 'Almost all historians use empiricism in

conjunction with any other theoretical perspective which they might adopt' (Green & Troup, 1999, p. viii). All of the existing methods in graphic design history described previously rely on an empiricist understanding of knowledge. Empiricism began among the Greek philosophers known as the Empiric School. These philosophers were notable for their primary method of inquiry, which was observation of phenomena. Empiricism holds that 'all knowledge of real existence must be based on the senses or self-consciousness, that is, experience' (Meyers, 2006, p. 2). In other words, knowledge can only be gained from personal observation.

In historical investigation, empiricism translates as the assumption that it is possible to objectively observe and describe the world, and that impartial observation and description is the historian's responsibility. Although empiricism is still favoured by the majority of historians, it has been widely criticised in other academic fields (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 1; Gupta, 2006, p. 13). Academics working in psychology, for example, have found empiricism to be particularly problematic when dealing with with visual materials (Reavey, 2011, p. 6).

Among graphic design historians, Drucker has been the lone sceptical voice about empiricism. She argues that particular graphic design histories have flawed methodologies because of their empirical underpinning (Drucker, 2009, p. 63). However, her arguments are relevant to the vast majority of graphic design histories.

Drucker's arguments are compelling, and prompt reflection on what a history built on an alternative methodological foundation might look like. In

epistemiology, relativism is diametrically opposed to empiricism. Relativism holds that there is no possibility of objectivity, and little certainty of knowing. The following chapter presents an in-depth investigation of various relativist concepts in order to establish an alternative methodological foundation for a graphic design history method (discursive method, presented in chapter three).

Conclusion

The literature review presented in this chapter has identified three common methods used in histories of graphic design artefacts, and two lesser known ones. In the course of this review, it has become apparent to the historian that government emblems have rarely been studied in graphic design history because the methods used in the field to date cannot readily accommodate them. In his book *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method*, Fallan argues that 'one might ask how long it is necessary and legitimate to keep on castigating the masterpiece approach' (Fallan, 2010, p. 52). He suggests that the design history methodologies currently in use are sufficient and that critiques of the traditional methodological approaches are something of an irrelevance today. This first chapter has detailed the relative strengths and weaknesses of five existing approaches. Despite their attempts to address graphic design history's methodological challenges, many of the authors proposing alternatives continue to propagate inherent structural problems with the canon (Nooney, 2006, p. 32). Despite significant contributions from other fields, graphic design history methodologies have yet to be significantly altered (Hannah & Putnam, 1996, p. 135).

In her summary of developments in design history methodology, design historian Denise Whitehouse celebrates Forty and Lupton's books as the most promising examples of original and pioneering methodological rigour (Whitehouse, 2009, p. 58). That these scholars both have multi-disciplinary backgrounds confirms design historians Hazel Clark & David Brody's

claim that 'the design historian needs a broad historical, social, cultural, and political understanding, especially when working beyond the established parameters of Western modernism' (Clark & Brody, 2009, p. 9).

The existing literature contains many suggestions as to how graphic design histories might be conducted, and several calls for new methods; this thesis selectively answers these calls. It takes up Martínez's suggestion of the potential significance of studying national symbols and could be considered an extension of his project (Martínez, 2008, p. 235). It also attends to Clark, Brody and Walker's observations that the design historian benefits from a broad, interdisciplinary knowledge base to do her subject justice (Clark & Brody, 2009, p. 9; Walker, 1989, p. ix). This thesis strives to reach beyond what historian Victor Margolin has called 'the hegemony of interpretations that dominate the field of design history as it currently exists' (Margolin, 2009b, p. 489). The historian argues that the hegemony of interpretations Margolin mentions consists of the dominance of connoisseurship method, hagiographic method and empirical method in the field.

To explore an alternative to empiricism as a theoretical foundation for history methods, the following chapter introduces key concepts and figures in relativist thought: the Annales school of history, Hayden White, Foucault's approach to history and his thoughts on communication, discourse, government and power. These ideas have been advocated by several graphic design historians and design historians generally as being helpful for avoiding common pitfalls of graphic design history. However, none of these ideas have been

developed into a working method for use in graphic design history as yet. After chapter two explores these concepts fully, a graphic design history method derived from them, discursive method, is presented in chapter three.

2. METHODOLOGY:

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR A NEW METHOD

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction

The previous chapter, Literature Review, identified several methods used in histories of graphic design artefacts and described each method in detail. Each method was critiqued and it was established that none of them are appropriate for studying government emblems, or for writing an artefact-led history. A lack of in-depth reflection on the relationship between graphic design artefacts and power was also identified.

This chapter investigates theoretical approaches used outside the field of graphic design history, in an endeavour to establish rigorous theoretical foundations on which to build an appropriate method for writing a history that not only utilises government emblems but is led by them. In doing so, this chapter answers calls among design historians for more rigour in the selection and use of methods (Margolin, 2009a, p. 97; Raizman & Gorman, 2007, p. x; Whitehouse, 2009, p. 59). The theoretical investigations in this chapter are put to use in chapter three, where discursive method is outlined. Chapters four and five contain the artefact-led history of governance that is essentially the findings of using discursive method.

This chapter draws on theories that, although disparate, all take a relativist approach to research. Relativism is one perspective on the acquisition and use of knowledge, a perspective which has been prevalent in academic research from ancient Greece to the present day. It is perhaps most easily understood as oppositional to empiricism, the belief that there are absolute truths and definitive facts about the world to be discovered (Baghramian, 2004, p. 4).

The first section, Investigating, draws on historians and philosophers who share a relativist approach to research. This first section builds a philosophical case for using government emblems as primary source material. Starting with contributions from the Greek Sceptics, this section continues with theories from Foucault and White. Some insights into investigation from post processual archaeology are also used. By drawing on these scholars and approaches, the Investigating Emblems section presents some workable relativist principles that are relevant to research investigation generally. Finally, the Investigating section argues for a relativist approach to history in terms of artefact collection and analysis.

The second section, Forming History, looks at relativist principles that are specifically useful for the formation of historical narratives. Where the previous section on investigation was broad, this section is narrow, focussing on how other historians have worked with relativist principles in the past. For this it draws on the work of Marc Bloch, co-founder of the Annales School, as well as the work of Foucault and White. From these sources, some general principles to guide the formation of a relativist historical narrative are established. It argues that emphasising context and possibility and avoiding disciplinary prejudices are central to establishing a relativist narrative formation process.

Although these theories have seldom been discussed in the graphic design history literature, several graphic design historians, as well as historians in the broader academic community, have advocated for their use. Among graphic design historians, interest in the

relativist position, peaked during the mid-1990s (Blauvelt, 1994a, p. 199; Blauvelt, 1994b, p. 213; Bush, 1994, p. 228; Lupton & Miller, 1996/2008, pp. 9, 66). However, in the last two decades the Annales school and Foucault have received the occasional mention in critical graphic design history literature (Drucker & McVarish, 2008, pp. 314-315; Margolin, 2009a, p. 100).

The third section of this chapter, Incorporating Power, begins by exploring various historical understandings of power. This start is used in order to situate the discussion of the relativist perspective on power that makes up the bulk of this section. Foucault's understanding of power as a capacity is explained, after which the relationships in his work between power, knowledge and communication are closely examined. After this, the section theorises the relationship between government emblems and power. The Incorporating Power section ends with an exploration of power as government and the relationship between governments, governance and the notion of embodied governance.

The fourth and final section, Identifying Embodied Discourses, further elaborates how government emblems participate in power exchanges. It introduces the concept of discourse technologies, offering them as the theoretical basis for how government emblems contribute to power exchanges and contain evidence of past power exchanges. This final section offers a means to examine government emblems as primary source material, allowing them to be used in much the same way as text-based archives are typically used as a starting point for histories.

It should be noted that while this chapter draws heavily on Foucault's work, the methods he proposed for history writing — archaeology and genealogy — are not addressed in this thesis. Rather than focus on Foucault's methods, this chapter employs his work on history and power generally. Foucault's work on power is of more relevance for investigating graphic design artefacts than the methods he developed. Also, Foucault seldom used genealogy (the method he devised for examining power) himself, suggesting its formation was more of an intellectual exercise than a sincere attempt at creating a workable method for future use.

2.1. Investigating

This section introduces a relativist approach to research investigation generally. The key relativist thinkers discussed in this section are the ancient Greek Pyrrhonic sceptics; the Annales School of historians, originally from 20th century France but working globally up to the present; twentieth century French philosopher Michel Foucault; contemporary American intellectual historian Hayden White; and interpretive archaeologists, such as Clifford Geertz and Ian Hodder. This section introduces two key concepts relevant to a relativist investigation, suspending judgement and describing as investigating (see Figure 2.1.A).

| SUSPENDING JUDGEMENT |
| 1ST AND 2ND ORDER JUDGEMENTS |
| SUSPENDING 2ND ORDER JUDGEMENTS |
| DESCRIBING AS INVESTIGATING |
| FACETED CLASSIFYING |

Figure 2.1.A.
Principles of investigating

2.1.1. Suspending Judgement

Suspension of judgement was a key concept to the Pyrrhonic Sceptics. In ancient Greece, there were two schools of Sceptics: the academic, after the famous learning institution the Academy; and the Pyrrhonic, followers of Pyrrho (Bosley & Tweedale, 2006, p. 406; Kuzminski, 2010, p. 5; Perin, 2010, p. 2). Of the two schools, the academic sceptics generally asserted that no-one can know anything; this was one of the more extreme philosophic positions in ancient Greece. The Pyrrhonic Sceptics had a more moderate view along the same lines, suggesting that 'we cannot know anything, *including the fact that we cannot know anything*' (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 10, their emphasis). The second part of this statement moderates the first by further extending the commitment to relativism, and thereby acknowledging the possibility that the sceptical position may be wrong. This position is sometimes

referred to as epistemological scepticism, since it is concerned with the nature of knowledge and justified belief (Schmitt, 1992, p. 30).

Pyrrhonic Sceptics held that there was no such thing as an absolute truth apart from, perhaps, this one statement. The positivist philosophers of the time, including Aristotle, believed absolute truth was a certainty that could be arrived at through logical deduction. He used his famous deductive oratory to illuminate the truth through a series of questions that lead to a seemingly inevitable, and truthful conclusion. In contrast, the Pyrrhonic Sceptics considered truth to be entirely relative, and based in individual perception (Perin, 2010, p. 5). They conceded that any fact or thing could appear truthful when looked at from one point of view, but also pointed out how each 'truth' could be proved a fallacy when considered from another perspective (Kuzminski, 2010, p. 26).

In the practise and teaching of Pyrrhonic scepticism, competing answers to a question were argued with equal force, presenting each question as intractable. The constant practise of this style of debate resulted in an understanding of the impossibility of establishing objective truth and absolute good or bad, as well as highlighting the arbitrariness of judgement. This practise came to be known as 'suspensive method' (Bosley & Tweedale, 2006, p. 405; Vogt, 2011, p. 36).

Suspending judgement is a unique starting point for investigation generally, as it directs the historian to acknowledge the subjectivity of her own observations, and away from efforts to gain objectively 'true' findings. In this respect, it is perhaps an appropriate

starting point in a search for alternative approaches to graphic design artefacts, since judgements of quality, beauty or utility are common criteria for selection of graphic design artefacts to be included or excluded in histories. As has been discussed in chapter one, government emblems are not particularly beautiful, or representative of design 'quality' by any measure. It is therefore fitting to start this methodological inquiry with suspending judgement, a concept that renders such criteria unnecessary and allows government emblems to remain a worthy subject of research.

Without further clarification, suspending judgement may seem cynical. Abandoning judgements in research is perhaps a daunting, let alone seemingly impossible, prospect. However, a couple of related concepts help to make this position workable. Modern philosophers studying the Pyrrhonic position argue that suspension of judgement relates only to suspending those judgements it is possible to suspend. Several contemporary relativist philosophers use the notion of first order judgements and second order judgements. R.J. Hankinson, for example, acknowledges that we can only suspend judgements that we are conscious of making. There are a whole realm of judgements we make constantly and that we are not aware of, either because they appear to us to be objective truths, or because we do not notice we are making them (Hankinson, 1999, pp. 42-43).

First & second order judgements

To clarify the Pyrrhonic position, relativist philosophers commonly separate all judgements into first and second order judgements (Hankinson, 1999, pp. 42-43). First order judgements are not judgements in the strict sense, as they do not relate to belief as such. Rather, the term 'first order judgement' is a way of referring to 'implicit judgements made within cognitive systems', or judgements people make when they intend to state a fact (Chalmers, 2004, p. 233). Another way of explaining this is that first order judgements describe the 'phenomenal experience' of a situation without intentional judgement of that situation (Mölder, 2010, p. 248).

The example Hankinson gives of a first order judgement is the statement 'the wind is cold.' From the perspective of a person wearing inadequate clothing outside in cold and windy weather, this certainly appears to be true. From various other perspectives, such as that of a person wearing sufficient clothing in the same weather, or that of a scientist measuring temperature and wind speed, the statement could be considered false. The relative truth of this statement could therefore be stated as 'the wind is cold for you' or 'I think this wind is cold' (Hankinson, 1999, p. 43). The addition of the words 'for you' or 'I think' both turn the statement into a second order judgement, because they add acknowledgement of context, demonstrating an awareness of the observer's personal bias.

Second order judgements are those people make when they are aware of expressing their own bias, opinion or preference. In this sense they can also be

FIRST ORDER JUDGEMENT

THE WIND IS COLD.

THE WIND IS STRONG.

SECOND ORDER JUDGEMENTS

I THINK THE WIND IS COLD.

THE WIND *FEELS* STRONG.

THE WIND IS *HORRIBLE*.

Figure 2.1.1.A.
Examples of first and second order judgements

considered reflective judgements or judgements about relative experience, because they include evidence of reflection on the part of the person making them (Chalmers, 2004, p. 176; Mölder, 2010, p. 248). Extending the example of wind statements, 'the wind feels strong' and 'the wind is horrible' are both second order judgements. The first statement is a second order judgement because the emotive word 'feels' acknowledges personal bias. The second statement is a second order judgement because the pejorative term 'horrible' reflects an opinion.

Consideration of first and second order judgements is a rare and somewhat idiosyncratic starting point for historical investigation. However, an understanding of first and second order judgements helps to refine the concept of suspending judgements, providing a rigorous theoretical basis for development of a relativist historical method. It suggests that while observations are subjective, some are more subjective than others; specifically, that second order judgements are more subjective than first order judgements (see Figure 2.1.1.A).

Conditions affecting first order judgements
Philosopher David Chalmers explains his understanding of the relationship between experience and first order judgements as follows: 'Alongside every conscious experience there is a content-bearing cognitive state' (Chalmers, 2004, p. 177). The content-bearing cognitive state is his reference to a first order judgement; what one's brain does in immediate response to the external stimulus of an experience. This cognitive state, or first order judgement, is subjective in the sense that it is

influenced by conditions of the present and the past that the person making the judgement is unaware of. The relative truth of first order judgements — in spite of their apparent solidity to the person making them at the time they are made — is evident in the case of hallucinations and dreams. It is possible to have a content-bearing cognitive state without an associated external experience (Chalmers, 2004, p. 220).

At every moment, all people, including researchers, are subject to a myriad of influences, many of which we are not conscious of on a daily, let alone moment by moment, basis. These influences nevertheless affect behaviour, observations and thought, allowing relative statements to appear absolutely true to any one person, within their specific circumstances.

FACTORS	CONDITIONS OF THE PAST	CONDITIONS OF THE PRESENT
INTERNAL	ATTITUDES	ATTITUDE
	OBSERVATIONS	EMOTION
	MEMORIES	MENTAL RESOURCES
	STRESS	STRESS
EXTERNAL	*previous exposure to situation and similar situations*	ENVIRONMENT
		PHYSICAL RESOURCES

Figure 2.1.1.B. **Conditions contributing to the relativity of first order judgements**

Figure 2.1.1.B lists some of the conditions that contribute to the inherent, but usually unnoticed, subjectivity of first order statements. The table in Figure 2.1.1.B is divided into two kinds of conditions (past and present), and two kinds of factors (internal and external), which overlap. 'Internal factors' refers to conditions within each person's mind and body, and 'external factors' refers to conditions existing outside of the individual. 'Conditions of the past' that affect observation in the present include previous exposure to the situation, and accumulated past attitudes, memories and observations, as well as previously

experienced stress. 'Conditions of the present' that affect observation in the present include environment and physical resources (external factors), present attitude or state of mind, present emotional state, available mental resources or skills, and current stress levels (internal factors). Second order judgements are influenced by all of the above, as well as the observer's intended contribution of a particular judgement or stance. No matter how objective or true a statement appears to the person making it, the conditions listed in Figure 2.1.1.B inevitably ensure that the statement will not be true for all people.

Suspending second order judgements

Some of the Foucault's work on the nature of historical inquiry has resonance with these categories. Although he did not use the term first order judgement, Foucault elaborated upon how first order judgements affect the observer. This was in his effort to emphasise how some things appear obvious to the observer, while others do not appear at all. For example, in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault refers to the simultaneity of that which is 'already-said' and 'never-said.' This can be taken to mean that every statement found in the historical record is significant for both what it states, and what it omits (Foucault, 1969/2008, p. 27).

This is the revealing aspect of first order judgements for the historian: what documents and artefacts state and what they omit is indicative of the first order judgements of the person who made them, and therefore what is was acceptable to say in the context in which the document or artefact was used.

Considering a large number of documents from a given place and time gleans a large number of first order judgements, and from these the historian can make observations about what was visible and prescient in a particular place and time. Critical theorist John Rajchman elaborates on this point as it relates to vision:

> Foucault's hypothesis was that there exists a sort of "positive unconscious" of vision which determines not what is seen, but what can be seen. His idea is that not all ways of visualising or rendering visible are possible at once. A period only lets some things be seen and not others. It "illuminates" some things and so casts others in the shade. There is much more regularity, much more constraint, in what we can see than we suppose (Rajchman, 1988, p. 92, his emphasis).

Although Foucault does not refer to the Pyrrhonic Sceptics explicitly, his work shares their view of the subjectivity of knowledge and observation, as Rajchman highlights in the passage above. The unconscious constraint that guides what we see and do, along with how we act, was an enduring topic of interest for Foucault. Specifically, he was interested in observing the biases inherited by institutions, places, periods of time, and by the people who inhabit them. This emphasis is particularly evident in *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 1966/2009, p. xxii).

Foucault argues that researchers' attempts at explanation can only ever be descriptions of their own prejudices and are therefore only interesting to the extent that the historian himself is an object of study (White, 1973, p. 29). For Foucault, who was perhaps

more relativist than Pyrrhonic Sceptics, the significance of historical research was in its capacity to reveal the unconscious biases contained within first order judgements (Foucault, 1969/2008, pp. 11-12). In their book *Using Foucault's Methods*, Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham suggest avoiding second order judgements during investigation for this reason (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 13).

Foucauldian scholars have suggested that, contrary to commonly held views on research rigour, observation's subjective quality is potentially valuable for investigation. Subjectivity is considered so valuable by Kendall and Wickham that, for relativist investigation, they suggest first order judgements be collected alone, unsullied by second order judgements. In this stance they exhibit a relativist position that all investigation is fundamentally a reflection of the investigator, as much as a study of what is being investigated. This, Kendall and Wickham suggest, is the main strength of investigation (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 15).

Suspending second order judgements moves the historian still further away from familiar ground, particularly when it comes to histories of graphic design artefacts. The opinions and preferences that constitute second order judgements are frequently the main content of histories of these artefacts (see 1.1 on page 51). Histories of artefacts are typically critiques of them also, and critiques are inherently second order judgements.

2.1.2. Describing as Investigating

Avoiding explanation necessarily includes avoiding any kind of conscious analysis of the artefacts, events and phenomena to be studied, therefore posing a challenge for investigation. For investigation without explanation or second order judgements, the historian is left with one primary tool, that of description. While explanation relies on second order judgements, description can be made using first order judgements alone. First order judgements accumulate through researchers' efforts to state facts about what is being investigated. In this way, researchers describe their own, relative truths regarding the objects of their study. While these descriptions are inevitably reflective of the historian, they also provide some information about what is being studied. From the Foucauldian perspective, these relative truth statements are the closest that research can come to its aim. From a Pyrrhonic perspective, appearances and thoughts regarding those appearances are the sum of knowledge (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 11).

Description provides more scope for investigation than may, at first, seem possible. From the 1970s to the present, anthropologists and archaeologists have applied similarly relativist understandings of knowledge to their archaeological work, with some opting for a primarily descriptive research method (Hammersley, 2008, p. 53). Conversely, historians have long benefitted from the complementary methods of anthropologists (Biersack, 1989, p. 72). This reciprocal exchange has facilitated the development of 'cultural histories' in which relativist principles are applied to the study of material artefacts. Geertz and Hodder are the

most prominent and ardent proponents of description in anthropological method, with Geertz developing 'thick description' and Hodder advocating for the significance of description in anthropology (Biersack, 1989, p. 75; Geertz, 1973, p. 3; Hodder & Hutson, 2003, p. 193).

Faceted classifying

The only way of investigating graphic design artefacts from a relativist position is through the use of a faceted classification system. Faceted classification is a non-linear classification system wherein particular artefact attributes are identified (as facets) and assigned to groups (facet groups, see Figure 2.1.2.A). These groups can be hierarchical, but do not have to be. Facets can also be poly-hierarchical, meaning that any individual facet can have more than one hierarchical superior. In this regard, facets are sometimes referred to has having 'multiple inheritance' (Frické, 2010, p. 50). Faceted classification has the advantage of being a flexible system in which multiple facets can be assigned to each artefact, and ordered in multiple ways (Satija, 2002, p. 87). Hierarchical and horizontal relationships between particular facets and facet groups can easily be established in faceted classification systems. These relationships within and between facet groups allow minimal use of second order judgements when describing artefacts.

From the 1920s to the 1960s, librarian Shiyali Ranganathan developed a comprehensive philosophy of faceted classification. He also developed a working library classification system, the Colon classification

COLOUR
BLUE
BROWN
GREEN
ORANGE
PURPLE
RED
YELLOW

Figure 2.1.2.A.
Example of a facet group
Each word representing a colour is a facet, and the facet group is 'colour.'

system, based on his theoretical work (Satija, 2002, p. 19). Since the publication of his work, faceted classification has been used widely in libraries, as well as in in website search classification systems (Frické, 2010, p. 44, 56).

When a faceted classification system is used to identify particular attributes of artefacts, each first order judgement about an artefact becomes one facet in the classification system. Certain facets will suggest their own facet groups, according to commonly observed groupings such as colours or typefaces. Other groupings may be determined according to what makes sense within the emblem archive. As faceted classification is a flexible system, categories from other knowledge systems can be used if they are helpful for describing artefact attributes.

In chapter three, a highly detailed description of the local government emblems is made using a faceted classification system. By identifying the various form and content attributes of the emblems, a large amount of information is gathered. This information is the primary source material for the history presented in chapters four and five. Using the faceted classification system to describe the various emblem attributes avoids the use of second order judgements as much as possible. It can be seen as an attempt to let the emblems speak for themselves as much as the historian's personal bias will allow. In this attempt, the method has a similar aspiration to interpretive archaeology, which also attempts to allow artefacts to speak for themselves (Hodder, 1994/2003, p. 165; Tilley, 2002, p. 25).

In his observations about the difficulties of writing history that is complementary to his ideas, Foucault also mentioned the problem of deciding which aspects of artefacts to focus on. The pruning step of discursive method, outlined in chapter three, avoids selection by authorship, judgements of quality, or rigid adherence to ordering by chronology. In so doing it offers a solution to the problem Foucault identified in following his historical method, archaeology (Foucault, 1969/2008, pp. 11-12; Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 22).

2.2. Forming History

This section elaborates on the relativist approach to investigation presented in the previous section, with specific attention given to principles that assist historians, and placing particular emphasis on forming historical narratives. Histories are inevitably shaped by the approach to narrative formation used by the historians who write them (Green & Troup, 1999, p. vii). In order to present a rigorously relativist history, a clear idea of the relativist concepts that may contribute to a relativist narrative formation is key. Most of the history-specific concepts cited in this section have been devised by Annales historians, but this section also includes contributions from Foucault and White, both of whom have extended the Annales position (Foucault, 1969/2008, p. 12; White, 1973, p. 32). The three principles relating to forming the history covered in this section are: emphasising historical accidents, spanning disciplines and contextualising (see Figure 2.2.A).

EMPHASISING HISTORICAL ACCIDENTS

KNOWLEDGE RUPTURES

HISTORIES OF THE PRESENT

SPANNING DISCIPLINES

CONTEXTUALISING

Figure 2.2.A.
Principles of forming history

2.2.1. Emphasising Historical Accident

Historical accident is a key concept of the Annales school of historians. The Annales school is a disparate group of historians, originating in France in the 1920s, but working globally today. Their name, Annales, is taken from the original name of the academic journal which champions their approach to historical inquiry. Established in 1929 by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* (1929-1939), is still published today (as *Annales. Histoire, Sciences, Sociales*). For the purposes of this methodological exploration, the general principles followed by Annales historians, and Bloch's work specifically, are

of most relevance. Febvre, the other principle historian associated with Annales, was somewhat dogmatic in his view of the uses of history, whereas Bloch was involved in in-depth questioning and with re-shaping historical method (Bentley, 1999, pp. 110-112).

Annales historians generally, including Bloch, wanted to write histories that encompassed people, environments and objects without regard for class, quality or nationality. Their focus was on 'questions and problems that had a direct bearing on the present' day experiences of large numbers of people (Febvre & Martin, 1976, p. 3). These aspirations are akin to those of many design historians today, particularly those calling for design histories with wider relevance (Margolin, 2009a, p. 97), global design histories (Whitehouse, 2009, p. 58) and histories of everyday objects (Margolin, 2009a, p. 103).

Like the Pyrrhonic Sceptics, the Annales school was established in opposition to a prevalent view. Where the Pyrrhonic Sceptics opposed the absolutism of the positivist philosophers and the academic sceptics, the Annales historians challenged the empiricist *belle epoque* form of history common in France. At the time, French historical research (apart from the work of controversial historian Henri Berr) comprised glorified stories of the aristocracy and of political events, in the tradition of influential German historian Leopold von Ranke (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 2). Ranke's work was popularised in France with the publication, in French, of a book introducing his method by Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos (*Introduction au Études*

Historiques, 1898). The *belle epoque* history that this work prompted was epitomised by the mainstream history journal *Revue Historique* (Bentley, 1999, p. 106).

Ranke's approach, emphasising evidence and objectivity, remains influential among most historians today (including some graphic design historians). However, the extreme empiricist theoretical foundation of this approach has come under attack from empiricist and relativist theorists alike (Priest, 1990/2007, p. 5). This extreme empiricism holds that there is an objective historical truth that can be ascertained through the discovery of facts in archives (Drucker, 2009, p. 63; Green & Troup, 1999, p. 1-2; Munslow, 2006, p. 106; von Ranke & Iggers, 2010, p. 38).

Bloch rejected several aspects of empiricist histories, including their focus on the establishment and use of causal logic to present their subjects as the inevitable results of progress (Bloch, 1953, p. 31). Instead, Bloch devotes much attention to emphasising the role of chance, multiple causes and various perspectives. He describes the importance of acknowledging how all historical events and artefacts are the result of multiple factors; they are accidents in the sense that they are one outcome from a range of infinite possibilities. Bloch illustrates the range of historical potentialities, as well as the human temptation to favour one event over others, with an analogy:

> *[W]herever fidelity to a belief is to be found, all evidences agree that it is but one aspect of the general life of a group. It is like a knot in which are*

intertwined a host of divergent characteristics of the
structure and mentality of a society (Bloch, 1953, p.
32).

Any one belief, event or personage, no matter how
compelling, is ultimately always one small part of a
much larger range of phenomena. Bloch continues to
emphasise the arbitrariness of historical events, and
the element of chance in human experience, in his
argument that the historian's main subject is change
(Bloch, 1953, p. 45). In this aspect, among others, his
work is reminiscent of the Pyrrhonic position. The
Pyrrhonic Sceptics also highlighted discrepancies and
balances between arguments, rather than investigating
arguments themselves (Vogt, 2011, p. 34).

Like Bloch, Foucault also addresses historical accident
(Foucault, 1976/2008, p. 22), though much of the time
he uses his own term 'conditions of possibility' to refer
to the same general concept (Foucault, 1966/2009,
p. xxiv; Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 5). The two
terms relate to each other in the sense that historical
accident arises from conditions of possibility, wherein
resultant relationships may be highlighted but none
are intentionally presented as being superior or more
influential than any other.

Emphasising the range of historical potentialities, in
an effort to avoid presenting historical sequences of
events as natural, was an enduring theme throughout
Foucault's career. He explores this aspect of history
methodology in *The Order of Things*, *The History
of Sexuality*, and several interviews and lectures. In
The Order of Things he uses conditions of possibility
as an antidote to what he calls 'idols of the tribe,

spontaneous fictions of the mind' that attribute a defined hierarchy on events in the form of causes and effects (Foucault, 1966/2009, p. 57). In the lecture 'Neitzche, Genealogy, History' he uses the concept to avoid the common temptation in historical inquiry of seeking origins (Foucault, 1971/2000, p. 372).

Foucault argues that any artefact, event or text can, and should be, viewed as an accumulation of chance historical decisions. His idea of history involves 'rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary' (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 76). As Foucault describes in the interview 'Questions of Method', discovery of what is presented as true and false at a particular historical juncture is at the heart of his interest in historical accident (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 79). Expanding this idea, this thesis explores how graphic design artefacts present versions of true and false in Victoria, Australia over time.

Knowledge ruptures

Foucault extends the notions of historical accident and conditions of possibility to their relativist extreme, formulating the concept of knowledge ruptures. Where Bloch is satisfied to observe that historical narrative inevitably emphasises certain historical accidents over others, both Foucault and White emphasise historical accident to the extent that they conclude that history comprises a series of fragments created through the occurrence of a specific kind of historical accident.

Foucault identifies historical accidents related to knowledge as being more significant than others, to the extent of permeating all events of an age. Both Foucault and White argue that these ruptures are significant subjects for historical investigation because they highlight sudden shifts in what is true and false for a particular group, profession or society (Dorfman, 2006, p. 14; Foucault, 1971/2008, pp. 371-372; Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 76; White, 1973, p. 32). For Foucault, the focus on ruptures is a reaction against what he calls 'continuous history', the presentation of historical events as the inevitable results of progress (Foucault, 1969/2008, p. 13).

These defining accidents are variously called archaeological shifts, epistemic breaks and knowledge ruptures in Foucault's work (Foucault, 1969/2008, p. 178; Foucault, 1971/2000, pp. 371-372). As the varying titles he uses for them suggest, Foucault's interest in knowledge ruptures changes over time. However, throughout his career he maintains a fascination with the points at which one widespread societal or professional understanding is usurped by another as evidenced by a sudden shift in thought and behaviour. For example, in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *Madness and Civilisation*, Foucault strives to look beyond accepted the spread of societal beliefs to the knowledge ruptures that prompted them (Foucault, 1969/2008, p. 181). Similarly, in *The History of Sexuality Volume I*, he focuses on rupture as a means to understand the changing relationship between sexuality and power (Foucault, 1976/2008, p. 10). Foucault describes this trend in his own work as 'establishing a

painstaking record of deviation' (Foucault, 1968/1991, p. 56). Such focus on discontinuity was once highly controversial among historians, but has more recently come to be accepted as a mainstream practise (Cannadine, 1992/2009, p. 107).

Histories of the present

'Histories of the present' is Foucault's way of describing how histories are inevitably comments on the present as much as the past (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 4). Bloch and Foucault were both interested in exploring the relationship of past events to the present (Burke, 1990, p. 15; Green & Troup, 1999, p. 302). In keeping with the relativist position, Bloch determined that, since all histories depend to a large extent on the historian and his present day context, the present is the most revealing starting point for any history. He suggests starting with evidence of past events that plainly appear in the present, such as the ruins of buildings, and working back through progressively older reference points. His reasoning is that the older a source is, the less reliable the evidence it provides will be (Bloch, 1953, p. 45).

In his own histories, Bloch demonstrates that the political and social construction of historical events and objects can be revealed by using the remnants of historical conditions that exist in the present as primary source material. Bloch successfully used elements of physical geography he could see in the present as clues to medieval land usage. His observations of the present were translated into usable historical evidence through the method of intense description. The

contemporary conditions were described down to the smallest details, and it was in those details that hints about past events were revealed. In his own historical investigations, Foucault fervently adheres to Bloch's method of observing what remains in the present that suggests existence of past conditions. He works backward from what exists in the present to build a picture of the disjunctures evident in a particular body of documentation (Foucault, 1966/2009, p. xxii).

This approach to historical investigation resembles forensic investigation and interpretive archaeology, in its preference for more readily available and more recent information. In history, however, Bloch's approach was controversial, reversing the common historical method of starting with the earliest available documentation or artefacts and adding more recent artefacts up to the point of historical interest (Bentley, 1999, pp. 111-112). The collecting step in chapter three employs Bloch's principle of beginning with what currently exists and is readily available, and working backwards. In order to do this, the chapter draws on knowledge from various disciplines.

2.2.2. Spanning Disciplines

The Annales school is best known for its commitment to interdisciplinarity. According to Lucien Febvre the other co-founder of the Annales school, Annales historians attempt to widen and humanise their histories by 'integrat[ing] insights and methodologies from disciplines as diverse as anthropology, geography, sociology, economics and psychology' (Febvre & Martin, 1976, p. 3). The original Annales historians embraced

methods from other disciplines to fulfill their vision of creating histories that addressed three themes: economy, society and civilisation (Vovelle, 1982, p. 4).

Foucault took the Annales commitment to interdisciplinarity even further. He considered the division of knowledge into various academic traditions arbitrary, and their apparent differences as illusions created by professional biases. It is 'our age and it alone,' Foucault says, that 'makes possible the appearance of that ensemble of texts which treat grammar, natural history, or political economy as so many objects' (Foucault, 1967b/2000, p. 286). His book *The Archaeology of Knowledge* can be seen as an attempt to illustrate the arbitrariness of these divisions.

Since the methods employed in the graphic design history literature do not address key methodological concerns mentioned in chapter one, the Annales approach's focus on interdisciplinarity is helpful for the study of graphic design artefacts. Walker and Bush have both argued that histories of artefacts require skills and methods derived from multiple disciplines. Walker cites the importance of identifying ideological, political and economic aspects of artefacts (Walker, 1989, p. ix). Bush mentions economics too, but also cites recognition of production as important (Bush, 1994, p. 228). Using skills and perspectives drawn from multiple disciplines is also helpful for contextualising graphic design artefacts within contemporary societal events.

2.2.3. Contextualising

Bloch, Foucault and White each used relativism in historical method in efforts to make the past more accessible to the present, and to show how the past is as strange as the present (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 301; Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 4). Their efforts at making the past accessible inevitably involved extensive contextualisation of their findings. Relating their subjects to broader circumstances of time, place and culture, these historians not only made their subjects accessible, but also compelling reading. Since Foucault and Bloch's experiment with context, its importance has been emphasised by archaeologists and political theorists alike (David, Sterner & Gavua, 1988, p. 366; Hamilton-Bleakley, 2006, p. 20; Hodder, 1994/2003, p. 166). Scholars from both of these fields have used context as a crucial adjunct in their respective searches for the meaning of their objects of study. Hodder advocates for the role of context in archaeological method, observing that 'the goal of interpretation is not direct translation, but understanding' (Hodder, 1994/2003, p. 167). According to Hodder, to understand artefacts from the past, contextualising them is essential.

Political theorist Holly Hamilton-Bleakley makes a similar point, with the additional argument that emphasis of context has the effect of lessening notions of authorial agency (Hamilton-Bleakley, 2006, p. 21). She argues that by studying context, and in particular, searching for the conditions and questions which prompted a certain text or event, the historian or

instigator's role is acknowledged, at the same time as being limited, by demonstrating how it fits among other circumstances (Hamilton-Bleakley, 2006, p. 23).

2.3. Incorporating Power

While the previous section addressed theory related to historical narrative formation, this section introduces a relativist understanding of power. This understanding compliments the principles of investigation and narrative discussed in the previous two sections. By exploring how power fits into a relativist understanding of knowledge, this section proposes a theory of how graphic design artefacts participate in exchanges of power and knowledge. It introduces key concepts from Foucault's work on power that have been influential across various disciplines: power as capacity, power/ knowledge and government (see Figure 2.3.A). The discussion in this section also provides context and grounding for the exploration of discourse in the following section.

Foucault became increasingly interested in power toward the end of his career, working on sophisticated critiques of how people use power to rule each other, and also to discipline their own bodies and minds. His investigations into governing others as well as oneself are epitomised by two works: an interview titled 'Space, Knowledge and Power' (Foucault, 1982a/2000, p. 357) and his influential lecture titled 'Governmentality' (Foucault, 1978/1991, p. 201). Additionally, Foucault delves deeper into the way people govern themselves in the three volumes of *The History of Sexuality* (Foucault, 1976/2008, p. 11).

Foucault explored the nature of power, identified specific ways power is exercised, and offered suggestions as to the dynamics or relationships that form during the exercise of power, all of which are

POWER AS CAPACITY

POWER/KNOWLEDGE

COMMUNICATION RELATIONSHIPS

GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL RULE

GOVERNMENTALITY

Figure 2.3.A.
Concepts regarding power

covered briefly in this section. From his investigations into power, three concepts have been identified that are of particular interest for the investigation of graphic design artefacts: power as capacity, communication relationships and government.

2.3.1. Power as Capacity

To understand the significance of Foucault's conception of power as a capacity, it is helpful to compare it with the prevailing view of power as a quantity, a view which pervades the small number of histories of graphic design artefacts that address political context. Throughout the history of Western political thought, power has been understood to be one of two things: 'a kind of generalized capacity to act' or the capacity, as well as the right, to act (Hindess, 1996, p. 1). From the middle of the seventeenth century until the 1970s, it was generally agreed that it was possible for a ruler to have absolute power over his subjects.

This view was greatly influenced by the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes' *The Leviathan*, in which he offers a theory of how rulers acquire sovereignty over lands and peoples. His theory was later named 'the social contract' by 18th century philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (Rousseau, 1762/1968, p. 60) and is known by that name today. According to this social contract, all people are born with certain freedoms and abilities to provide for themselves. However, in a 'state of nature,' people face constant mortal threats that lead them to group together for safety. Hobbes' understanding of the theoretical basis of sovereignty, loyalty and obligation of citizens to a state, involves

citizens of that state consensually giving up their freedoms to a ruler in return for the protection of the ruler and of society (Hobbes, 1651/1985, p. 237). This is the philosophical basis for the practical functioning of nation states today, and also forms the implicit basis of much academic research (Armitage, 2006, p. 221; MacDonald Ross, 2009, p. 165).

Beyond academic circles in which theories of power are extensively discussed, when questions relating to power arise, the Hobbesian view of power as quantity is generally assumed. Historians, in particular, have seldom investigated 'mechanisms of power', relying instead on an implicit understanding of power as quantitative (Foucault, 1975/1980, p. 50). For example, the quantitative view of power can be seen in Heller's book *Iron Fists*, in his implicit assumption that power was situated within the role of dictator in the various regimes he studies (Heller, 2008, p. 9).

Despite its prevalence, the social contract demonstrates a somewhat outmoded understanding of power and has consequently lost favour in many research disciplines in which power is closely studied. As political theorist Barry Hindess observes: 'Hobbes' argument here involves a confusion between the idea of power as a capacity and the idea of power as a right: a confusion that is endemic to modern political theory' (Hindess, 1996, p. 15). Hobbes' sovereignty rests on an idea of power as a measurable, tradable commodity; as something that can accumulate in objects, institutions, people, and positions. Following this idea, it would

theoretically be possible for particular artefacts to accumulate power through association and use; a king's crown, for example.

Foucault's work on power dictates that artefacts cannot accumulate power in this way, and that the appearance of an artefact having power is contingent upon the interests, values and prior knowledge of the users and viewers of the artefact, as well as the space it inhabits (Foucault, 1978/2008, p. 45). The artefact is only as powerful as the relationships in which it is enmeshed at a particular place and time.

Foucault's understanding of power challenges Hobbes' work, along with a considerable amount of political theory that builds upon Hobbesian sovereignty (Dean & Henman, 2004, p. 485). As the artefact example above suggests, Foucault understood power to be inherently dispersed in nature. His innovation was to conceive of power as a number of processes, of particular relationships and actions, rather than as fixed or containable. As a process, power is unquantifiable, potentially infinite and encompassing all 'attempts to influence the actions of those who are free' (Hindess, 1996, p. 18). In this definition, Hindess uses the term 'free' loosely, to refer to all individuals who have some level of capacity to make decisions about their own lives. Foucault elaborates that '[p]ower is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere' (Foucault, 1980b, p. 93). His description of power is much like a scientific definition of energy, in the sense that neither can be created or destroyed, but they can be transformed into different states.

2.3.2. Power/Knowledge

One of the main ways Foucault describes power transforming into different capacities is through its transmission via knowledge. He writes:

> *The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power.... knowledge and power are integrated with one another* (Foucault, 1975/1980, p. 52).

This assertion of the interdependency of knowledge and power, revolutionary at the time Foucault first made it, has led many researchers to refer to both phenomena with one term: power/knowledge. Juris Milestone elaborates on the uses of this hybrid power/knowledge in human organisation, arguing that the power exchanges inherent in human endeavour necessarily organise and systematise knowledge, resulting in the separation of knowledge into various disciplines (Milestone, 2007, p. 179). Knowledge disciplines, such as science, art and history, are disciplinary in the sense that they are formed through exercises of power. Once formed, they are inevitably used to manipulate people as particular kinds of groups (for example, as citizens, delinquents or patients).

In this understanding, all knowledge disciplines and systems rely on power relations as 'the exercise of power itself creates new bodies of knowledge (Foucault, 1975/1980, p. 51). The reverse is also true: the exercise of power depends upon creation of new knowledge and its transfer.

Communication and power/knowledge

The processes of systematising and transferring knowledge necessarily involve communication (Foucault, 1968/1991, p. 59). Attempts to harness power therefore always involve some level of communication. Foucault describes power and communication as interdependent capacities. A capacity can be understood as a potential to act; where there is no potential to communicate or exchange power, there is no capacity. Foucault refers to this situation of incapacity as a neutral capacity (Foucault, 1982, p. 790). Of communication as a capacity, he writes:

> *communicating is always a certain way of acting upon another person or persons… the production and circulation of elements of meaning can have as their objective or as their consequence certain results in the realm of power… by virtue of modifying the field of information between partners* (Foucault, 1982, p. 786–787).

Although Foucault cautiously uses the wording 'can have' in the passage above, the historian argues that communication always has results in the realm of power. It should be noted here that Foucault acknowledged his own lack of expertise in this area, and consequently tended to be conservative in his speculation about communication generally and visual communication specifically (Foucault, 1982b/2000, p. 224). Foucault's reserve notwithstanding, communication is integral to the expression of power, and vice versa. As discussed earlier in this section, power's hybrid nature, inextricably tied

up with knowledge, renders the exercise of power dependent on knowledge networks. In turn, transfer or dissemination of knowledge requires communication. Therefore, the extent that artefacts communicate is the extent to which they have a capacity of power.

In 'Space, Knowledge and Power' Foucault also identifies the 'technicians or engineers' of communication as crucial to the exercise of power from the nineteenth century until the present (Foucault, 1982a/2000, p. 354). This observation was made in the context of his explanation of the reduced role of architects in power networks. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, communicative space and communicative devices became the locus of power in Europe formerly occupied by physical space and buildings. The early nineteenth century was a time of significant improvements in communication infrastructure, and the volume of communication increased significantly. Where communication and communicative space increases, so too does the participation of those who engineer it (including communication designers) in power networks. Examining graphic design artefacts is one way of exploring the power networks in which graphic designers have participated in the past, and continue to participate in. Histories of graphic design artefacts therefore have the potential to be histories of how the power relationships in which people and things are invariably enmeshed.

2.3.3. Government

Foucault describes capacities of power as 'a question of government... To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action [or capacities] of others' (Foucault, 1982, p. 789–790). Foucault's government is a specific kind of attempt to harness power, one that delimits a range of action based on a balancing of interests. Foucault's particular understanding of government is central to understanding how artefacts control or 'govern' their users and surroundings. Hindess provides a succinct definition of Foucault's government as follows:

> In its most general sense, government is the conduct of the conduct, where the latter refers to the manner in which individuals, groups and organisations manage their own behaviour. The conduct to be governed may be one's own or that of others: of the members of a household or of larger collectivities such as the population of a local community or state (Dean & Hindess, 1998, p. 3).

The definition of government above illustrates how government works at the level of individuals, as well as in both small and large group situations. At all levels of human organisation then, government gives rise to ways of thinking about ourselves and others that we come to see as absolute truths.

Government can be differentiated from other kinds of power relationship by its ubiquity, its calculated intent and the fact that it must by nature work at a distance. While discipline and sovereignty are more or less only applicable to situations involving the dominance of a ruler over a population, government can occur in any

group of people and even internally, inside individuals. This aspect of government makes it inherently more calculated than other kinds of power relationship. While discipline and sovereignty modify behaviour directly, government works both directly and indirectly, the indirect aspect being its influence over how individuals conduct their own behaviour (Hindess, 1996, p. 106). Foucault provides a colourful illustration of government as power that:

> *reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes,... learning processes and everyday lives... [it is] a synaptic regime of power, a regime of its exercise* within *the social body, rather than* from above *it.* (Foucault, 1975/1980, p. 39, his emphasis).

This description emphasises the pervasive aspect of government, and its indiscriminate influence on events, ways of thinking, and material bodies. However, as the earlier quote from Hindess explains, government works at a higher level too, most notably in the functioning of political institutions.

Government and political rule

Government as a type of power and government as a political institution are different, but linked. Today, the administrative arms of nation states are commonly known as 'governments' because of the preoccupation of seventeenth century rulers with the governmental kind of power relationship. Government as a form of power has become synonymous with political institutions because the nation state as an institution

relies on the exercise of governmental power and, as a consequence, is a robust, enduring form of human organisation. Foucault elaborates:

> the state's power (and that's one of the reasons for its strength) is both an individualizing and a totalizing form of power... the modern Western state has integrated in a new political shape an old power technique which originated in Christian institutions. We can call this power technique the pastoral power... [it] cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it... In a way, we can see the state as a modern matrix of individualization (Foucault, 1982, p. 782).

Foucault's shepherd-flock model of governance, as the model he describes above has come to be known, hints at the importance of how individuals perceive themselves and their own conduct for the effective governance of nation states. Particularly in democratic nation states, the extent to which we identify as citizens of a nation, region or town has profound, tangible effects on the governance of that territory. Further, our attitudes, morals and ethics have just as significant implications for state governance.

Political scientist Barbara Cruikshank famously highlighted the importance of self-esteem for democratic governance in her influential essay 'Revolutions Within: Self-government and self-esteem.' She makes a persuasive case 'that individuals learn to recognise themselves as subjects of

democratic citizenship and so become self-governing' (Cruikshank, 1996, p. 240). In democratic society then, all individuals' behaviours, from obeying laws to making purchasing decisions, are political acts, as are all individuals' thoughts and preferences. Hence Cruikshank's emphasis on the feminist slogan that 'the personal is political,' and her ultimate finding that 'there is nothing personal about self esteem' (Cruikshank, 1996, p. 231).

As the California Task Force to Promote Self-Esteem and Social Responsibility has observed 'The continuation and future success of our democratic system of government and society are dependent upon the exercise of responsible citizenship,' and '[b]eing a responsible citizen depends on developing personal and social responsibility' (Cruikshank, 1996, p. 234). The more democratic a nation state is, the more supposedly free its citizens are, the more crucial it is that the thoughts and behaviours of its citizens are predictable, and that they are in the interests of the state.

Governmentality

Foucault notes that questions of 'government' first became popular in sixteenth century Europe (Foucault, 1978/1991, p. 87). Texts on the subject of *the government of the state by the prince* (such as Rousseau's *The Social Contract*, 1762) replaced the treatises presented as *advice to princes* common in the previous century (such as Machiavelli's *The Prince*, 1532). The appearance of these newer texts suggested a separation between the prince and the

state; their presence implied that there was an art of rule, or an economy of government, beyond and apart from a prince's desire to prolong his rule (Machiavelli, 1532/2003, p. 82).

For there to be an art of rule separate to the prince's wishes, this art of government must have its own rationality. As Foucault describes: 'the state is governed according to rational principles that are intrinsic to it and cannot be derived solely from natural or divine laws or the principles of wisdom or prudence' (Foucault, 1978b/2000, p. 213). Each approach to governance must necessarily contain its own rationality, that is, a guiding logic that determines government policy and action. Dean elaborates that '[r]ationality in this context means any way of reasoning, or way of thinking about, calculating and responding to a problem, which is more or less systematic, and which might draw upon formal bodies of knowledge or expertise' (Dean, 2010, p. 24). To say they have a rationality of their own does not mean these judgements are entirely based on reason or logic. A 'mentality of government' often involves collective bodies of knowledge, opinion or belief that are not rational, such as myths and symbolism.

These rationalities of government, are referred to as 'governmentalities' in this thesis. Foucault defines governmentality as 'the way in which one conducts the conduct of men' (Foucault, 1978/2008, p. 186). This is the express use of the type of power known as government to cajole, persuade and even oppress other people.

Study of governmentalities 'emphasize... the way in which the thinking involved in practices of government is explicit and embedded in language *and other technical instruments* but is also relatively taken for granted' (Dean, 2010, p. 25, my emphasis). The 'other technical instruments' that Dean mentions include the vast array of visual interventions — mediated by graphic design artefacts — used by governments to shore up their rule. As Barnett et al elaborate, governmentality 'is an approach which holds that ways of visualizing phenomena have a high degree of effectivity in actually bringing those phenomena into existence' (Barnett, Clarke, Cloke, & Malpass, 2008, p. 630). This is a crucial aspect of governmentality for the study of graphic design artefacts. Where knowledge is visualised as understandable information, governmentality is necessarily in effect.

Governmentality is of particular interest for this study for several reasons. Firstly, because it provides a framework for considering both the rational and irrational elements of a particular artefact or frame of thought. Secondly, studying governmentalities easily leads to an appreciation of the role graphic design artefacts play in government. Thirdly and finally, governmentality is well suited to studying contemporary graphic design artefacts, specifically those created during exercises of corporate identity and branding. Rose writes that:

> *governmentalities are to be analysed as practices for the "formulation and justification of idealized schemata for representing reality, analysing it and rectifying it" — as a kind of intellectual machinery*

or apparatus for rendering reality thinkable in such
a way that it is amenable to political programming
(Rose, 1996, p. 42).

Although it is hardly intentional, this 'idealized schemata for representing reality' could be a definition of branding, including corporate identity. The corporate identity literature acknowledges that corporate identity aims to project a particular view of the reality of an institution. Branding expert Wally Olins describes branding as a process of aligning perception with reality (Olins, 2000, p. 15; Olins, 2003, p. 154). Considering this definition, modern day graphic design practises are fundamentally governmental.

Governmentality and graphic design artefacts
Artefacts govern in the sense that they promote particular rationalities, usually from afar 'play[ing] an important part in calling out "appropriate" attitudes and responses' (Witkin, 1990, p. 328). They promote rationalities with their capacity to reflect or challenge accepted societal norms through communication and through use. Artefacts govern from afar in the sense that they are used or viewed at a spatial and temporal distance from when, where and by whom they were created.

The relationship between graphic design artefacts and power/knowledge has already been discussed in section 2.3.2 (see page 129). Like all artefacts, graphic design artefacts are involved in processes of producing and maintaining governmental rationalities. Because of their stated purpose of communicating, graphic design artefacts likely participate more in the production of

these rationalities (Young, 2009, p. 128). As well as being part of Foucault's definition of government, the idea of 'conducting the conduct' could also be used as a concise description of the role of graphic design artefacts. Despite their many shapes and sizes, graphic design artefacts share the common purpose of changing the activities, attitudes or emotional states of their viewers indirectly, through communication intended to somehow alter their knowledge (Kostelnick, 2004, p. 218).

Rose argues that graphic design artefacts are used to give knowledge a sense of stability or durability. He provides the following examples:

> *a map, a chart, a table, a diagram is a little machine for producing conviction in others… [they are] material techniques of thought that make possible the extension of authority over that which they seem to depict* (Rose, 2008, p. 36-37).

The graphic design artefacts in Rose's examples all depend on a prior visual literacy for their capacity to govern. Without the requisite frame of reference to understand a chart or a map, we cannot be subject to it. Gaining an understanding of a particular presentation of information or a kind of artefact is accompanied by subjection to the power relationships in which that artefact is enmeshed. In the process of acquiring a visual literacy then, we are all complicit in the process of being governed by such artefacts (Hill & Helmers, 2004, p. 1; Hindess, 1996, p. 106).

2.4. Identifying Embodied Discourses

Up to this section, this chapter has explored theories related to communication, knowledge and power, as well as the potential effects of these theories on individuals and on societies. This section considers the way graphic design artefacts participate in, and contain evidence of, the knowledge patterns surrounding them. It offers the original concept of embodied discourse, a theory of how artefacts contribute to power exchanges. This section goes on to suggest how evidence of artefacts participation in power exchanges can be identified within artefacts in the form of embodied discourse technologies. To do this, it combines Foucault's governmental rationality, described in the previous section, with two of his other concepts relating to power: discourses and discourse technologies (see Figure 2.4.A).

The assertion that artefacts govern assumes they somehow retain the ideological biases of their association, origin and use, as well as acquiring new meanings as associations and uses of those artefacts change. Although these meanings are dependent on the user or viewer for their governmental effect, and despite the fact that meanings in artefacts change even with the same audience, artefacts must nevertheless be able to retain meaning in some way, if only for a limited amount of time (Hodder, 1995, p. 11). The concept of embodiment is used in this thesis as a means to understand how artefacts retain meaning. The proposal that evidence of power exchanges can be found in

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DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGIES

TYPES OF DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGIES

EMBODIED AND EXTERNAL DISCOURSES

EMBODIED DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGIES

ANATOMY OF A DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY

Figure 2.4.A.
Concepts for identifying embodied discourses

artefacts is supported by interpretive archaeologists (Hayward, 1998, p. 219; David, Sterner & Gavua, 1988, p. 365).

Embodied discourse extends the relativist position covered in the previous three sections. While this chapter has, up to now, dealt with the relativity of knowledge, this section brings the relativist position to human interactions with artefacts. For the purposes of this thesis, human experience and understanding of artefacts is considered entirely relative and subject to the same principles of investigation and history writing as other knowledge. This is stated explicitly because of the common human tendency to concretise 'things.' If we can see a thing, perhaps touch and smell it, it is almost 'naturally' rendered objective in the mind's eye (Bush, 1994, p. 222; Rose, 2008, p. 36-37). However, as described in detail in section 2.1.1 on page 101, from the relativist position, this is not so.

2.4.1. Discourses

Although the term 'discourse' was popularised by Foucault, Bloch uses a similar concept in his historical investigations. Bloch focusses on the interrelationship of societal thoughts. He is interested in how patterns of thought come into being and are maintained through the use of material artefacts and rituals (Bloch, 1953, p. 42). For example, he is interested in the interdependency between the medieval French aristocracy and peasants as mediated through land holdings (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 88).

Foucault was also interested in modes of thought, but his interest was in how modes of thought change,

how the relative truths of particular institutions, professions, societies and times are constructed, altered and ultimately dismantled to make way for new representations of personal or professional reality. Although Foucault wrote extensively on discourse, there are few succinct, decisive definitions of the term in his work. However, he does say that discourse is 'the difference between what one could say correctly at one period... and what is actually said' (Foucault, 1968/1991, p. 63). This definition emphasises the centrality of the notion of relative truth to investigating discourse.

White elaborates on the relationship between discourse and relative truth, thereby clarifying use of the term. He explains it in terms of consciousness and language:

> [a]ny given mode of discourse is identifiable, then, not by what it permits consciousness to say *about the world, but by what it prohibits it from saying, the area of experience that the linguistic act itself cuts off from representation in language* (White, 1973, p. 32).

What we can describe, White argues, is inevitably determined by the limitations imposed on our consciousness by the discourses we participate in and are influenced by. Revelations about discourses can therefore be made by looking at what is not described, and thereby identifying the boundaries of particular discourses.

With the concept of discourses, Foucault seeks to emphasise the importance of transformations and process in human thought, society and knowledge

(Foucault, 1968/1991, p. 54). Foucault understood discourses as functional, in the sense that they are ideological perspectives with rhetorical force that inevitably result from exercises of power (Foucault, 1967/2000, p. 290; Foucault, 1976/2008, p. 11). In keeping with the sense of discourses having a rhetorical purpose, Foucault also asserts that discourses are only of significance when related to the 'practises, institutions, social relations' in which they are enmeshed and inevitably influence (Foucault, 1967/2000, p. 284).

Because discourses affect apparent truth, they are propelled predominantly by first order judgements. As discussed earlier in this chapter, first order judgements appear to be truths to the person making them. Discourses appear to be truths, or perhaps 'common sense', when they are experienced in the present (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 76). It is only with reflection on evidence of past discourses, from a distance, that the historian can show how they colour various attitudes, institutions and societies.

Discourses are significant for historical investigation because they demonstrate what was considered obvious, natural and abnormal in a particular institution, place and time. Foucault used them for for this purpose in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 1969/2008, p. 28; Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 4). Foucault seeks evidence of discourses in textual archives during his historical research in this and other works. By searching through large numbers of original texts in academic archives, he traces the transitions in what appears to be self-evident in a particular

profession from one century to another. This method is also the basis of his *Madness and Civilisation* (Foucault, 1964/2001). In keeping with his methodological exploration of history, Foucault's interest in knowledge ruptures, described on page 118, relates specifically to ruptures in discourses.

Hindess elaborates on the relationship between discourses and governmentality, observing that governmentality involves particular kinds of discourses, those 'that address practical questions concerning how to conduct the conduct of the state and of the population which the state claims to rule' (Hindess, 1996, p. 98). Foucault's work on government and governmentality progressed from his study of discourses.

2.4.2. Discourse Technologies

Foucault suggested that discourses were fuelled by 'a disparate set of tools and methods' that he called 'technologies,' using the word in its widest sense (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 26). Sociologists Judy Motion and Shirley Leitch refer to technologies as 'discourse technologies', highlighting the discursive nature of technologies (Motion and Leitch, 2002, p. 45). Throughout this thesis, Motion and Leitch's term is used both for the sake of clearly identifying their relationship to discourses, and for differentiating them from other, more common meanings of the word 'technology.' Discourse technologies are the tools and methods people use to effect their own and one another's conduct (Motion & Leitch, 2002, p. 50). They conduct the conduct of others through presentations

of knowledge and 'truth', thereby dominating them from afar. Technologies work at the level of influencing each individual's mind-set, reasoning and knowledge of self. They are therefore always both governmental and discursive (Foucault, 1982b/2000, p. 224).

The concept of discourse technologies is influential and scholars working in a range of disciplines have identified them in the course of their research (see Cruikshank, 1996, p. 232; De Lauretis, 1987, p. 37; Smith & Campbell, 1998, p. 174). In the discussion that follows, this thesis theorises how the concept of embodiment can be linked to discourse technologies. It then offers some original discourse technologies relating to embodiment in graphic design artefacts. However, this section first discusses the types of discourse technology identified by Foucault.

Types of discourse technology

When discussing discourse technologies, Foucault divides them into four different kinds: sign systems, production, power and the self (Foucault, 1982b/2000, p. 224). While these divisions were useful to Foucault's investigations, they appear somewhat arbitrary when related to graphic design artefacts generally, and to government emblems specifically. As previously discussed, graphic design artefacts are inextricably bound up in governmental power, or efforts to guide conduct at a distance. They also involve extensive use of sign systems, and must necessarily involve technologies of production. The historian argues that because of their material nature, government emblems require a different set of discourse technology groups

as a means to understand them. Where Foucault was dealing almost exclusively with language and the human body in his investigations, the study of government emblems has little to do with the human body, and language is only a small part of the symbolic content found in government emblems.

Many scholars have used Foucault's concept of discourse technologies for their own investigations into power. Rose uses discourse technologies to interpret another of Foucault's concepts: government. He writes about 'technologies of government', defining them as 'those technologies imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope of producing certain desired effects and averting certain undesired ends' (Rose, 2008, p. 52). Based on this definition, all of the discourse technologies found embodied within government emblems are considered to be technologies of government.

According to the theory presented in this chapter so far, graphic design artefacts interact with their viewers and users, with the space they occupy and other artefacts sharing that space (Gagliardi, 1990, p. vi). These interactions necessarily involve governmental exchanges of power. For this reason, they are also referred to as 'embodied governance' throughout this thesis. This is a simplified, shorthand way of referring to embodied discourse technologies found within government emblems in sections of the thesis that do not have the scope for including extensive references to clarifying associated theory.

Embodied and external discourses

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault provides
a theoretical starting point for considering graphic
design artefacts as capable of containing discourses.
He questions the appearance of books as discrete
artefacts, arguing that books are so interrelated in
terms of references to one another, using common
symbolism and duplication of texts (in anthologies,
complete works and multiple editions of the same
work) that books cannot rightly be considered separate.
He suggests instead that books are nodes in networks
of knowledge (Foucault, 1969/2008, p. 26).

The historian argues that all graphic design artefacts
can be viewed as nodes in various networks in the
same way that Foucault viewed books as nodes in
networks. Following Foucault's description, artefacts
extensively reference one another, but they also refer
to the discourses surrounding them. While they are
nodes in discursive networks, they also have discursive
properties that can be isolated and identified as
separate from the networks in which they play a role
(Hayward, 1998, p. 218).

Foucault discussed discourse as a quality of human
thought and documentation. In this thesis, the
discourse Foucault described is referred to as 'external
discourse' (see Figure 2.4.2.A). This term is intended to
suggest that Foucault's conception of discourse is over-
arching, but also apart from the other, artefact-based
discourse that is most closely studied in the history
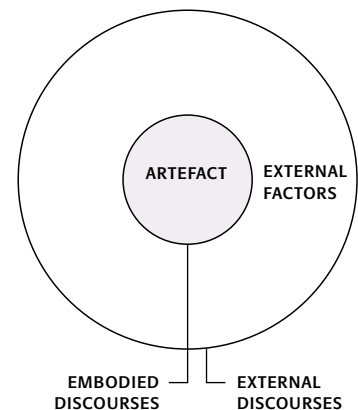contained in chapters four and five. The artefact-based

Figure 2.4.2.A.
External and embodied discourses as
they relate to artefacts

discourse is referred to in this thesis as 'embodied discourse', referring to discourses contained within graphic design artefacts (see Figure 2.4.2.A).

This thesis argues that every communicative attribute of a graphic design artefact embodies discourses. However, these embodied discourses only become *evident* when a number of artefacts from a specific context are considered together. The embodied discourses only become *meaningful* when artefacts are looked at in a large group. The less artefacts there are in a group, the less reliable will be the evidence of embodied discourses within that group. It further suggests that examination of embodied discourses in groups of artefacts can reveal the meta-discourses in which the artefact has been historically situated.

Studying the embodied discourses contained within graphic design artefacts requires appropriate methods. The following chapter, Discursive Method, outlines the method developed in the course of this research for examining embodied discourses. Discursive method focuses on intense, exhaustive description of graphic design artefacts. Documenting as many attributes as possible within each emblem allows for comparison between emblems. Through comparison between individual emblem attributes, groupings in the emblem archive become apparent to the historian. In turn, these groupings lead the historian to identification of discourse technologies. This aspect of discursive method can be considered a material culture equivalent to the comparisons made between text-based documents in a discourse analysis.

Embodied discourse technologies

As a starting point for investigating discourses embodied in artefacts, two discourse technologies that are common to all artefacts have been identified: discourse technologies of content and discourse technologies of form. These two embodied discourse technologies are used as part of a framework for discussing evidence within the discourses. The Shire of Arapiles seal in Figure 2.4.2.B is referred to in the following sections to clarify the points made regarding content and form.

Figure 2.4.2.B.
Shire of Arapiles seal

Discourse technologies of content

Discourse technologies of content relate to the most substantial, easily identifiable attributes of the artefact. In the case of government emblems, there are two discourse technologies of content to consider: content of images and content of words. In Figure 2.4.2.B, the image content is the illustration of Mount Arapiles in the centre, with trees and a wheat sheaf in the foreground. The word content is the name of the council, Shire of Arapiles, and the name of the town the council chambers are located in, Natimuk.

Discourse technologies of form

Discourse technologies of form include the outer form of the artefact, the shape it has and the materials it is constructed from, as well as the form of individual attributes within the artefact. In the case of government emblems, there are three discourse technologies of form to consider: the outer emblem form, the form of the images and the form of the words. The outer form of the seal Figure 2.4.2.B, the emblem form is its

circular shape. The form of the image in the centre of the seal is best described as hand-rendered, pen and ink illustrative style. The form of the words includes all describable attributes of the type, including its bold weight, uppercase letters, the way the letters circumnavigate the illustration (dilatational typographic system) and the typeface classification (Egyptian, or slab serif). These two kinds of discourse technologies, in combination with the anatomy of a discourse technology below, are used as a framework for investigating discourses within artefacts.

Anatomy of a discourse technology

The method detailed in the following chapter is built on Foucault's definition, and Rose's elaboration of, a kind of anatomy of discourse technologies. Rose argues that discourse technologies are made up of three kinds of phenomena: forces, techniques, and devices (Rose, 1996, p. 42). These three attributes are ordered in a hierarchy as shown in Figure 2.4.2.C. The attributes shown higher on the list influence attributes lower on the list.

DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY

  FORCES

    TECHNIQUES

      DEVICES

**Figure 2.4.2.C.
A hierarchy of the three kinds of attributes that make up a discourse technology**

Forces

Forces are the broadest, most over-arching constituent parts of discourse technologies, made up of 'an assembly of forms of knowledge' (Rose, 2008, p. 52). In the case of artefacts that include text, an easily identifiable force is the language words are written in. In the example of the seal in Figure 2.4.2.D, English is a force within the discourse technology of content.
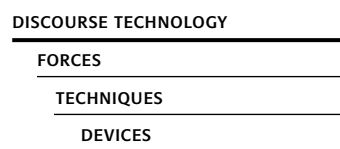
Techniques

Techniques are the collected assortment of effects, tricks and strategies found in an artefact that 'produce certain practical outcomes' (Rose, 2008, p. 52). They are the tools used to express a technology within the limits of forces. So, using the example of words in the seal, there are two techniques used within the force of language (English): the name of the council, and the town in which the council chambers are located (see Figure 2.4.2.D). Each technique has a practical communication outcome. While forces are descriptions of broad influences that affect many artefacts, techniques are strategies used to more precisely direct meaning in a specific artefact.

Devices

Devices are the mechanical forms generated by forces and tailored by techniques within discourse technologies (Rose, 2008, p. 53). They are dependent on both forces and techniques. Again, using the example of the Shire of Arapiles seal, each individual word on the seal is a device. Figure 2.4.2.D shows the relationship of each force, technique and device to one another in the technology of language (a sub group of the technology of content) embodied within the Shire of Arapiles seal. Note that the word Natimuk functions as both a technique and a device in the hierarchy.

Rose's anatomical breakdown of discourse technologies into forces, techniques and devices, in combination with other concepts presented in this chapter, provides a practical starting point from which to investigate how artefacts embody discourse. By looking at how each individual attribute, or device, of an artefact relates

TECHNOLOGY OF CONTENT: LANGUAGE

FORCE   ENGLISH

TECHNIQUES
                    'SHIRE OF ARAPILES'   'NATIMUK'

DEVICES
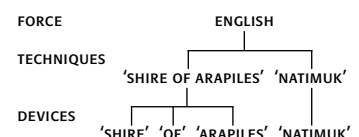   'SHIRE' 'OF' 'ARAPILES' 'NATIMUK'

Figure 2.4.2.D.
Hierarchy of one embodied discourse technology
in the Shire of Arapiles seal

to a technique, which in turn relates to a force, it is possible to demonstrate the rhetorical nature of even the most seemingly innocuous aspects of artefacts. In discursive method, once the elements of the embodied discourse technologies are identified, their relationship to the spatial, temporal and user contexts surrounding the artefact are then considered. By comparing the discourse technologies embodied in artefacts to their societal context, it is possible to build up a picture of how the embodied discourses relate to broader discourses within that society, and therefore situate the artefact.

The explanations of forces, devices and techniques relating to words in the seal in Figure 2.4.2.B are all examples of discourse technologies of language content. However, hierarchies can be made of all discourse technologies within an artefact. Figure 2.4.2.E provides an example of an alternate hierarchy of an embodied discourse technology. In this hierarchy, the image content of the same seal is charted.
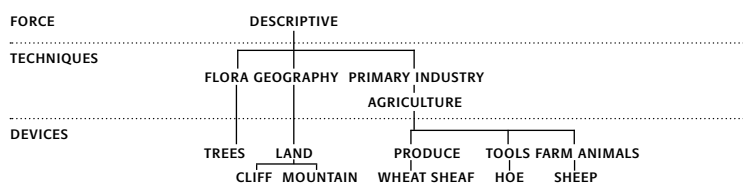

TECHNOLOGY OF CONTENT: IMAGE

FORCE   DESCRIPTIVE

TECHNIQUES
         FLORA GEOGRAPHY PRIMARY INDUSTRY
                               AGRICULTURE

DEVICES
         TREES   LAND   PRODUCE   TOOLS FARM ANIMALS
           CLIFF   MOUNTAIN   WHEAT SHEAF   HOE   SHEEP

Figure 2.4.2.E. Hierarchy of another embodied discourse technology in the Shire of Arapiles seal

Conclusion

Through a methodological inquiry into various modes of thought, this chapter has identified several principles of narrative formation and historical investigation that are suited to writing an artefact-led history of governance using government emblems as primary source material. In addition, this chapter has also offered a theoretical understanding of power and discourse that provides a framework for investigating how government emblems contribute to power exchanges within the environments in which they are situated. This combination of theory and method relating to investigation, history, power and discourse is presented as a methodological basis for outlining some principles of historical inquiry into government emblems. The original concept of embodied governance offers a theoretical foundation for using graphic design artefacts to investigate broader discursive effects in society.

The following chapter interprets these principles of narrative formation, historical investigation, power and embodied governance into a working history method. It develops steps for finding government emblems, pruning that group of emblems to create a final emblem sample, describing the discourse technologies embodied within the emblem archive, and finally for reviewing the literature to provide context for the embodied discourse technologies. Discursive technologies of content and form are both described in more detail in the following chapter.

3. DISCURSIVE METHOD: OUTLINING A NEW METHOD AND PRESENTING RESULTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction

This chapter presents discursive method, a new
method based on the methodological exploration in
chapter two (see Figure 3.A). The four-step method
was developed to address the challenges identified
in chapter one, namely writing a history that is
not dependent on archives or empiricist methods.
Discursive method has enabled the historian to write an
artefact-led history of governance. It uses the original
concept of embodied governance as a foundation
for investigating discourses embodied in government
emblems, and then relates those embodied discourses
to the broader governance context in Victoria, Australia.
This chapter presents the raw results of using discursive
method, while the two part history of governance is the
final result of using discursive method. The conclusion
of this theses speculates on further possibilities for
using discursive method to write other artefact-led
histories.

As outlined in the introduction and detailed in
chapter one, there were two reasons for developing
this method. Firstly, government emblems pose a
challenge for existing graphic design history methods.
Government emblems are the antithesis of typical
subjects of design history: they often have no
attributable designer, and are not readily allotted to a
canon or artistic tradition. Secondly, discursive method
allows the possibility of using graphic design artefacts
as the foundation of a history of broader political
phenomena. Discursive method has the additional

STEP	PURPOSE
COLLECTING	GATHER ARTEFACT SAMPLE
PRUNING	REFINE ARTEFACT SAMPLE
DESCRIBING	GATHER DATA FROM SAMPLE
REVIEWING	FIND POLITICAL CONTEXT

Figure 3.A.
Steps in discursive method

benefit of avoiding the methods of connoisseurship, hagiography and empirical method, the results of which have been much criticised by graphic design historians.

Discursive method consists of four steps: Collecting, Pruning, Describing and Reviewing (see figure 3.A). Each step is broken down into three or four sub-steps. The steps are presented in the order they were performed, however each step was not performed in sequential isolation. There was some overlap, the end of one step was sometimes conducted at the same time as the beginning of the next.

Each sub-step is outlined in a standard format. First, how the step was conducted is described in detail; this section is called 'process.' Second, a section called 'results' includes details of the findings from that step. By the end of this chapter, the reader is presented with a clear idea of both the processes and results of discursive method.

Discursive method in context

The flow chart in Figure 3.B illustrates the process used for writing the history contained in chapters four and five. Each of the numbered levels in the flow chart represents one step in discursive method (as listed in figure 3.A). The first and last levels in the flow chart demonstrate how discursive method fits into the entire historical research process. The first level, 'defining field of inquiry' highlights that, contrary to the approach of most research, an initial research question was not used in the performance of discursive method. The initial field of inquiry was defined as 'government emblems and governance in the State of Victoria'.

DEFINING FIELD OF INQUIRY

↓

3.1. COLLECTING ARTEFACTS

↓

3.2. PRUNING ARTEFACT ARCHIVE

↓

3.3. DESCRIBING ARTEFACTS

↓

3.4. REVIEWING CONTEXT

↓

WRITING NARRATIVE
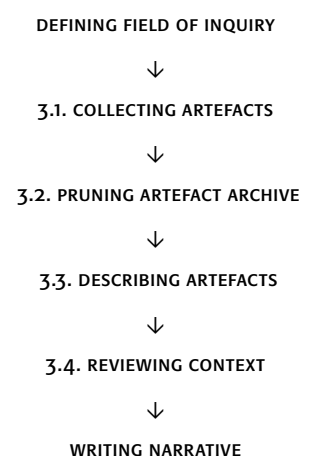
Figure 3.B.
Discursive method in context

Forming a research question before looking for artefacts depends on second order judgements, which discursive method avoids wherever possible. The subjective decision making inherent in forming a research question arguably determines what will be found before a search is begun. The second order judgements implicit in forming a research question were therefore avoided by not defining a specific research question, an approach advocated by Kendall and Wickham (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 7). Instead of forming a research question, a general field of inquiry was defined. This was narrowed after completing each step of discursive method.

The last step in the flow chart in Figure 3.B, 'writing narrative', was the only part of the history remaining to be completed at the end of discursive method. The narrative structure of the history, as well as the argument, has been determined by the findings of the Reviewing step; this is the main reason the history is described as artefact-led. Discussion of emblems is interspersed throughout the history, where relevant. This is the second and lesser reason for describing the history as artefact-led. The last level is included in the flow chart in Figure 3.B to demonstrate that although discursive method provides the evidence, structure and themes of the historical narrative, it is a precursor to writing the history.

First and second order judgements

In keeping with the relativist position guiding discursive method, each step has been developed to rely on first order judgements about the emblems as much as possible, and to avoid making second

COLLECTING
COULD THIS BE AN EMBLEM?
___
PRUNING
IS THIS ARTEFACT...
RELEVANT?
TECHNICALLY FIT?
A DUPLICATE?
___

Figure 3.C.
Questions asked to encourage first order judgements

order judgements. As discussed in chapter two (see page 104), for the purposes of methodological investigation, all thought can be divided into first and second order judgements. First order judgements are those the historian makes when attempting to be objective. They are judgements that appear to her to be 'true'. Second order judgements are those the historian makes consciously, with some awareness of other possibilities, or of relying on an external system of analysis or belief (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 15). By maintaining a relativist position throughout the process of writing this history, discursive method has allowed the historian to avoid the typical foci of empirically based design histories: authorship, artefact chronology and quality.

Writing the two part history in chapters four and five necessarily involved both first and second order judgements, but discursive method was structured so that the first two steps (dealing directly with emblems) prioritised first order judgements. The Collecting and Pruning steps were therefore structured in a way that required answering 'yes or no' questions, in which qualitative judgements would not be necessary (see Figure 3.C). When answering each of these questions, the historian was presented with the choice of deciding whether it was true or false. The format of the questions encouraged impartial observation and avoids extended speculation (in the form of second order judgements).

The Describing step used a combination of first and second order judgements. Developing the faceted classification system necessarily involved second order

judgements. They were used in the formation and organisation of the faceted classification system. Once it was developed, however, first order judgements were relied upon when using the system to classify each emblem. This was done by applying the same kind of yes or no questions used in the first two steps of discursive method. When the faceted classification system was used to classify an emblem, a yes or no question was asked about each individual facet. For example, 'does this emblem contain the colour red?' The Reviewing step relied solely on second order judgements. They were used to explore the literature regarding Victorian history and politics.

3.1. Collecting

Collecting artefacts and creating an archive are generally the preserve of archivists and librarians. When graphic design historians collect artefacts for their own professional use, it is often in an organic, undocumented way, not determined by any set of rules or standards. The first step of discursive method was conducted in stark contrast to typical approaches, as it began with a highly regulated, four-part Collecting step.

In chapter two, suspending judgement was discussed (see 2.1.1 on page 101). Following this, there is an argument to be made that if this history began by using artefacts from a pre-existing archive, the results of this research, the artefact-led history in chapters four and five, would be pre-determined. The frequent repetition in graphic design history of the same kinds of narratives produced from the same archives (situated in university libraries and design museums) supports this argument (see 1.2 on page 43).

The Collecting step was formulated as a means of beginning the artefact-led history with a group of artefacts that had been assembled according to relativist principles. The suspension of judgement and reliance on first order judgements in Collecting is part of this commitment to relativist principles. The main drawback of the adherence to relativism is that Collecting took up a considerable amount of the entire project's total time and resources. If an existing archive was used, more time and resources could have been available for other stages of the research process.

The four sub-steps of Collecting are Finding, Capturing and Cleaning, Formatting, and Documenting (see

FINDING

CAPTURING & CLEANING

FORMATTING

INITIAL DOCUMENTING

**Figure 3.1.A.
Collecting sub-steps**
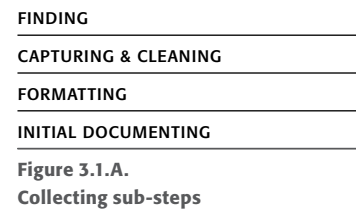
Figure 3.1.A). Finding and Capturing and Cleaning were performed side-by-side; whenever an emblem was found it was captured. Formatting was performed separately to the other sub-steps, as all of the emblems were formatted after they were assembled. Although Documenting is presented here as the last of the collecting sub-steps, it was performed throughout the Collecting step. Every time a new emblem, or piece of information about an emblem, was ascertained in the Collecting step, it was documented.

3.1.1. Finding

As the name of the sub-step suggests, Finding focused on identifying potential sources of Victorian local government emblems. The field of inquiry defined before conducting discursive method was 'governance and government emblems in the State of Victoria.' This was broad enough to allow for finding a wide range of emblems from a variety of sources, but limited enough to keep searches directed and productive.

Process

In the Finding sub-step, an initial question was asked: where will I find the Victorian local government emblems? (see Figure 3.1.B). When the historian had one answer to this question, the source was investigated without further speculation about other sources. Each potential emblem source was worked through methodically and searched exhaustively one at a time. This allowed for the most flexible possible search path. If the historian had a list of potential artefact sources before beginning her investigation, this

WHERE WILL I FIND THE EMBLEMS?

COULD THIS EMBLEM BE RELEVANT?

Figure 3.1.B.
Finding criteria

list (and expectations about what might be found in particular sources) would likely shape the course of the Finding process.

Wherever possible, the historian answered the question herself. Help from research colleagues, fellow historians, archivists and librarians was intentionally avoided at first, so as not to limit the Finding process with many ideas or predetermined biases. As close sources were exhausted, the historian looked further afield, both geographically, and further back in time.

True to Bloch's approach of starting with the closest available evidence (see "Histories of the present" on page 120), the closest available resource, the internet, was searched first. For the most part, each search suggested the next, as leads to further potential emblem sources were found in the course of most searches. For example, a search of one media source led to noticing an advertisement for a newspaper that turned out to be another source of emblems. Each source search suggesting the following one was ideal for continuing suspension of judgement for as long as possible while performing the Finding step. However, a couple of times a search did not offer up another potential emblem source. When a search did not provide any leads to future searches, the original question 'where will I find the artefacts?' was asked again, and help answering the question was enlisted.

Results

A total of ten government emblem source groups were searched (see Figure 3.1.1.A). The search began by looking for emblems on council websites. After all council websites were searched for emblems, digital documents available on council websites as PDFs (Portable Document Formats) were searched. Digital documents stored as PDFs provided a large number of the collected emblems. After exhausting all the available online PDFs, the historian contacted councils directly to ask for emblems from their archives.

Because no new search area was suggested after receiving emblems from councils directly, the historian contacted several designers to seek access to their archives of past work. In articles and conversations about Victorian local government emblems, some designers had been mentioned as having worked on emblems; these people were contacted. After searching designer's archives, the historian was granted access to another potential emblem source, a newspaper focussed on local government issues.

The archives of *Local Government Focus* contained correspondence with councils across Victoria. Correspondence with local governments in the newspaper's archives was one of the largest sources of emblems. The State Library of Victoria was then searched, particularly their photographic archive of government buildings. This did not glean any additional emblems, so the historian turned again to the internet, this time searching for emblems inside digital documents (in PDF format) accessed through Victorian State government websites. Toward the end

COUNCIL WEBSITES

COUNCIL PDFS ONLINE

COUNCIL ARCHIVES

DESIGNER'S ARCHIVES

MEDIA ARCHIVES

STATE LIBRARY OF VICTORIA

STATE GOVERNMENT PDFS ONLINE

HERALDRY WEBSITES

SECOND-HAND BOOKSTORES

GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS & ROAD SIGNS

Figure 3.1.1.A.
Results of Finding
Sources listed in the order they were
searched

of the search process heraldry websites were searched, along with books on the history of the State of Victoria from second-hand bookstores. Other recent council emblems were sourced by photographing emblems on public buildings and road signs.

3.1.2. Capturing and Cleaning

The Capturing and Cleaning sub-step was devised out of necessity, as an intermediate step between Finding and Formatting. No matter where they were found and what form they were found in, for the purposes of this research every emblem needed to be captured digitally and prepared for use in this thesis. Capturing involved saving a copy of each emblem in a digital file. Cleaning involved removing all extraneous data from that digital file, and saving it in a size and file type consistent with all the other digital files containing emblems.

Cleaning was added to this process so that the emblems could be compared with one another as impartially as possible in the later Pruning and Describing steps. It had the added benefit of preparing the emblems in the correct size, file type and format for inserting into the thesis. At the end of the Capturing and Cleaning sub-step, a digital copy of each found emblem had been stored. Each digital file was square, only slightly larger than the emblem, and showed the emblem sitting in the centre of a white or transparent background.

Process

Two main ways of Capturing and Cleaning were used: extracting and photographing. Extracting was used for emblems that were found in digital format, while all emblems found in printed documents were photographed and the photographs were edited (see Figure 3.1.2.A).

SOURCE TYPE	CAPTURE FORMAT
DIGITAL	EXTRACTING
PRINTED	PHOTOGRAPHING & EDITING

Figure 3.1.2.A.
Two Capturing and Cleaning processes

Digitally stored emblems: extracting

Emblems were found in three different kinds of digital file: web pages, PDFs, and digital files containing the emblem on its own. The first two kinds of digital file, web pages and PDFs, required extracting in different ways. Digital files containing emblems did not require extracting, as they were received in an already isolated format.

ALPINE SHIRE

Figure 3.1.2.B.
Digitally stored emblem after Capturing and Cleaning

Emblems were extracted from web pages by choosing the option in the web browser of saving the image to a computer hard drive. Emblems were extracted from PDFs by first saving each PDF to the computer's hard drive, then opening the page of the PDF containing the emblem in editing software. Once the PDF was open in the editing software, the emblem was selected, copied, and pasted into a new document, which was then saved.

As each emblem was extracted and saved into its own document, that document was re-opened in editing software. Once opened, the document size was changed to equal height and width to make it a square document, with dimensions slightly larger than the emblem itself. Where necessary the background colour was also changed, to white, then each emblem file was saved and closed (see Figure 3.1.2.B). The dimensions and background of emblems originally found as digital files were changed in this way too, so that each extracted emblem had consistent file specifications.

Reversed emblems

Some of the original emblems collected in digital format were white and displayed on a dark background (see Figure 3.1.2.C). This colour format, called 'reversed' in graphic design terminology (because it reverses the more traditional format of black ink on a white background), is commonly used for objects that appear on dark or multicoloured backgrounds. As each digital file in this research was given a white background, the reversed emblems would not be visible if they kept their original reversed colour format. Therefore each of the 11 emblems that were found in reversed colour format were converted to black text and image onto a white background (see Figure 3.1.2.D).

Figure 3.1.2.C.
Reversed emblem

Figure 3.1.2.D.
Emblem converted to BW format

Printed emblems: photographing and editing

Two ways of digitally capturing artefacts were available for this study, photography and scanning, though one turned out to be far more practical than the other. Because much of the emblem capturing process took place in environments where a scanner was not available, all emblems found in printed documents were photographed using a high-resolution, good quality digital camera. For example, the Shire of Tambo seal in Figure 3.1.2.E. This figure shows a close-up photograph of letterhead used by the Shire of Tambo in 1989.

After photographing, each photograph was transferred to the computer hard-drive and opened in editing software ready for cleaning. Once opened, each photograph was cropped to equal width and height

Figure 3.1.2.E.
Printed emblem captured

Figure 3.1.2.F.
Printed emblem cleaned

dimensions, slightly larger than the emblem. All visual information apart from the emblem was removed, leaving a white background. The emblem was centred in the digital file and aligned correctly. Lastly, the contrast was increased to ensure maximum visibility of each of the emblems' attributes. For an example of this process, compare the original photograph of the Shire of Tambo's letterhead in Figure 3.1.2.E with the cleaned file of the Shire of Tambo seal in Figure 3.1.2.F.

Results

At the end of the Capturing and Cleaning step, a total of 386 emblems had been found, captured and cleaned. Approximately one third of the emblems were found stored in a digital format. Digitally stored emblems were most commonly retrieved from PDFs that councils made publicly available on their websites. The remaining two thirds of the emblems were captured from printed sources. The bulk of the printed emblems were captured from media archives. Old histories of Victoria found in second-hand bookstores were also a rich source of government emblems. Figure 3.1.2.G shows the number of emblems captured and cleaned per Finding source, while Figure 3.1.2.H shows the results of Capturing and Cleaning ordered by colour profile. This second Figure of results is included to provide continuity with the figures displayed in the results section of each of the steps presented in the following sections.

144 FROM DIGITAL SOURCES
   21   COUNCIL ARCHIVES
   15   COUNCIL WEBSITES
   82   COUNCIL PDFS ONLINE
   2   DESIGNER'S ARCHIVES
   20   HERALDRY WEBSITES
   4   STATE GOV. PDFS ONLINE

242 FROM PRINTED SOURCES
   4   DESIGNER'S ARCHIVES
   179 MEDIA ARCHIVES
   55 SECOND-HAND BOOKSTORES
   4   GOV.T BUILDINGS & SIGNS
   0   STATE LIBRARY OF VICTORIA

386 TOTAL EMBLEMS AFTER 3.1.2

**Figure 3.1.2.G.
Results of Capturing and Cleaning ordered by source**

256 BW

55 CMYK

75 RGB

386 TOTAL EMBLEMS AFTER 3.1.2

**Figure 3.1.2.H.
Results of Capturing and Cleaning ordered by colour profile**

3.1.3. Formatting

In the Formatting step, each emblem was converted into a standard format for this thesis. The Capturing and Cleaning sub-step ensured a visual presentation consistency in the emblem archive, while the Formatting sub-step ensured the technical consistency of each digital emblem file.

Process

To maintain the original records, but ensure technical consistency of the final emblem archive, Formatting began by making a copy of all of the emblems. The originals were stored safely and the new copies were used in the Formatting sub-step. Each file was altered to ensure consistent colour profiles, dimensions, file types and resolution (see Figure 3.1.3.A). This ensured that every emblem in the sample had a uniform, minimum technical standard. The colour and dimensions of all emblem files was consistent after the Capturing and Cleaning sub-step, but there were two separate file types and file resolution settings, depending on how the digital files were constructed. Each emblem file collected from a digital source was constructed in one of two ways, raster or vector. Files with raster construction were saved as TIFF (tagged image file format) files, while files with vector construction were saved as EPS (encapsulated postscript) files.

FILE PROPERTY	CONVERTED TO
COLOUR	
ONE COLOUR	BW
TWO OR MORE	BW & CMYK
DIMENSIONS	
(IN CENTIMETERS)	4.5CM X 4.5CM
(IN PIXELS)	266PX X 266PX
FILE TYPE	
RASTER	TIFF
VECTOR	EPS
RESOLUTION	
RASTER	150DPI
VECTOR	N/A

Figure 3.1.3.A.
Formatting properties

File types and resolution: raster and vector

Files with raster construction are formed by a collection of pixels, digital units of data that are fixed in terms of both size and colour (see Figure 3.1.3.B). The greater the number of pixels contained within a specific area, the higher the image quality; this is described by the term 'resolution.' The minimum required resolution for emblems to display clearly in this thesis (at the maximum size of 4.5cm) was 150dpi (dots per inch). The TIFF file format was determined to be most appropriate for this kind of file because it stores pixels at the highest possible quality.

As their name suggests, vector files are constructed from mathematically derived vectors. Because these files are, in essence, a set of algorithms, they are infinitely scalable and reproducible without any loss of quality (see Figure 3.1.3.B). Digital files constructed of vectors were saved as EPS files, as EPS is the standard cross-platform file type for saving vector digital data.

Vector formatting

Some of the vector constructed emblem files from the previous sub-step had 'stray paths' — extra, invisible vector information — that was unnecessary and made the file size bigger, both in terms of dimensions and file data size. In the Formatting sub-step the dimensions of each file were re-checked to make sure they were 4.5cm wide by 4.5cm high, and all stray paths were removed.

Raster formatting

Each raster image was converted to a TIFF file with dimensions of 4.5cm wide by 4.5cm high and 150dpi.

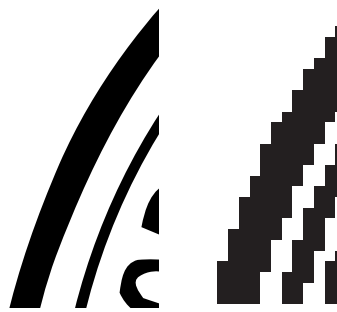**Figure 3.1.3.B.**
Vector image and raster image
Because vector images are calculated mathematically, they maintain their quality at any size. The quality of raster images is limited by the number of pixels in the image, or by the 'resolution'.

Where an original image was one colour only, it was saved as a black and white emblem with a BW document colour profile (see Figure 3.1.3.C on page 173). Where the original emblem image contained more than one colour, it was saved twice, once with a CMYK document colour profile and once with a BW document colour profile. The additional files created for each emblem were then documented on the record for each emblem artefact.

Colour

The RGB (red green blue) format, one of the three colour profiles shown in Figure 3.1.3.C, was the most common file format the emblem files used at the time they were found. RGB is used for digital files destined for screen display, while the CMYK (cyan, magenta, yellow, key) and BW (black and white) formats are used in digital files made to be printed on paper. Because the emblems were formatted to be used in this thesis, and because the thesis is printed for examination, each image was converted into one of the two printable colour formats, CMYK or black and white.

R	G	B
C	M	Y	K
B	W

Figure 3.1.3.C.
Three colour profiles
red, green, blue for screen;
cyan, magenta, yellow, key for print;
black and white for print.

Results

At the end of the Formatting sub-step, a total of 386 emblems were obtained (see Figure 3.1.3.D). This number was greater than the number of emblems in the previous step due to 14 extra black and white emblems that were generated during the Formatting step. One hundred and four emblems were extracted from digital sources, 62 of which were vector images, the remaining 42 were raster images.

251 BW

135 CMYK

386 TOTAL EMBLEMS AFTER 3.1.3

Figure 3.1.3.D.
Results of Formatting

3.1.4. Documenting

Because discursive method uses local government emblems as primary source material, each emblem was documented with the same rigour as written sources are referenced in histories that are structured based on textual evidence.

Process

Although the Documenting sub-step is presented in this section at the end of Collecting, each sub-step of the collecting process was documented for each emblem file. For each emblem, referencing information was collected in the first stage of documenting, along with extra information to ensure future ease of retrieval from the database. The APA 6th Referencing system was used to record where each emblem was found, and the date it was found was also recorded. Other details recorded in the database included the name of the government using the emblem, the emblem type (either a coat of arms, logo or seal, see page 16) and the colour versions of emblems that were collected.

Wherever possible, a second reference was collected for each emblem. This served two purposes: first, it verified the use of each emblem by each council, and second, the difference between the dates of the two sources provided a documented range of use. Where there was only one reference for an emblem available, the period of verified use was only one year (see Figure 3.1.4.A).

All emblems and details about the emblems were stored in a database. One record in the database was created for each unique emblem that was collected. As there were many duplicate emblems, and for some

emblems two different colour versions were collected (ʙw and cмyк), some database records contained more than one emblem (see Figure 3.1.4.A). As the various stages of discursive method progressed, extra details about each emblem were added to its record in the database.

EMBLEM	EMBLEM TITLE	VERIFIED USE		SOURCE REFERENCE
2.	Alpine Shire Council logo	2005–2005	E	Alpine Shire Council. (2005). Alpine Shire 2030 Community Vision. Retrieved August 8, 2008, from http://www.alpineshire.vic. gov.au/Files/2030-Community-Vision.pdf

Figure 3.1.4.A. Initial documentation for each collected emblem

Results

A total of 386 Victorian local government emblems were documented over a two and a half year period, from 25 February 2008 to 20 September 2010 (see Figure 3.1.4.B). The documented use of these emblems, based on the dates on the documents from which they were collected, ranges from 1956 to 2010. Although no verifiable evidence could be found of earlier use of the emblems, evidence of typefaces and production quality suggests many of the emblems, particularly the coats of arms, were used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

251 DISCRETE EMBLEM RECORDS
    251 BW
    135 CMYK
    386 TOTAL EMBLEMS AFTER 3.1.4

**Figure 3.1.4.B.
Results of Documenting**

Missing references

There were some flaws in the process of documenting, with the result that the sources of some emblems were not documented. In the cases of five digital emblems, the source references were not recorded at the time of collection. Looking for the source of these emblems

later, it was not possible to track down the original source. These emblems are identifiable in Appendix II by their missing source references (see Appendix II on page page 423).

Inaccuracy of displayed dates

It should be noted that although many of the emblems contain a date, this date cannot be considered evidence of the earliest date the emblem was used. Often the year shown on emblems refers to the date that the earliest incarnation of that council was incorporated, prior to amalgamation or devolution, or before the council was upgraded from a 'Town' to a 'City'. Since the displayed date does not always reflect the date that a government was created, it cannot accurately reflect the use of a particular emblem by a particular council.

3.2. Pruning

The Collecting step was intentionally developed to encompass as many emblems as possible, and the resulting emblem archive was consequently large. The Pruning step was developed to ensure that the artefacts included in the final artefact archive were firstly, relevant, and secondly, practicable to use in the research. The term 'pruning' was chosen in order to reflect the organic, unruly nature of the emblem archive, and also to avoid the textual connotations of the word 'editing.' In this step, irrelevant, technically unfit and duplicate emblems were pruned from the emblem archive, using yes or no questions intended to keep second order judgements to a minimum (see the theoretical basis for this in section 2.1.1 on page 101).

Pruning the emblem archive made it fit for the purpose of being a primary source for an artefact-led history of governance in Victoria. If these irrelevant, technically unfit and duplicate emblems were not pruned, the following steps in discursive method would be less effective. Consequently, the project as a whole would be less focussed and generally less manageable.

Three questions were asked of each collected emblem: is the emblem relevant? Is it technically fit? and is it a duplicate? (see Figure 3.2.A). If the answer to any of these questions was 'no', the emblem was pruned from the artefact sample. Emblems were only removed if they were not relevant to the study; if their details were not sufficiently legible, large or sharp; or if the emblem was an exact duplicate of another included in

IS THE ARTEFACT...

RELEVANT?
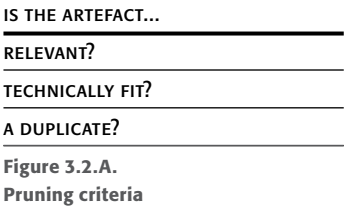
TECHNICALLY FIT?

A DUPLICATE?

Figure 3.2.A.
Pruning criteria

the study. This exclusion of emblems only by necessity was intended to keep the influence of the historian's professional biases to a minimum.

3.2.1. Irrelevant

Irrelevant emblems were those that were initially collected because they appeared to be appropriate to the study at the early collection stage, but after cleaning and further reflection, they were found not to be.

Process

The initial question that was asked in the Collecting step was 'could this be a relevant artefact?' In the Pruning step, the historian decided whether each collected emblem was relevant, and consequently whether it should continue to the next step of the method. Irrelevant emblems were any that, on reflection, do not fit within the parameters of the study. For example, emblems from interstate were excluded. This step involves some second order judgements in the form of reflection and reasoning about the plausibility of each file found actually being an emblem used by a local government in Victoria, for the primary purpose of representing that government.

Results

After checking official lists of council names produced by the Victorian State government, and looking critically at the context in which each emblem was found, 16 of the collected emblems were rejected as irrelevant (see Figure 3.2.1.A). This reduced the total number of discrete emblem records to 233 and the total number of emblems to 370 (see Figure 3.2.1.B). As

4	INTERIM COUNCIL LOGOS
2	INTERSTATE EMBLEMS
5	TOURISM LOGOS
5	UNCERTAIN EMBLEMS
16	IRRELEVANT EMBLEMS PRUNED

Figure 3.2.1.A. Irrelevant emblems

233 DISCRETE EMBLEM RECORDS
   235 BW
   134 CMYK
   370 TOTAL EMBLEMS AFTER 3.2.1

Figure 3.2.1.B.
Results of Pruning irrelevant emblems

discussed in the introduction, this study only includes emblems that have been officially used by Victorian local governments. Local government in Victoria has had a sometimes tumultuous history, and from time to time an interim council has been established while the local government is temporarily frozen or disbanded. The emblems of these short term, temporary councils were not used in this study. By checking the *Local Government Gazette* and other State government resources on local government, emblems from outside of Victoria and from interim councils were identified in the emblem archive and rejected as being irrelevant.

By looking critically at the context in which artefacts were found, such as an advertisement or a letterhead, it was clear that some collected artefacts were not actually emblems, they were tourism logos. Reflection on the context in which they were found rendered some artefacts more ambiguous; they could be government emblems, but they could just as easily not be. In these cases, comparisons were made between the ambiguous artefacts and other artefacts deemed to definitely be government emblems. When an artefact was found in a context that made its status as a government emblem ambiguous, and it did not share any of the hallmarks of other government emblems, such as the government's name, location or year, it was pruned from the emblem archive.
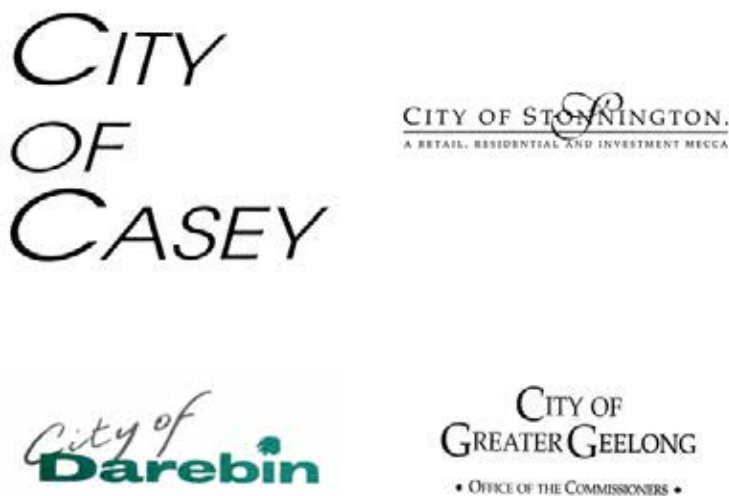
Interim council logos

Figure 3.2.1.C. Pruned interim council logos
Casey City Council, City of Stonnington, Darebin City Council & City of Greater Geelong

Four interim emblems were pruned from the emblem archive. These were from Casey City Council, Darebin City Council, the City of Greater Geelong and the City of Stonnington (see Figure 3.2.1.C). They were used for a short time during a period of local government reform, when the councils were temporarily, forcibly taken over by State government-appointed Commissioners. Two of the four interim emblems bear an incorrect council name, perhaps due to the instability of the period. These interim emblems were pruned because they were not verifiable as legitimate government emblems. They were more accurately temporary placeholders used in the time between old government emblems being no longer in use and new ones being commissioned.
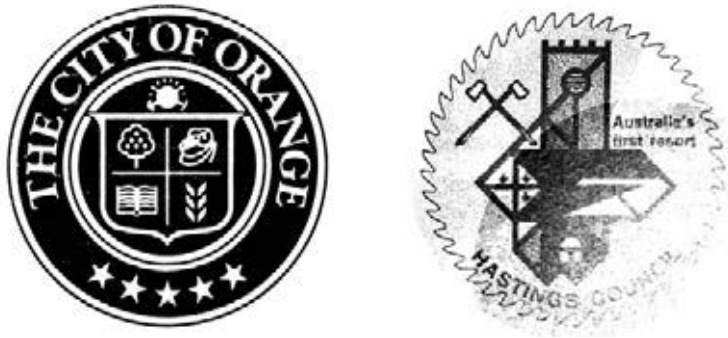
Interstate emblems

Figure 3.2.1.D. Pruned interstate emblems
The City of Orange (NSW), Shire of Hastings (NSW)

Two emblems were pruned because they turned out
to be used by councils from the neighbouring state
of New South Wales: the City of Orange seal and the
Hasting Council seal (see Figure 3.2.1.D). Two seals
were initially collected for the Shire of Hastings, but
during the pruning process, one was determined to
belong to a council in New South Wales that had the
same name as the Council of Hastings in Victoria.

Tourism logos

Figure 3.2.1.E. Pruned tourism-focused emblems
Shire of Bright, Shire of Flinders, Shire of Hastings, Shire of Kilmore, Shire of Melton.

Five of the emblems in the archive were noticeably different to the rest, focussing on the recreational activities the council area is known for. These were those associated with the Shire of Bright, the Shire of Kilmore, the Shire of Flinders, the Shire of Hastings and the Shire of Melton (see Figure 3.2.1.E). These appeared to be tourism-specific logos, used for promoting tourism within the area, rather than for representing the government. These five emblems were pruned from the emblem archive because, although some of them may have been used as official government emblems, the documents on which they were found created ambiguity about their use. Where a collected file could not be definitely verified as being an official government emblem, it was pruned.

Uncertain emblems

Figure 3.2.1.F. Pruned uncertain emblems
City of Keilor, City of Fitzroy, City of Portland, Shire of Bulla, City of Essendon

After tourism-focussed logos were pruned from the emblem archive, five ambiguous artefacts remained (see Figure 3.2.1.F). No decisive record of these files being used as government emblems was found, and three of the five did not contain words referring to any government. The City of Keilor digital file was found on the cover of a newspaper supplement focussing on the City of Keilor. The City of Fitzroy artefact was found adorning an article about the City of Fitzroy in a newspaper. The City of Portland artefact was found on stationery, alongside the City of Portland arms. The Shire of Bulla and City of Essendon images were found on articles about the councils in a newspaper. In each of these instances they could have been either illustrations or emblems, but the open nature of the

Collecting step allowed for them to be collected. However, they were pruned later, since no evidence was found that reduced the ambiguity of their status.

3.2.2. Technically Unfit

Technically Unfit emblems were those whose details could not be seen, or that could not be put into the previously agreed, common format. For example, if the emblem was too small or the image resolution of the digital file containing the emblem was too low.

Process

In the Formatting step, some emblems did not meet the technical requirements of the minimum number of pixels (see page 171). Rather than being excluded at that time, they were marked as being technically unfit and left in the database until the Pruning step. At this stage, the emblems that were too small were removed from the emblem archive, but the remainder of the emblems were also examined for technical fitness. The broadness of the search in the Finding sub-step of Collecting allowed for a broad range of quality files to be collected. When the question was asked 'is this emblem technically fit?' many emblems had to be omitted from the sample as not being technically fit for a range of reasons. This step involved less second order judgements than the stage of pruning irrelevant emblems, because ascertaining whether minimum standards of quality have been met requires less critical thought than questions of relevance.

Results

Very few of the emblems were pruned for being technically unfit. In total, 20 emblems were rejected for this reason (see Figure 3.2.2.A). Emblems were pruned if they were too blurred, partially obscured, if only part of the emblem was collected (for example, the image but not the type, as in the case of the emblems in Figure 3.2.2.F on page 188) or if they were too small. This left a remaining 233 discrete emblem records, consisting of 351 emblems (see Figure 3.2.2.B).

6	BLURRED EMBLEMS
3	OBSCURED EMBLEMS
2	PARTIAL EMBLEMS
9	TOO SMALL EMBLEMS
20	UNFIT EMBLEMS PRUNED

Figure 3.2.2.A.
Emblems pruned because they were technically unfit

223	DISCRETE EMBLEM RECORDS
	223 BW
	128 CMYK
	351 TOTAL EMBLEMS AFTER 3.2.2

Figure 3.2.2.B.
Results of Pruning irrelevant emblems

Blurred emblems

Figure 3.2.2.C. Blurred emblems
Shire of Alexandra, City of Wangaratta, City of Echuca, Shire of Cobram, Shire of Gisborne

Several of the collected emblems were blurred, but this blurring was not necessarily a problem. As long as the symbols and text in the emblem were legible, the

emblem remained in the archive (see Figure 3.2.2.D). Six emblems contained either images or text that were not rendered sharp enough in the digital files to be clearly visible, and were therefore pruned (see Figure 3.2.2.C). The text in the Shire of Alexandra seal was legible, but the image at the centre of the seal was blurred so much that individual symbols could not be identified. The City of Wangaratta, Shire of Winchelsea, City of Echuca, Shire of Cobram and Shire of Gisborne seals all contained illegible text. In addition, the images in the City of Wangaratta and Shire of Gisborne seals were particularly blurred.

Figure 3.2.2.D. Blurred but included emblems
City of Moe, City of Warrnambool, Rural City of Wodonga

For comparison, Figure 3.2.2.D shows emblems that were blurred but discernible enough to be included in the history. The wheat sheaf and ship in the City of Warrnambool emblem are hard to make out, as is the text 'Always Forward' in the City of Moe emblem. The Rural City of Wodonga emblem is legible, but definitely blurred. However, both text and images can be discerned in each of these three emblems so they were retained.

Obscured emblems

Figure 3.2.2.E. Obscured emblems
Shire of Narracan, Town of Portland, Shire of Sherbrooke

Three of the emblems were collected in spite of
being obstructed in the photos they were found in
(see Figure 3.2.2.E). The Shire of Narracan seal and
the Shire of Sherbrooke seals both have significant
portions of the emblem obstructed by someone's head
in a photograph. Similarly, only half of the Town of
Portland seal was collected. On reflection as to whether
these emblems were appropriate to be in the emblem
archive, the historian decided they were technically
unfit because a considerable amount of the emblem
content was not recorded.

Partial emblems

Figure 3.2.2.F. Partial emblems
Pyrenees Shire Council, Hindmarsh Shire Council

Two emblems were found in a large size and also in a size too small to use. When the large and small emblems were put alongside each other, the historian noticed that the large emblems were only partial emblems, as the logotype, present on the smaller version was missing on the larger ones (see Figure 3.2.2.F). These partial emblems, the Hindmarsh Shire Council and Pyrenees Shire Council logos were pruned because, like the obscured emblems, they could not be described and compared fully with other emblems in their large size, and in their small size they were too small to display.

<u>Too small emblems</u>

Figure 3.2.2.G. Too small emblems
City of St Kilda, Yarriambiack Shire Council, Central Goldfields Shire Council,
Frankston City Council, Indigo Shire Council, Hepburn Shire Council, Shire of
Corio, West Wimmera Shire Council, Maroondah City Council

As discussed previously, the minimum emblem file size was 295 pixels wide or high (see page 171). Nine emblems smaller than these dimensions were found and later pruned (see Figure 3.2.2.G). The minimum pixel size was determined because digital files any smaller than those pixel dimensions would appear blurred at the 45mm x 45mm standard dimensions that were used for description and display of emblems throughout this research.

3.2.3. Duplicates

For the purposes of this study, an emblem file was considered to be a duplicate if there was more than one file showing the same emblem, in the same colour format, using exactly the same typeface, wording, and images. An emblem was only discarded when every single detail of two emblems was exactly the same.

Process

All the remaining emblems were compared with one another to check for duplicates. There were a large number of emblems that looked visually similar, and that were used by the same council, but many of these were kept, as they turned out to have slightly different typefaces or wording. Others proved to be genuine duplicates, and these were removed. For a few emblems, two different formats of the same emblem were found, and one of these was discarded.

Results

A total of 69 duplicate emblems were found, 66 of which were exact duplicates, and three were landscape duplicates (see Figure 3.2.3.A). Where emblem files were identified as duplicates, the technical specifications of each file (vector or raster file construction) were compared, and the file with vector construction was kept, as this is a more robust, versatile and efficient file size. At the end of the Pruning step, the emblem archive contained a total of 282 emblems (see Figure 3.2.3.B).

66	EXACT DUPLICATES
3	LANDSCAPE DUPLICATES
69	DUPLICATE EMBLEMS PRUNED

Figure 3.2.3.A.
Emblems pruned for being duplicates

198	DISCRETE EMBLEM RECORDS
198	BW
84	CMYK
282	TOTAL EMBLEMS AFTER 3.2.3

Figure 3.2.3.B.
Results of Pruning duplicates

Landscape duplicate emblems

Figure 3.2.3.C. Landscape duplicate emblems
(shown here with duplicate portrait emblems above)

In the case of logos, there was sometimes more than one version found in use simultaneously. Where both a landscape and a portrait logo were readily available, the landscape logo was used for analysis. The decision to use portrait, rather than landscape logos was decided by the requirements of this thesis. Logos were required to be as clear as possible in a square of 4.5cm wide by 4.5cm high. As Figure 3.2.3.C shows, the three landscape emblems (along the bottom row of the figure) appear much smaller than their portrait counterparts in the row above. Because they are smaller, the details of the landscape format logos are less clear, and so they were omitted from the final emblem archive.

3.3. Describing

After removing duplicates, the emblem archive was complete and ready to be described. The merits of describing as investigation were outlined in chapter two (see 2.1.2 on page 110). The Describing step in discursive method was developed so that the emblems would not require analysis, and therefore the entire research process could adhere to relativist principles. Describing involves four sub-steps: Identifying and Grouping, Structuring, Classifying and Interpreting (see Figure 3.3.A).

IDENTIFYING & GROUPING
STRUCTURING
CLASSIFYING
INTERPRETING

Figure 3.3.A.
Describing sub-steps

3.3.1. Identifying and Grouping

Identifying and Grouping is a two part sub-step. The two parts were included together because they were conducted concurrently, using first order judgements. To conduct these two parts separately would involve second order judgements, since many of the groupings appeared 'natural' to the historian, and these natural groupings would consciously have to be ignored if identifying was conducted in isolation (Figure 2.1.1.B on page 106 for conditions affecting the historian's first order judgements).

Process

The historian inspected every emblem in the archive closely, so as to identify as many individual communicative attributes as possible. Each attribute identified was added to a database for classifying later in the Describing step. Some of the individual attributes suggested their own groupings. For example, identifying colours in the emblems automatically suggested a colour group (see Figure 3.3.1.A). Identifying these
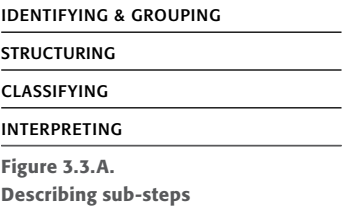
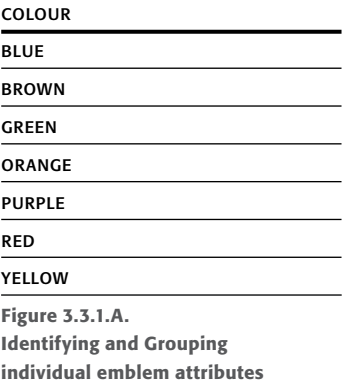| COLOUR |
| --- |
| BLUE |
| BROWN |
| GREEN |
| ORANGE |
| PURPLE |
| RED |
| YELLOW |

Figure 3.3.1.A.
Identifying and Grouping
individual emblem attributes

emblem attributes and groupings was not effortful, as it relied on first order judgements. The selections made by the historian appeared obvious, because of the dependence on first order judgements.

Results

This sub-step resulted in hundreds of individual emblem attributes being identified, and many of them were grouped. Apart from the groupings of some attributes that appeared obvious to the historian, this large collection was unordered, and somewhat overwhelming. However, these attributes were all stored in a flexible database system for later incorporation into the classification system developed in the Structuring sub-step.

3.3.2. Structuring

The disordered results of Identifying and Grouping highlighted the need for some classification structure. In order to make the attributes of the emblems in the archive intelligible, the Structuring step involved creating a basic classification structure for the emblem attributes to fill. A faceted classification system, as discussed in chapter two (see page 111) was deemed to be the only way to organise the results of Identifying and Grouping that was in keeping with relativist principles of investigation.

The faceted classification system serves two purposes in discursive method: it orders individual emblem attributes, and allows identification of discourse technologies within the emblem archive (see section 2.4.2 on page 144). The faceted classification

system is therefore the key intermediary between the processes of identifying attributes of the emblems and the process of identifying embodied discourse technologies in the emblem archive. In the faceted classification system, each aspect of the emblems was determined to be either a force, technique or device of an embodied discourse technology.

Process

The Structuring step incorporated various aspects of discourse technologies identified in chapter two (see section 2.4.2 on page 144) into a faceted classification system. Together, they formed a classification framework, ready for emblem attributes to be added in the Classifying step. Structuring the faceted classification system relied entirely on second order judgements, as this was a complex task requiring conscious use of conceptual and organisational problem solving skills.

Results

Together, Figures 3.3.2.A–3.3.2.C. show the structure of the faceted classification system before any facets were added. First, two main groups were identified: external technologies (part of external discourses occurring outside of the emblems) and embodied technologies (occurring inside of the emblems, as part of an embodied discourse, see page 147).

EXTERNAL TECHNOLOGIES

EMBODIED TECHNOLOGIES

Figure 3.3.2.A.
Main division in the faceted classification

External discourse technologies

External discourse technologies provide information about the context in which the emblems were produced. Specifically, they provide insight into the technologies of government that regulated the production of the emblems. Government refers to a kind of power inherent in all human transactions (see section 2.3.3 on page 132). To study the technologies of government is, in effect, to study the mechanisms of a certain kind of power as it is embodied in the emblems.

Although many external technologies of government could potentially be identified, only two were considered relevant to the emblem archive: technologies of profession and technologies of production (see Figure 3.3.2.B). The technology of profession involves the regulatory influences involved in producing an emblem through the knowledge disciplines and practice methods of a specific profession. The technology of production involves the means of producing an emblem. The technologies of profession and production were considered relevant to the embodied discourses because they both determine aspects of the overall emblem form.
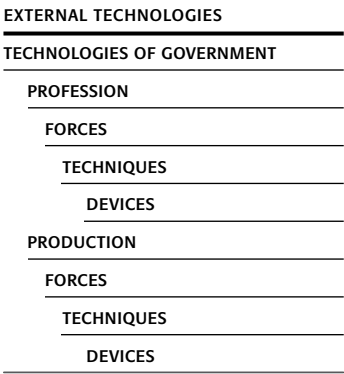
EXTERNAL TECHNOLOGIES
TECHNOLOGIES OF GOVERNMENT
PROFESSION
FORCES
TECHNIQUES
DEVICES
PRODUCTION
FORCES
TECHNIQUES
DEVICES

Figure 3.3.2.B.
Hierarchy of external technologies in the faceted classification

Embodied discourse technologies

The main focus of the faceted classification system is embodied discourse technologies contained within each individual emblem (see Figure 3.3.2.C). Continuing the findings about discourse technologies from chapter two, this grouping was further divided into technologies of form and technologies of content (for more on technologies of content and form, see page 149). This was in order to separate the influences of form attributes, such as typography, from the influences of content attributes, such as the meaning of individual words. By dividing the classification system in this way, it was possible to gain a clear picture of the range of form and content attributes within the emblem archive from glancing at the faceted classification.

Within the emblem archive, three technologies of form were identified: emblem form, the form qualities of the emblem overall; image form, the depictions and treatments of images; and word form, or typography. Two technologies of content were identified: image content, the symbols or meanings within images; and word content, the meanings of individual words.

Each of the technologies identified in the structure of the faceted classification system was further divided into the three attributes identified in the part of chapter two titled 'Anatomy of a discourse technology': forces, techniques and devices (see page 150). To briefly summarise, forces are large-scale forms of knowledge; techniques are specific tools; and devices are individual elements produced by both forces and techniques. As Figure 3.3.2.C shows, forces, techniques and devices

EMBODIED TECHNOLOGIES

TECHNOLOGIES OF FORM

  EMBLEM FORM

    FORCES

      TECHNIQUES

        DEVICES

  IMAGE FORM

    FORCES

      TECHNIQUES

        DEVICES

  WORD FORM

    FORCES

      TECHNIQUES

        DEVICES

TECHNOLOGIES OF CONTENT

  IMAGE CONTENT

    FORCES

      TECHNIQUES

        DEVICES

  WORD CONTENT

    FORCES

      TECHNIQUES

        DEVICES

Figure 3.3.2.C.
Hierarchy of embodied technologies in the faceted classification

are hierarchical, with forces influencing both techniques and devices, techniques influencing devices only, and devices having no influence over forces or techniques.

3.3.3.Classifying

Once the faceted classification system was structured, the historian used it to classify each of the communicative attributes documented in the Identifying and Grouping sub-step. In addition, Classifying also added extra emblem attributes to the faceted classification system, using second order judgements.

Process

In the Classifying sub-step, the flexible database of emblem attributes that was created during Identifying and Grouping was given structure. The framework formulated in the Structuring sub-step was added to the database, and then the emblem attributes were placed in their relevant categories. After the faceted classification structure was added to the database, all emblem attributes in the database were referred to as facets, as each emblem attribute became one facet in the faceted classification system. The term 'facet' is therefore used for the remaining discussion of the faceted classification system. Each grouping is referred to throughout the remaining discussion of the faceted classification as a facet group.

After the facets from the Identifying and Grouping sub-step were added to the faceted classification system, additional facets were added. Many of the new facets were suggested by the existing facets. For example, in

the Identifying and Cleaning sub-step, each emblem
was identified as either a coat of arms, a logo or a seal.
In the Classifying sub-step, these three attributes were
made into facets, and made into a facet group called
'emblem type,' that was in turn added to the 'emblem
form force' category in the faceted classification.

Looking critically at this facet group, it became evident
that it belonged to both an external discourse
technology and an embodied discourse technology.
Emblem type is one of the two linking facet groups that
bridge external and embodied technologies. Figure
3.3.3.A shows how the linking facet group 'emblem
type' connects the external discourse technology of
profession with the embodied discourse technology of
emblem form. It is a device in an external discourse
technology, at the same time as it is a force in an
embodied discourse technology.

TECHNOLOGY OF PROFESSION	FORCE	PROFESSIONAL PRACTISE		
	TECHNIQUES	PROFESSIONAL SYSTEM		
	DEVICE	EMBLEM TYPE	FORCE	TECHNOLOGY OF EMBLEM FORM
		COLOUR TYPE PERIOD STYLE	TECHNIQUES	
		COLOUR EXTERNAL SHAPE	DEVICES	

Figure 3.3.3.A. Linking facet group
The 'Emblem type' facet group links external and embodied discourse technologies

After establishing that 'emblem type' was a linking
facet, the historian identified other facet groups related
to it in both the external discourse technology and
the embodied discourse technology (Figure 3.3.3.A).
When combined, these groups of facets exhaustively
described one particular aspect of the form or content
of the emblems, either the governance, appearance,
symbols or words. The word exhaustive is used here
because every attempt has been made to include all

classifiable aspects of the emblems. However, it is used with the understanding that other perspectives would no doubt find other things to describe within the emblems. The faceted classification system is only exhaustive from one historian's viewpoint.

Wherever possible, the facet groups were made mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive. To this end, many of the groups contain a 'residual facet.' This is a facet that is attributed to all emblems that do not fit within any other facets in that group. For example, in Figure 3.3.3.B, the facet group 'colour type' contains a facet called 'black & white'; this is the facet that was attributed to all emblems that did not contain any colour. Where there were duplicate attributes in an emblem (for example, more than one colour or typeface), more than one facet in the classification system was selected. The facet groups that allowed for multiple facet selection are marked with comments to that effect in Figure 3.3.3.C.

During the preparation of the classification system, archaeological references on style were consulted, since archaeology has a long history of classifying visual materials. The 'multi-level/multi-dimensional approach' found in archaeology, where many sources and theories are used to provide multiple perspectives on one set of artefacts, was found to be most complementary to the ideas in the previous chapter and also appropriate to this emblem group (Hegmon, 1992, p. 531). From archaeology, the faceted classification also takes the binary on/off system of attribution of each individual facet.

COLOUR TYPE
BLACK & WHITE
COLOUR
PRIMARY COLOUR
SECONDARY COLOUR
TERTIARY COLOUR

Figure 3.3.3.B.
A technique facet group
in the faceted classification system
The last three facets are dependent
upon the second facet

External technologies

Technologies of government

Profession

Force	Technique	Device
Professional practise	**Professional system**	**Emblem type**
Graphic design practise	Corporate identity	Coat of arms
Heraldic practise	Heraldry	Logo
	Para-heraldry	Seal

Production

Force	Technique	Device
Tool	**Use**	**Manufacture effect**
Paper	Lithography?	Bromide
Ink	Offset printing	Cast metal
Printing press	Bromide photography	Etching
Computer	Desktop publishing	Pen & ink
		Vector

Embodied technologies

Technologies of form

Technologies of content

Emblem form

Force	Technique	Device
Emblem type	**Period style**	**External shape**
Coat of arms	Decorative	Landscape
Logo	International	Portrait
Seal	Modern	Rectangular
	Postmodern	Round
Manufacture effect	**Colour type**	**Colour**
Bromide	Black & white	Blue
Cast metal	Colour	Brown
Etching	- Primary colour	Green
Pen & ink	- Secondary colour	Orange
Vector	- Tertiary colour	Purple
		Red
		Yellow

Where more than one colour is present, one or more colour facets may be selected per emblem.

Word content: Motto

Force	Technique	Device
Language	**Reference**	**Allegiance**
Motto	Allegiance	Faith
- English	Aspiration	God
- French	Environment	
- Latin	Industry	**Aspiration**
No motto		Rectitude
		Light
		Good tidings
		Honour
		Preparation
		Justice
		Courage
		Environment
		Haven
		Industry
		Cornucopia
		Work

Image content

Force
Meaning
Associative
Descriptive
Found
Metaphor

Word form (typography)

Technique	Device
Typeface	**Typographic system**
Type	Asymmetrical
No type	Symmetrical
	Dilatational
Display	Dynamic balance
- Decorative	
- Script	**Type accent**
Sans serif	Italic
- Grotesque	Roman
- Neogrotesque	
- Humanist	**Type case**
- Geometric	Lower case
Serif	Small caps
- Humanist	Title case
- Transitional	Upper case
- Modernist	
- Slab	**Type weight**
	Light
	Book
	Bold
	Heavy

Where more than one typeface is present, one or more typeface facet may be selected per emblem.

Word content: Name

Force	Technique	Device
Language	**Name**	**Location**
Name	Full name	Australia
- English	Name +	Murray River
No name	- Citizens	Natimuk
	- Location	Victoria
	- Year	No location
	Partial name	
	No name	**People**
		Citizen
These facets are not mutually exclusive. One or more name + facets may be selected per emblem.		Councillor
		Mayor
		Ratepayer
		No people

These facets are not mutually exclusive. One or more location facets may be selected per emblem.

Year

Year

No year

Figure 3.3.3.C. Faceted classification used to describe the emblems

Technique

Allegiance
Christianity
Civic
Law
Monarchy
Nation
No allegiance

Environment
Architecture
Fauna
- Bird
- Bivalve
- Cetacea
- Marsupial
Flora
- Flower
- Small plant
- Tree
Geography
Weather
No environment

Industry
Primary
- Agriculture
- Fishing/Whaling
- Logging
- Mining
- Viticulture
Secondary
- Manufacturing
- Tertiary
- Education
- Transport
No industry

Leisure
Art
Sport
No leisure

Myth
Biblical
Greek/Roman
Heraldic
Local
No myth

Population
Citizens
Employment
Ethnicity
No population

Device

Name
Canting
Initials
Namesake
No name

Internal shape
Rectangle
Ribbon
Shield
Sphere
No internal shape

Allegiance
Civic
Mural crown

Christianity
Bible
Cross

Law
Balance of scales

Monarchy
British royal arms
British royal crown
British royal motto
Queens Victoria

Nation
Australian arms
Australian motto
Southern cross

Environment
Architecture
Part
- Clock tower
- Column
- Castle
- House
Building
- Lighthouse
- Town hall
Structure
- Jetty
- Monument
- Radio tower

Fauna
Bivalve
- Shell
Cetacea
- Dolphin
Bird
- Cockatoo
- Emu
- Falcon
- Heron
- Honeyeater
- Lyrebird
- Magpie
- Kookaburra
- Pelican
- Seagull
- Swan
- Generic bird
Marsupial
- Kangaroo
- Wombat

Flora
Flower
- Lily
- Pink heath
- Wattle
- Generic flower
Small plant
- Fern
- Grass
- Reeds
- Generic leaf
Tree
- Eucalypt
- Fern tree
- Palm tree
- Red gum
- Generic tree

Geography
Land
- Cliff
- Hill
- Horizon line
- Mountain
Water
- Lake
- River
- Sea
- Swamp
- Waterfall

Industry
Agriculture
Farm animals
- Bee
- Beehive
- Cow
- Horns
- Rooster
- Sheep
Crops
- Fruit tree
- Pasture
- Planted crop
Produce
- Fruit
- Bag of grain
- Ear of wheat
- Wheat sheaf
Tools
- Hoe
- Rake
- Sickle
- Thresher
- Windmill

Fishing/Whaling
Anchor
Fish
Semaphore flags
Ship
Whale

Logging
Axe
Saw blade
Tree stump

Mining
Gold pan
Mine
Pickaxe
Shovel

Viticulture
Grapes

Manufacturing
Barrel
Cogged wheel
Factory
Grinding stone
Waterwheel

Education
Book
Owl
Quill

Transport
Carriage lantern
Carriage wheel
Horse
Road
Train

Leisure
Art
Paintbrush
Pencil

Sport
Golf
Rowing
Sailboat
Windsurfer

Myth
Biblical
Noah's ark
Sword of St Paul
Dove w branch

Greek/Roman
Aequitas
Cornucopia
Drinking horn
Laurel
Lyre
Mermaid
Olympic torch
Pegasus
Trident
Trireme

Heraldic
Knights templar
Other harp

Local
Eureka stockade

Population
Citizens
Hands clasped
Generic person

Employment
Boatman
Farmer
Miner
Tracker

Ethnicity
British
- Cornish bird
- English lion
- Scottish unicorn
- Welsh lion
- St George cross
Indigenous
- Boomerang
- Black person
- Dot painting
- Spear
Irish
- Irish harp
- Clover

Where more than one referent is present, one or more facets may be selected per emblem for all symbol subgroupings.

The facets were developed and allocated to particular emblems based on observation of the characteristics of all emblems in the archive. In this process, the historian depended heavily on first order judgements. While it is not claimed that the classification system is objective, it does follow Kendall and Wickham's prescription of avoiding second order judgements and hence avoiding conscious subjective analysis.

In the Classifying sub-step external classification systems were consulted. Where there were relevant, standardised classifications and terminologies for particular artefact attributes, as there are for colours and typefaces, the historian used them to assist with assigning facets and identifying facet groups.

Results

At the end of the Classifying sub-step, every communicative attribute of every emblem in the archive had been identified as either a force, technique or device in one of several embodied form and content discourse technologies. The discourse technologies highlighted in the faceted classification system are technologies occurring within each individual emblem. The individual facet groups and facets are explained below. Some, such as colour, require little or no explanation. Others, such as typographic composition (see Figure 3.3.3.C on page 200), require extensive explanation, as they use terminology and concepts that have been derived from specialist knowledge areas. All facets in the classification system are listed alphabetically. Although the faceted classification may resemble a taxonomic content analysis, it should be

noted that content analysis and faceted classification stem from different theoretical traditions and serve different purposes.

Emblem form forces

The technology of emblem form includes facets for qualities that affect the images and words, form and content of each emblem overall. Two emblem form forces were identified: emblem type and manufacture effect (see Figure 3.3.3.D). The emblem type facet group includes the facets: coat of arms, logo and seal. These facets relate to the basic external form of each emblem. Coats of arms, logos and seals have been described previously in this thesis (see i.1 on page 16).

Manufacture effect refers to the apparent production technique and materials used in the creation of the emblem artefact. They are apparent because the production technique used to produce most of the emblems in the archive cannot be definitively proved. However, the emblems do contain traces of the technologies used in their production and these have been documented in the manufacture effect facet group (see Figure 3.3.3.D).

The bromide facet refers to emblems that contain evidence of being made through a bromide photography process. This was a common production process before the use of vector editing tools became widespread in the late 1990s. It involved manually assembling an emblem through cutting and pasting Letraset letters and/or hand-rendered illustrations or type together, taking a photograph of the assembled

EMBLEM TYPE
COAT OF ARMS
LOGO
SEAL

MANUFACTURE EFFECT
BROMIDE
CAST METAL
ETCHING
PEN & INK
VECTOR

Figure 3.3.3.D.
Emblem form forces

emblem, and reproducing it through a manual photographic developing process onto high contrast bromide paper. Bromide technology produced emblems that appear very similar to vector emblems but there are some giveaway signs that distinguish between them.

As the name suggests, the cast metal facet relates to emblems that have been cast in metal. The etching facet refers to emblems made using a process of etching or engraving each line and letter into a metal plate. Ink is washed into the lines, and the resulting impression made from those lines is the emblem. Emblems that have been produced using etching can be identified by their highly detailed images and type, particularly their fine lines.

The pen and ink facet alludes to production of emblems with pen and ink on paper. Prior to widespread availability of vector technology this was a common production technique. Many of the emblems in this sample are pen and ink because they were recovered from a book by an Illustrator, who had reproduced many emblems of Melbourne councils as they were in 1982.

The production of vectors has been discussed earlier in this chapter (see page 168) so will not be covered here again. However, some differences between vectors and other manufacture effects were identified. Emblems printed from an etching or from bromide have different print qualities from one another, and these were discerned from the original printed emblem artefacts sighted in the Capturing and Cleaning sub-step (see 3.1.2 on page 167). Similarly, emblems

with vector and bromide production can often be distinguished from each other by the sharpness of the reproduction, and by the rendering quality of gradients and transparencies. Vector manufacture effect was attributed to all emblems collected in a vector digital file format. Cast metal manufacture effect was also easy to identify because the two emblems in cast metal were large cast metal seals in a council building that the historian had photographed. They were identifiable as having a different manufacture effect to the other emblems in terms of materials and colour. The emblems that were rendered in pen and ink often had a slightly asymmetrical composition, and bore much more variable line widths than the emblems in any other manufacture effect.

Emblem form techniques

The two emblem form techniques identified were period style and colour type (see Figure 3.3.3.E). Period style and colour type were considered to be techniques because they are subordinate to manufacture effect and emblem type, but each have influence over one emblem form device. Period style relates to the stylistic treatment of the emblem content, grouping emblems according to characteristics that typify a design history 'period'. The facets in the period style group have been loosely based on Drucker & McVarish's definitions of various period styles in their *Graphic Design History* (Drucker & McVarish, 2008, p. 216, 263, 301). Emblems that were attributed a decorative period style facet have many flourishes and intricately detailed decoration.

PERIOD STYLE
DECORATIVE
INTERNATIONAL
MODERN
POSTMODERN

COLOUR TYPE
BLACK & WHITE
COLOUR
PRIMARY COLOUR
SECONDARY COLOUR
TERTIARY COLOUR

Figure 3.3.3.E.
Emblem form techniques

Many of the coats of arms are portrayed in decorative style, for example the City of Brunswick arms (see Figure 5.1.4.D on page 332).

The International style facet is similar to the modern style, but emblems in this group had more regular geometric proportions, less abstract shapes, and more grid-like spatial composition. Overall they were more minimalist than the emblems in the modern style group. The Shire of Flinders seal is a good example of this angular style (see Figure 5.2.2.B on page 345). Emblems with a modern period style facet contained sans serif typefaces, thick line rules, bold primary and secondary colours, abstract shapes and asymmetrical spatial composition. Modern style was common among the logos in this study.

Finally, emblems with a postmodern period style are recognisable for their inclusion of elements from multiple other period styles. They commonly include both serif and sans serif typefaces and minimalist trademarks combined with decorative flourishes. They often also have a dynamic balance typographic system and intersecting or overlapping contrasting areas, for example, the Boroondara City Council logo (see Figure 5.3.2.O on page 372). It should be noted that emblems in the postmodern style are more diverse than emblems in other styles.

Colour type was a self-explanatory facet group. The facet black and white refers to emblems with the BW format discussed earlier in this chapter, in the Formatting sub-step (see section 3.1.3 on page 171). While the colour facet encompasses all emblems with a CMYK or RGB file format, the three sub-facets primary,

secondary and tertiary colour relate to the complexity of the colours in the emblems. Primary colours are red blue and yellow, secondary colours are made up of a mix of two primary colours, and tertiary colours involve a mix of a primary and a secondary colour.

Emblem form devices

The two emblem form devices are external shape and colour (see Figure 3.3.3.F). These facet groups were classified as devices because the shape of emblems and the colours used in them are dependent on both the emblem form forces, emblem type and manufacture effect, and on the emblem form technique, period style. In addition, the colour facet group was also dependent on the emblem form technique of colour type. Four shape facets were used to classify the external shape of the emblems. Round and rectangular were used as catch-all categories to describe any emblem with a continuous curved outside (for round) or four straight, solid sides (for rectangular). Because of these loose definitions, the round facet included all oval as well as circular emblems, and the rectangular facet included all square emblems. Many of the emblems had irregular shapes that did not fit neatly into the round or rectangular facets. These were classified as either landscape or portrait. Emblems that were not round or rectangular and were wider than they were high, were given a landscape facet. The remaining emblems, those that were higher than they were wide, were assigned a portrait facet.

The loose use of the terms round and rectangular in this classification was inspired by the similar use in gestalt psychology of the same terms (Dondis, 1973, p.

EXTERNAL SHAPE
LANDSCAPE
PORTRAIT
RECTANGULAR
ROUND

COLOUR
BLUE
BROWN
GREEN
ORANGE
PURPLE
RED
YELLOW

Figure 3.3.3.F.
Emblem form devices

15). In graphic design practise, the terms landscape and portrait are commonly used to refer to logos, and in this study they have the same meaning as in the practise context.

Word form forces

The discourse technology of word form differed from the majority of discourse technologies in that it did not contain its own force properties. Instead, it was governed by both the forces of the emblem form: emblem type and manufacture effect. It was also governed by the motto content force and the name content force. The technology of word form is dependent on word content as there is only word form when there is word content. The title of the discourse technology 'word form' is used to maintain consistency with the other discourse technologies, thereby providing clarity about how it relates to them. However, the more commonly accepted and established title for the contents of the 'word form' discourse technology is 'typography', meaning the study of typefaces and the spatial arrangement of typefaces.

Word form techniques

The only word form technique was typeface, that classified the typefaces used in the emblems (see Figure 3.3.3.G). The typeface is the face, clothes or form of letters. The typeface facet group had two sub-facet groupings. The first described whether there was type in the emblem or not, and the second described the typographic system used in the emblems.

The typeface classification system was used to identify the kind of typefaces that appeared in each emblem.

TYPEFACE
TYPE
NO TYPE
DISPLAY
DECORATIVE
SCRIPT
SANS SERIF
GROTESQUE
NEO-GROTESQUE
HUMANIST
GEOMETRIC
SERIF
HUMANIST
TRANSITIONAL
MODERNIST
SLAB

Figure 3.3.3.G.
Word form techniques

Identifying every single typeface in the emblem archive was beyond the scope of this study. As the emblems often contain more than one typeface, the typeface classification is not mutually exclusive per emblem, but it is mutually exclusive per typeface. The typeface classification used in this study was derived from a simple and practical system commonly used in graphic design practise.

The two display facets are decorative and script (see Figure 3.3.3.H). Decorative typefaces are elaborate and distinct. Their contrast and line widths vary widely, and they are often illustrative, depicting an object within the typeface. Script typefaces mimic handwriting, usually in a calligraphic style. The contrast and stress in these typefaces vary widely.

Figure 3.3.3.H. Emblems assigned decorative typeface facets
City of Maroondah logo contains a decorative typeface; City of Knox logo
contains a script typeface

Subordinate to the sans serif facet were four sub-facets: grotesque, neo-grotesque, humanist sans, geometric. Grotesque typefaces have curling, close set jaws, squareness of curves, and low contrast. Neo-grotesque typefaces are a progression of grotesques. They are slightly more regular than grotesques, with more open

jaws, a more monoline appearance (even though there is a small amount of contrast in letterform line widths), and often have oblique ends on curved strokes.

Humanist sans typefaces have similar origins to humanist serif, and share the same italic line angle. They can often be identified by flared terminals, slightly higher contrast than grotesques and two-story 'g's. For example, this thesis is set in a humanist sans serif typeface.

Geometric typefaces have letterforms that are symmetrical, simple and regular with almost no line contrast. Figure 3.3.3.I shows some examples of sans serif typefaces from the emblem archive.

Figure 3.3.3.I. Emblems assigned sans serif typeface facets
clockwise from top left: grotesque, neo-grotesque, humanist sans, geometric

The three main facets in the type classification are display, sans serif and serif. The facets in the display sub-group refer to more illustrative, bespoke typefaces that are often hand-rendered, and do not easily sit in either the serif or sans-serif sub-groups. Sans serif is a typographic term derived from the French, literally translating as 'without serif.' Figure 3.3.3.J highlights the optional additions to the ends of letterforms that are known as serifs. The serif sub-group refers to all typefaces containing serifs.

Figure 3.3.3.J.
Serifs

The serif facet has four subordinate facets: humanist serif, transitional, modernist and slab facets. Humanist typefaces, both serif and sans serif, are said to have italics at the slant angle that script is written most naturally by the human hand. Humanist serif typefaces have heavily bracketed serifs, oblique stress and medium amount of contrast between the emphasised and de-emphasised parts of the type (see Figure 3.3.3.K).

Heavily bracketed serif   Oblique stress   Medium contrast

Figure 3.3.3.K. Characteristics of humanist serif

Transitional typefaces have high contrast, sculpted bracketed serifs and usually vertical stress (see Figure 3.3.3.L).

Figure 3.3.3.L. Characteristics of transitional serif

Modernist typefaces are similar to transitional typefaces, since they are derived from them. Modernist typefaces greatly exaggerate some of the characteristics of the transitional typefaces. They have extremely high contrast, thin or hairline serifs, uniform widths and the stress is always completely vertical (see Figure 3.3.3.M).
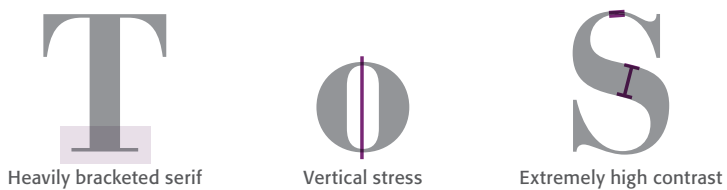
Figure 3.3.3.M. Characteristics of modernist serif

Slab typefaces are easily identifiable by their distinctive heavy, unbracketed serifs, known as slab serifs. They also have very little contrast in line widths within the letterforms (see Figure 3.3.3.N). Figure 3.3.3.O shows examples of the various serif typefaces from within the emblem archive.

Figure 3.3.3.N.
Slab typeface
Slab serif & little contrast

Figure 3.3.3.O. Emblems containing the different serif facets
Clockwise from top left: humanist serif, transitional, modernist & slab

Word form devices

Four different word devices were identified in the emblems: type accent, type case, type weight and typographic system (see Figure 3.3.3.P). The first three of these facet groups are dependent upon the typeface word form technique. The last facet group, typographic system, is related to how the type is arranged in the composition of each emblem. It is not dependent on the word form technique.

Type accent includes the commonly understood italic version of type as well as Roman, which is the technical typographic term for a standard, non-italic piece of type. The type case facet group includes four facets that are commonly understood: lower case, small caps, title case and upper case. Type weight includes four technical terms for the thickness of letterforms. Book is the standard weight for a typeface; so named because it is the weight used for the main text of books. Light is a version of the typeface with thinner stems. Light weights of typefaces sometimes take up less room than Roman weights; they save space at the cost of legibility. Bold is a commonly understood term for a weight with thicker stems than the standard typeface weight. Heavy is a doubly-bold weight of typeface, with very thick stems.

Four different typographic systems were identified in the emblems: symmetrical, asymmetrical, dilatational and dynamic balance (see Figure 3.3.3.P). These typographic system facets are inspired by graphic designer Kimberley Elam's book *Typographic Systems*. Elam identifies eight typographic systems in total, four of which have been modified slightly for classification of

TYPE ACCENT

ITALIC

ROMAN

TYPE CASE

LOWER CASE

SMALL CAPS

TITLE CASE

UPPER CASE

TYPE WEIGHT

LIGHT

BOOK

BOLD

HEAVY

TYPOGRAPHIC SYSTEM

ASYMMETRICAL

SYMMETRICAL

DILATATIONAL

DYNAMIC BALANCE

Figure 3.3.3.P.
Word form devices

the emblem archive (Elam, 2007, p. 7-9). Elam's system was created primarily to identify type composition in books, magazines and posters, so several of the typographic systems she mentions are not relevant to the emblems in this study. Typographic system relates to compositional rules that the typography in each emblem adheres to.

Emblems with a symmetrical typographic system have one vertical axis, and all text in the emblem is left or right aligned from that axis (see Figure 3.3.3.Q).

Figure 3.3.3.Q. Symmetrical typographic system facet

Similarly, emblems with a asymmetrical system also have one vertical axis, but all text in the emblem is centre aligned on that axis, instead of left or right aligned (see Figure 3.3.3.R).

Figure 3.3.3.R. Asymmetrical typographic system facet

It should be noted that centre aligned text does not necessarily mean that the text is centre aligned in the emblem compositional space as a whole. See the Murrindindi Shire Council emblem in Figure 3.3.3.R for an example of a asymmetrical typographic system where type is centred along a vertical axis, but not centred in the overall composition of the emblem.

Emblems with a dilatational typographic system bear text following curved or round paths. The examples in Figure 3.3.3.S follow the round shape of the emblem, but dilatational text can follow a wavy line through an emblem, too.

Figure 3.3.3.S. Dilatational typographic system facet

Emblems following a dynamic balance typographic system contain blocks of text that seemingly bear no systemic relationship to one another. They do not appear to follow a grid pattern, or have any proportional relationship to one another (see Figure 3.3.3.T).

Figure 3.3.3.T. Dynamic balance typographic system facet

Motto content force

The only motto content force is language. Language determined all other facet groups, both techniques and devices (see Figure 3.3.3.U). The language facet groups described whether a motto was present or not and the language it was in. About a third of the emblems had mottoes, and most of these were found in coats of arms and seals, relatively few of the logos contained text apart from the name. The proper names for motto-

LANGUAGE
MOTTO
ENGLISH
FRENCH
LATIN
NO MOTTO

Figure 3.3.3.U. Motto content force

like text in a logo include payoff, strapline and tagline; however, in this study only the word motto is used for simplicity.

Mottoes found in the emblem archive were in one of three languages: English, French or Latin. All of the mottoes in the logos were in English, but the language used for mottoes in the seals and coats of arms varied. The more recent emblems tended to have mottoes in English, but not in all cases. Emblems for local government areas with wealthier populations tended to have French mottoes.

In some cases, such as an English motto in a recent emblem, the language used is a matter of convention. In other cases, the choice of language is a consciously political act. Using an English motto at a time when all other mottoes were in Latin, for example, suggests a desire for the emblem to relate to the common man. In contrast, using a Latin or French motto when the majority of other councils were using English mottoes suggests a desire to communicate elitism, exclusivity, or a particular affinity with tradition.

In order to find out what the mottoes referred to, they had to be translated. Many of the uses of phrases, particularly those in Latin, were arcane and did not make sense when translated literally. Therefore *Elvin's Handbook of Mottoes* by heraldic historian Rosemary Pinches (Pinches, 1860/1971) was used to identify the most common sense translation. This is a reference and translation book for mottoes that are commonly used in official heraldry throughout the United Kingdom. Most of the mottoes in the local government emblems were

found in Pinches' book. The few remaining mottoes were translated through the historian's understanding of French.

Motto content technique

The only motto content technique was reference (see Figure 3.3.3.V). The reference facet group was determined to be a technique because it was an intermediary category between the language facet group and the content devices, which contained individual words used in the mottoes. This group contained four facets: allegiance, aspiration, environment and industry. The allegiance facet was attributed to each emblem that contained a motto that communicated a sentiment of allegiance to any person or thing. The aspiration facet was attributed to emblems in which the motto communicated a yearning for something, for example future growth or moral fortitude. The environment facet was attributed to emblems that contained mottoes with references to the environment of the council area; land forms, fauna or flora. The industry reference facet related specifically to mentions of commercial endeavor or profit.

REFERENCE

ALLEGIANCE

ASPIRATION

ENVIRONMENT

INDUSTRY

Figure 3.3.3.V.
Motto content technique

Motto content devices

ALLEGIANCE	ENVIRONMENT
FAITH	HAVEN
GOD	
	INDUSTRY
ASPIRATION	CORNUCOPIA
RECTITUDE	WORK
LIGHT	
GOOD TIDINGS	
HONOUR	
PREPARATION	
COURAGE	

Figure 3.3.3.W. Motto content devices

The four motto content device facets were: allegiance, aspiration, environment and industry (see Figure 3.3.3.W). Each of these four facet groups is made up of individual words used in the mottoes of the emblems.

Name content force

The only name content force in the faceted classification was language, which determined whether a name was used in the emblem or not (see Figure 3.3.3.X). For all emblems that contained a name, the name content force was English, as it was only mottoes that contained other languages.

LANGUAGE
NAME
ENGLISH
NO NAME

Figure 3.3.3.X. Name content force

Name content technique

The sole name content technique facet group was name format. This facet group describes whether the emblem contained the full council name, part of the council name, or the full name with additional information (see Figure 3.3.3.Y). The partial name facet is given to emblems that included some of the words from the name of the council, but not the full council name. The name+ facet had three subordinate facets: people, location and year. These sub-facets

NAME FORMAT
FULL NAME
NAME +
PEOPLE
LOCATION
YEAR
PARTIAL NAME

Figure 3.3.3.Y. Name content technique

were attributed to emblems that incorporated extra information into their mentioning of the council name. Others included a date, or the name o the town or State in which the council was located.

Name content devices

The three name content devices were location, people and year (see Figure 3.3.3.Z). All three name content facet groups are dependent on the name content technique. Location facets include all extra words used in the emblem to reference place. For example, the Moira Shire Council logo bears the words 'on the Murray', a reference to the Murray River which runs through the council area. The Shire of Arapiles includes the name of the town where the council chambers are, Natimuk. Several emblems include reference to the State of Victoria, while only the City of Heidelberg logo refers to Australia in words. The people face includes all the words used in the emblem name to describe the various roles people play in councils. For example, the City of Moorabbin seal includes the words 'The Mayor Councillors & Citizens of the City of Moorabbin.'

The year facets were simply year present or no year. The year on the emblems is interesting because the years displayed on the emblems appear somewhat arbitrary. They are likely to relate to the advent of one particular manifestation of the council, but for many of them it is not clear which manifestation. For example, the year stated in the emblem is often earlier than the year that the council was constituted.

LOCATION
AUSTRALIA
MURRAY RIVER
NATIMUK
VICTORIA
NO LOCATION

PEOPLE
CITIZEN
COUNCILLOR
MAYOR
RATEPAYER
NO PEOPLE

YEAR
YEAR
NO YEAR

Figure 3.3.3.Z.
Name content devices

Image content force

The only image content force was meaning. This contained four facets: associative, descriptive, found and metaphor (see Figure 3.3.3.AA). Each of these facets related to the way the image content made meaning. The associative image content facet was attributed to all emblems in which the content was used to form meaning through association of the council with a concept, idea or thing. The descriptive facet was attributed in cases where the image content described the council area in some way. For example, including a prominent building or landform in an emblem. The found facet was attributed to emblems whose image content appeared to bear no obvious relationship to the content area. In this classification system, metaphor is the use of an image of one thing used to communicate a less tangible thing, often a concept or idea. For example, the use of a Cornucopia in government emblems to represent an abundance of fresh produce. Metaphor is sometimes called the 'poetics of mind' (Tilley, 2002, p. 24).

MEANING

ASSOCIATIVE

DESCRIPTIVE

FOUND

METAPHOR

**Figure 3.3.3.AA.
Image content force**

Image content techniques

ALLEGIANCE	INDUSTRY	POPULATION
CHRISTIANITY	PRIMARY	CITIZENS
CIVIC	SECONDARY	EMPLOYMENT
LAW	NO INDUSTRY	ETHNICITY
MONARCHY		NO POPULATION
NATION		
NO ALLEGIANCE	LEISURE	
	ART	
	SPORT	
ENVIRONMENT	NO LEISURE	
ARCHITECTURE		
FAUNA		
FLORA	MYTH	
GEOGRAPHY	BIBLICAL	
WEATHER	GREEK/ROMAN	
NO ENVIRONMENT REFERENTS	HERALDIC	
	LOCAL	
	NO MYTH	

Figure 3.3.3.AB. Image content techniques

The image content section of the faceted classification system contained many more facets than all the other sections put together. The bulk of these facets, particularly the device facets, are self explanatory. Each image content device facet represents one image symbol seen in an emblem. For this reason, the image content techniques are described, but not the image content devices.

There were six image content techniques identified in the emblems, represented in the faceted classification system by facet groups: allegiance, environment, industry, leisure, myth and population (see Figure 3.3.3.AB). These facet groups were classified as techniques because they were determined by the image content force, and were employed in the emblems to determine the image content devices.

Like the motto content techniques, the image content techniques contained a facet group relating to

allegiance, though there are many more references to allegiance in the image content than in the motto content. Allegiance facets included Christianity, civic, law, monarchy, nation and the residual facet, no allegiance. Each of these facets is self-explanatory.

The environment facet group includes all elements of the built or natural environment of the local government area. The six environment facets are architecture, fauna, flora, geography, weather and the residual facet: no environment. The architecture facet refers to either council buildings or built landmarks in the area, like a clock tower or a bridge. The fauna facet refers to local native animals, while the flora facet relates to local native plants. The geography facet relates to the landforms in the local government area, including bodies of water, coastline, hills, desert and rivers. The weather facet refers to the weather in the local government area, for example many of the emblems used by local governments that encompass arid areas feature a sun.

The industry facet group contains primary and secondary facets. These relate to the economic activities performed in a council area. The primary industry facet was given to all emblems that contain a referent to any economic activity. The secondary industry facet was given to all emblems that contain image references to the manufacturing of the produce of primary industry. Symbols relating to economy are common in government emblems, particularly in the coats of arms and seals.

3.3.4. Interpreting

By identifying the various parts of the discourse technologies embodied within individual emblems, the Classifying sub-step generated thousands of data points about the emblem archive. After the Classifying sub-step was completed, the historian reflected upon this data, with a view to identifying discourse technologies in the emblem archive as a whole. These archive-wide discourse technologies were identified by looking for patterns in the data collected using the faceted classification system. This reflection constituted the bulk of the work involved in the Interpreting sub-step. The embodied discourse technologies found in this sub-step were used throughout the following Reviewing step (see 3.4 on page 227), and made significant contributions to the structure of the two part history in the following chapters.

Process

Interpreting the data in the faceted classification system involved looking for patterns in the data, both within and across facet groups. For example, initially the historian noticed that many of the motto content devices contained references to God and faith. This led to a search of the image content facets for related data. The search revealed there were also several image content facets that could also be described by the term faith, including the Bible, the Cross and St John's sword. Particular image content facets and motto content facets were therefore grouped to identify an embodied discourse technology of faith in the emblem archive.

This process relied on second order judgements for pattern recognition and identifying potential connections between facets. While the large amount of data accrued in the faceted classification of the emblem archive could be used to identify all kinds of connections between the emblems, the Interpreting sub-step focussed on connections with potential relevance for the history of governance. This sub-step is called Interpreting because the connections were made in an unstructured, intuitive process that depended upon interpretation of the data.

Results

At the end of the Interpreting sub-step, eighteen discourse technologies were identified within the emblem archive (see Figure 3.3.4.A). The discourse technologies described in this sub-section were found by looking at the classification data of the emblem archive as a whole; they would not have been found in data collected from individual emblems. As discussed previously, a faith theme was identified in the archive; this was later interpreted to be an embodied discourse technology. Each discourse technology identified by interpreting the data in the faceted classification system is described in detail in the two part history in the following chapters. Instead of describing the interpretation rationale here that would be repeated in the history, a figure is used to illustrate the various facets that contributed to the archive-wide embodied discourse technology findings. Figure 3.3.4.B on page 226 shows how many facets from the faceted classification system were used when interpreting each of these embodied discourse technologies. Each of

ABORIGINES

ASPIRATION

BUSINESS

DIGGERS

FAITH

GLORY

JUXTAPOSITION

FAITH

MECHANISATION

MODERNITY

NEUTRALITY

PASTORALISM

PLUNDER

PRIDE

POSSESSION

ROMANCE

TRANSPORT

UNITY

WOMEN

Figure 3.3.4.A.
Technologies embodied in the archive identified using Interpreting sub-step

these embodied discourse technologies relate to governance in some way. The relationships between these discourse technologies and governance are examined in the Reviewing step of discursive method.

	EMBLEM FORM	WORD FORM	CONTENT MOTTO	NAME	IMAGE CONTENT	TOTAL
ABORIGINES					14	14
ASPIRATION			18			18
BUSINESS	31			6		37
DIGGERS					10	10
FAITH			8		12	20
GLORY			2		41	43
JUXTAPOSITION	21	49			8	78
MECHANISATION					10	10
MODERNITY	37	24				61
NEUTRALITY			5	42	111	158
PASTORALISM					150	150
PLUNDER					21	21
PRIDE	5		2		31	38
POSSESSION				9	29	38
ROMANCE					15	15
TRANSPORT					38	38
UNITY			5	8	17	30
WOMEN					8	8
				TOTAL INSTANCES OF FACETS USED		787

Figure 3.3.4.B.
Discourse technologies embodied in the archive
listed with the number of facets used from the faceted classification system

3.4. Reviewing

Throughout this thesis the history is referred to as artefact-led. The previous three steps of discursive method have allowed the artefacts to lead the history, while this step, Reviewing, is concerned with what follows the artefacts in the history's content and structure. The Reviewing step was performed with a view to informing the historian of the existing range of scholarship on the history of governance in Victoria, Australia. This step was similar to a standard literature review, in the sense that it was focussed on reading a large amount of literature about a particular subject. It differed from a standard literature review in that it included a review of trade publications, and involved considerable references to and reflection on the embodied discourse technologies found within the emblem archive. Reviewing involved three sub-steps: Selecting, Reading and Associating (see Figure 3.4.A).

SELECTING

READING

ASSOCIATING

**Figure 3.4.A.
Reviewing sub-steps**

3.4.1. Selecting

This sub-step involved reviewing the embodied discourses identified in the Interpreting sub-step, with a view to selecting appropriate textual sources to read in preparation for writing the narrative.

Process

The discourse technologies identified in the previous step were used as a starting point for identifying academic sources that would provide context to the use of the emblems in Victorian governance. Each discourse technology found in the emblem archive was used as a search term for finding relevant literature on Victorian governance history. For example, for the discourse

technology of women, historical accounts of women's suffrage in Victoria, the lives of colonial women and women in parliament were selected. A similar search was done of related topics to each discourse technology identified in the archive. In addition, many sources of historical information on Victorian governance generally were selected.

Results

Five groups of textual sources were identified using Selecting: academic literature, colonial ephemera, government documents, news media and popular non-fiction (see Figure 3.4.1.A). Academic literature identified included books and journal articles on the processes and effects of local government reform in Victoria and also at a national level. Local government reform has been a controversial and often-discussed topic in Australia, so this literature provided a good starting point for understanding Victorian governance at a local level. Also, academic books and journal articles on the areas suggested by the discourse technologies in the emblem archive, as well as articles on Victorian political history were selected.

With the recent digitisation of many previously hard to obtain documents from colonial Australian history, colonial ephemera proved a good source of information about early colonial history. The government documents selected included reports from early Governors of Victoria, various versions of the *Local Government Act*, the reports of various boards that have been formed over the last century to discuss local government reform, and the several editions of

ACADEMIC LITERATURE

COLONIAL EPHEMERA
    EXHIBITION REPORTS
    EXPLORER'S ACCOUNTS

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS
    GOVERNOR'S REPORTS
    LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTS
    LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD REPORTS
    LOCAL GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

NEWS MEDIA
    LOCAL GOVERNMENT FOCUS
    SYDNEY MORNING HERALD
    THE AGE

POPULAR NON-FICTION
    VICTORIAN HISTORY

Figure 3.4.1.A.
Selecting sources

the *Local Government Gazette*, the official document recording every change to Victorian local government. Finally, news media were selected, focussing on the less sensationalist newspapers that carried regular news of Victorian politics. Surprisingly, one of these papers was from another state, the *Sydney Morning Herald,* from New South Wales. Finally, popular histories of Victoria were searched for additional contextual information that could be used in the historical narrative.

3.4.2. Reading

The Reading sub-step was used to provide necessary Victorian governance context for the two part history.

Process

The Reading sub-step involved extensive reading in the source areas identified in the Selecting sub-step. Key texts were identified in each section, and notes were taken on points of relevance to the history of governance. In the Reading sub-step, the historian specifically looked for signs of governance ideologies that have affected Victoria from its settlement to the present day.

Results

The reading sub-step produced a vast amount of notes on the history of Victorian governance. Multiple governance ideologies became obvious through this process. These ideologies have had great influence over Victorian political life at one time or another (see Figure 3.4.2.A). These governance ideologies are explained in great detail in the two-part history that follows, and so they are not explained here.

IMPERIALISM

CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

EXCLUSIONISM

KEYNESIAN WELFARISM

NATIONALISM

NEOLIBERALISM

Figure 3.4.2.A.
Governance ideologies identified in Reading sub-step

3.4.3.Associating

Associating involved making connections between the historian's findings from the Reading sub-step and the discourse technologies identified in the emblem archive. Like the Interpreting sub-step in the previous section, this sub-step was almost entirely reflective, relying solely on second order judgements.

Process

Notes taken in the previous sub-step were reorganised and reflected upon during Associating. The historian looked for links between the ideologies found in the Reading sub-step and the embodied discourse technologies identified in the emblem archive during the Classifying step of discursive method.

Results

EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE IDEOLOGY	EMBODIED GOVERNANCE DISCOURSE	DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY
IMPERIALISM	BRITANNIA	POSSESSION GLORY FAITH
CLASSICAL LIBERALISM	TRADE	PASTORALISM PLUNDER TRANSPORT
EXCLUSIONISM	THE OTHER	ABORIGINES WOMEN DIGGERS
NATIONALISM	INDEPENDENCE	ROMANCE PRIDE UNITY
KEYNESIAN WELFARISM	PROGRESS	ASPIRATION MECHANISATION MODERNITY
NEOLIBERALISM	COMMERCIALISATION	BUSINESS NEUTRALITY JUXTAPOSITION

Figure 3.4.3.A.
Links between governance ideologies and embodied discourse technologies

During the Associating sub-step, some strong links emerged among some of the discourse technologies

and also between the discourse technologies and the governance ideologies identified in the Reading sub-step (see Figure 3.4.3.A). The connections made in this section between governance ideologies and embodied discourses in the archive were used to form the structure of the two part history in the following chapters. These connections are described in great detail throughout the history, and so are not described here.

However, one significant finding of discursive method that is not clear from the text of the history should be mentioned. When the discourse technologies were grouped according to the governance ideology they related to, a clear trend became apparent in the symbol data. The discourse technologies relating to imperialism, classical liberalism and exclusionism were found mostly in image content. The discourse technologies relating to nationalism were found more commonly in image and word content. The discourse technologies associated with Keynesian welfarism and neoliberalism were found in the form and the content of the emblems.

As they are shown in Figure 3.4.3.B, the governance ideologies are presented in a loose chronology. The findings presented in this figure therefore illustrate that the more recent emblems, influenced by the more recent governance ideologies, communicate through a combination of form and content. This is in contrast to the older emblems, influenced by the older governance ideologies, which communicate solely through content, and almost exclusively through image content.

	EMBLEM FORM	WORD FORM	CONTENT MOTTO	NAME	IMAGE CONTENT	TOTAL
IMPERIALISM						
POSSESSION				9	29	38
GLORY			2		41	43
FAITH			8		12	20
CLASSICAL LIBERALISM						
PASTORALISM					150	150
PLUNDER					21	21
TRANSPORT					38	38
EXCLUSIONISM						
ABORIGINES					14	14
WOMEN					8	8
DIGGERS					10	10
NATIONALISM						
ROMANCE					15	15
PRIDE	5		2		31	38
UNITY			5	8	17	30
KEYNESIAN WELFARISM						
ASPIRATION			18			18
MECHANISATION					10	10
MODERNITY	37	24				61
NEOLIBERALISM						
BUSINESS	31			6		37
NEUTRALITY			5	42	111	158
JUXTAPOSITION	21	49			8	78

Figure 3.4.3.B.
Technologies embodied in the archive
listed with the number of facets used from the faceted classification system

Conclusion

Although history is often presented as a craft without methods, this chapter has demonstrated that the process of writing history can be broken down into clear and concise steps. Chapter one identified the existing methods used to write histories of graphic design artefacts, while chapter two provided a theoretical foundation for an alternative method. This chapter built on chapter two by presenting discursive method. It has provided a detailed account of the steps and sub-steps involved in discursive method, along with documentation of the results obtained by using it. The results presented in this chapter can be considered the raw data that was a precursor to writing the two part history presented in chapters four and five. Without development of both the theoretical foundations in chapter two, and the method in this chapter, writing the artefact-let history of governance presented in the following chapters would not have been possible.

4. GOVERNING THE BODY:
A HISTORY OF IMPERIAL, LIBERAL
& EXCLUSIONIST GOVERNANCE IN VICTORIA

LIST OF FIGURES

4.1.   Britannia

Introduction

Chapters four and five treat Victorian local government emblems as dispersed symbols of governance, using them to identify governance discourses from the founding of settler colonies in Victoria in the early 1800s to the end of the twentieth century. The emblems reveal what was of central importance to the governments who used them, what those governments wanted to be known for, and the image of government they wanted to project. As emblems document these aspirations they store markers of the ideologies influencing governments over time in their form and content. The faceted classification system described in the previous chapter (see page 193) has been used to identify embodied governance discourses in the emblem archive. These discourses were then associated with with the ideologies that influenced public policy in Victoria over time. This visually and textually rich, artefact-led history of governance discourses both contexualises the emblem archive and deepens existing knowledge of Victorian governance. Histories of specific aspects of Victorian politics abound, but are limited by their reliance on textual sources. The use of discursive method has enabled a 'reading' of government emblems so that they could be used alongside textual sources as primary source material in their own right.

EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE IDEOLOGY	EMBODIED GOVERNANCE DISCOURSE
IMPERIALISM	BRITANNIA
CLASSICAL LIBERALISM	TRADE
EXCLUSIONISM	THE OTHER

Figure 4.A.
Early governance ideologies in Victorian governance as they relate to embodied discourses in the emblem archive

Structure of history

In terms of structure, this chapter and the next contain a loosely-chronologically ordered narrative of governance discourses, divided into two parts. This chapter examines the Britannia, trade and othering governance discourses embodied in the Victorian

government emblems. These discourses reflect the imperial, liberal and exclusionist ideologies that influenced Victorian governance during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Figure 4.A). British colonial rule around the world was a mix of these three ideologies, a combination that proved to be a potent mix for wealth creation and population management (Garden, 1984, p. 40). This chapter separates the three governance ideologies that contributed to British colonialism with the intention of better understanding how each of the three ideologies manifest in the emblem archive.

The governance ideologies discussed in this chapter, imperialism, classical liberalism and exclusionism, are predominantly concerned with the governance of physical resources — land, people and produce — in order to maximise wealth. Governments influenced by these ideologies focus their governance efforts on determining which land and people are governed, how land is distributed, for what purposes it can be used, where people can go, and what civil, legal and economic roles they can perform. Due to the physical focus of these government ideologies, this chapter is called Governing the Body.

The following chapter, chapter five, examines three later governance discourses: pride, progress and commercialisation. The ideologies associated with these discourses were used in Victoria from the late nineteenth century, throughout the twentieth century and up until the present day. In contrast to the ideologies in chapter four, those raised in chapter five — nationalism, Keynesian welfarism and neoliberalism —

are employed to govern from afar, governing mentalities first, and physical resources second. Each relies on harnessing the allegiances, attitudes and beliefs of their citizens as means to ultimately control both land and people. Using twentieth century governance technologies, governments have been able to more effectively govern physical resources by moulding the mental state of their populations (Rose, 2008, p. 140). For this reason, the following chapter is called 'Governing the Mind.'

Each of the main sections in chapters four and five investigates one governance discourse embodied in the government emblem archive. At the beginning of each of these sections, the governance ideology prompting that discourse is outlined. The theoretical underpinnings of the ideology are presented first, followed by a short contextualisation of the local Australian and Victorian use of that ideology. Each of the following sub-sections investigates a particular technology in the emblem archive.

As Figure 4.B shows, the ideologies influencing Victorian governance have had concurrent influence, and the ideologies discussed in this chapter have
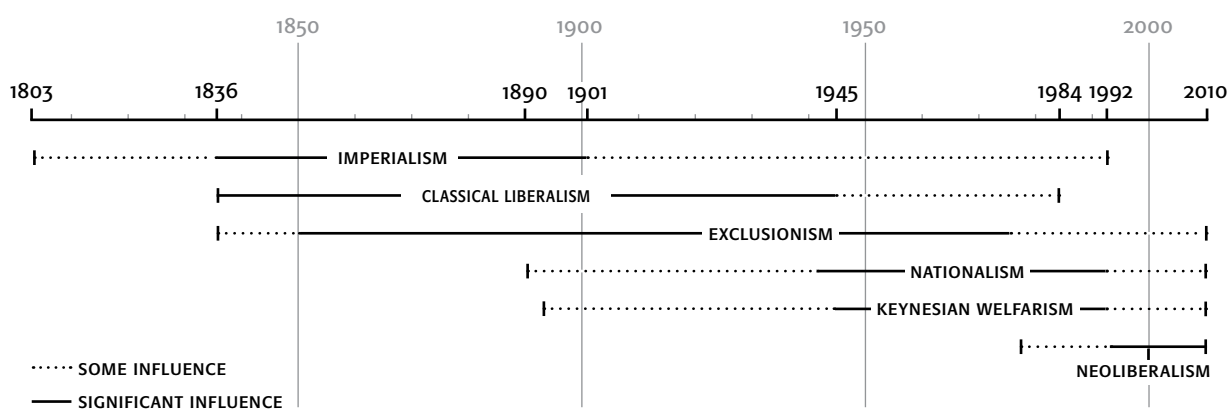
Figure 4.B. **Timeline of the influence of each ideology in Victorian governance**
from first settlement of the district of Port Phillip (now the State of Victoria) to the present

significant purchase over Victorian governance well into the twenty first century. The first three ideologies presented, those primarily concerned with governing physical resources, are embodied in the emblems almost solely through symbolic content. The emblem form — colour, line and typeface — is seldom discussed in this chapter. The emblem form plays a larger role in signalling discourses in the emblems examined in the following chapter.

Government ideologies

The governance discourses found within the emblem archive suggest the influence of various governance ideologies on the governments who used them. These ideologies are referred to as 'external governance' to differentiate them from the embodied governance characteristics, external referring to all governance influences and strategies outside of the emblems (see Figure 4.C). These ideologies influence the production and use of the government emblems as well as other government strategies and policy of the time. They were originally suggested by evidence from the emblem archive, and later verified by an extensive contextualising literature review.

The intention to write a history of Victorian governance discourses using government emblems as key sources involves several presumptions. It supposes that governance ideologies influence the organisational cultures, policies and staff of Victorian governments at all levels, and that these are identifiable. Also, that these ideologies manifest in all aspects of government operation through discourses, and that these discourses become embodied within government emblems, in

EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE

IDEOLOGIES

EMBODIED GOVERNANCE

DISCOURSES

DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGIES
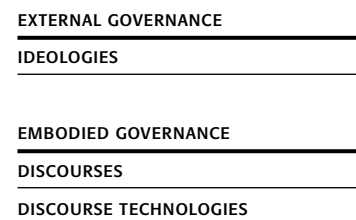
Figure 4.C.
External and embodied governance as used in this history

the form of discourse technologies. Discursive method rests on the premise that given a large group of visual materials, in this case, government emblems, these embodied discourse technologies can be identified. This research also assumes that the study of emblems from a particular geographical area can give insights into governance ideologies influencing that area over time.

4.1. Britannia

Evidence of imperialist governance is contained in the emblem archive through an embodied discourse of Britannia. Britannia is the Latin name for Britain, sometimes used as glorified shorthand for The British Empire. The emblem facets contributing to this discourse use three technologies: possession, glory and faith (see Figure 4.1.A). The emblems using these technologies identify Victoria as a chattel of Britain, adopting its laws, extending its glory and following its faith, Christianity.

The symbolic hold of Britannia over Victoria has been extensive, and stronger than that over any other Australian State. The Arms of Dominion, representing the British Royal family, has been used extensively on government documents and property as well as for commercial use, from the first settlement of Victoria up until the present day. This section demonstrates the vast array of Empire references contained in Victorian local government emblems used up until the 1980s. The local governments using these emblems were first under the care of the Colony of New South Wales, then in 1850, came under direct British rule as the Colony of Victoria, and finally, in 1901, again came under indirect British rule through Victoria becoming a State in the Federation of Australia, itself a part of the British Commonwealth (Aroney, 2009, p. 180).

IDEOLOGY	DISCOURSE	DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY
IMPERIALISM	BRITANNIA	POSSESSION
		GLORY
		FAITH

Figure 4.1.A.
The embodied Britannia discourse as it relates to imperialism and to the discourse technologies

4.1.1. Imperialism

Imperialism is a governance ideology justifying the establishment and maintenance of an empire of some kind. Empire, in turn, is a reference to control by a state of any place and peoples, that limits the sovereignty of those peoples (Mattingly, 2010, p. 5). The definition provided here is intentionally broad, encompassing Roman rule as well as the official and unofficial occupation of lands by modern day nation states. In this definition, the colonisation of the New World by European states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is just one form of imperialism. Colonialism is a subset of imperialism that is concerned with settlement of lands in addition to control over people and place. Irrespective of the time and place in which it is used, imperial governance is always inextricably tied to cultural occupation (Said, 1990, p. 71).

Two concepts originating in the Roman Empire have been important to many subsequent regimes of imperial rule: 'the just war' and 'imperial right' (Mattingly, 2010, p. 18). Both of these concepts roughly equate to a self-justification of state aggression toward, and occupation of, other lands and peoples. Both the just war and imperial right stem from a view of the invaded peoples as inferior in intellect, culture and industry. The circular logic goes such that if they were sophisticated and worthy of independence, a people would have sophisticated weaponry and fighting strategy. That the colonised people do not is evidence that the colonised peoples are backward and need the protection of the imperial power. Therefore, the imperial peoples provide themselves with justification

of occupation of a people and lands. Their purpose becomes a 'civilising mission' (Ahluwalia & Ashcroft, 2008, p. 83).

Colonisation of the New World by European states from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries was motivated by increased trade; and the propulsion of capitalist (over feudalist) systems of economic organisation. Who and where was being colonised was of less importance than the labour from those people, and the trade from those places (Eagleton, 1990, p. 29; Loomba, 1998, p. 4). This characteristic has led some commentators to refer to it as the 'imperialism of free trade' (Headrick, 1990, p. 6). It was in this spirit of the imperialism of free trade that the first surveyor of Victoria, Major Thomas Mitchell hoped that the area would become 'a lasting monument of British power and civilisation' (Clarke, 1993, p. 194). However, European colonialism was often justified in terms of promoting the spread of Christianity and 'civilisation' (Trainor, 1994, p. 38).

British imperialism

Britishness as depicted through the embodied discourse of Britannia, was essential to the maintenance of imperial rule (Ahluwalia & Ashcroft, 2008, p. 82). Postcolonial theorist Benedict Anderson has described the fruits of British imperialism in the early nineteenth century as 'a grab-bag of primarily tropical possessions scattered over every continent' (Anderson, 2006, p. 92). This 'grab-bag' was referred to by the British as The British Empire. Similarly to other European colonial empires, the British Empire

was formed to ensure continued English economic growth. It was the fruit of a concerted governance strategy known as imperial defence. Under this strategy, continuous English economic growth was ensured through 'activities planned and concerted in Britain while the colonies participated by providing supplies, finance and personnel' (Trainor, 1994, p. 21). Although British imperialism began with commercial motivations (for example, the notably voracious activity of the British East India Company), there was also a politically expedient side to it (Olson & Shadle, 1991, p. 81). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, British imperialism was, in part, a matter of establishing a position of domination in global economic and political affairs, and in the nineteenth century, of maintaining this position. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, as the economic and political influence of the British Empire began to decline, it gained in symbolic importance. At this time, the success of the British Empire was promoted within England, to maintain domestic confidence of England's continued global dominance (Attridge, 2003, p. 189; Cannadine, 1992/2009, p. 108, 149).

The Colony of New South Wales

The founding of the Colony of New South Wales in 1788 represented a coup for Britain in the midst of a flurry of European exploration in South East Asia (Olson & Shadle, 1999, p. 444; Reynolds, 1992, p. 179; Trainor, 1994, p. 37). In the late eighteenth century, much of the Indonesian archipelago was under Dutch rule, Spain ruled the Philippines, while France and Portugal maintained interest in colonising in the region (Connor,
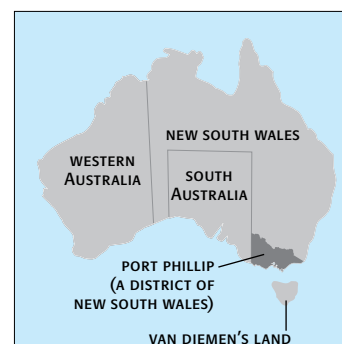
Figure 4.1.1.A.
The four Colonies of Australia in 1836, with the district of Port Phillip highlighted

2002, p. 69). Upon founding the colony, New South Wales extended over most of the Australian continent, cementing British presence in the region (see Figure 4.1.1.A).

The Port Phillip district
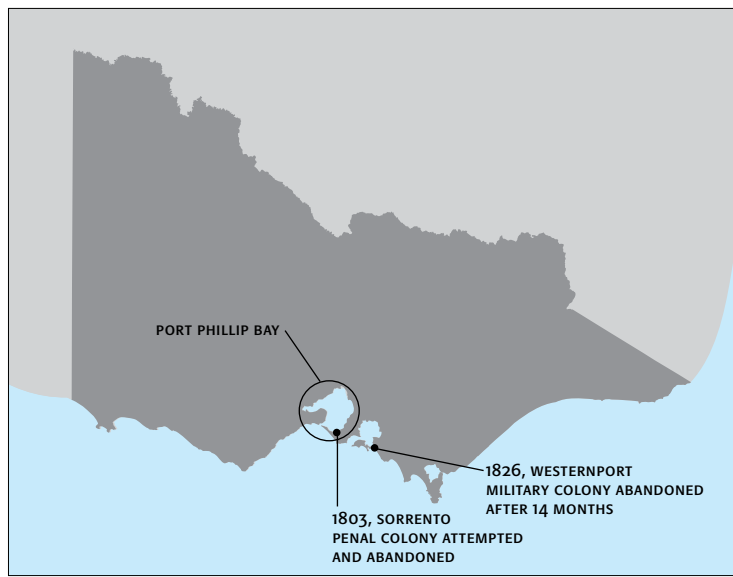
Figure 4.1.1.B. The Port Phillip district of New South Wales in 1843 with Port Phillip Bay and the abandoned penal colonies highlighted

Prior to becoming a colony in its own right, Victoria was a district in the Colony of New South Wales, called the district of Port Phillip (Blainey, 2006, p. 17; Gurner, 1896, p. 1). The district was named after the large bay at its centre, Port Phillip Bay, which in turn was named after the first Governor of the Colony of New South Wales, Captain Arthur Phillip (Room, 1989, p. 143). Figure 4.1.1.B shows the position of Port Phillip almost in the centre of the coastline of the Port Phillip district.

The coastline of the Port Phillip district was first explored in 1798 by whalers from New South Wales, and an official survey of Port Phillip Bay followed several years later. Based on this survey, convict ships landed in Sorrento in late 1803 with the intent

of establishing a penal colony, but this attempt was abandoned in early 1804 due to the inhospitable nature of the land, and animosity between the settlers and Aborigines from the Bunurong clan. The clan had been dispossessed from one of their important camping areas in an area where fresh drinking water was in short supply (Garden, 1984, p. 19; Eidelson, 1997, p. 54; Presland, 1994, p. 37). In addition, the convict ships had landed on the east side of the bay, which had poor conditions for settlement generally (Garden, 1984, p. 13; Gurner, 1896, p. 5). Due to unfavourable observations about Port Phillip Bay by the participants in the abandoned penal colony, the Port Phillip district was largely ignored by New South Wales officials for over a decade (Blainey, 2006, p. 17). However, in 1836 rumours of a rival French colony at Port Phillip Bay reached Sydney, and an official survey party was sent to further explore the region (Garden, 1984, p. 21).

Although British law applied to the Port Phillip district from 1788 onwards, in practise the district was governed primarily by Aboriginal clans, with only marginal infringement by the British, until the late 1820s. Aboriginal governance was influenced by the environment, ritual and social connections (Presland, 1997, p. v). From the late 1820s onwards, private settlers started to make inroads into Port Phillip, taking possession of large swathes of land, and bringing with them British understandings of law (Connor, 2002, p. 103).

Official surveys
The first significant survey of the Port Phillip district was by Major Thomas Mitchell in 1836. Mitchell

surveyed large parts of the district of Port Phillip, taking extremely accurate surveys of previously unexplored land, covering much of the western part of the district of Port Phillip (Garden, 1984, p. 25; Gurner, 1896, p. 26). This was significant for governance purposes as it was the first step in abstracting the colonial space, allowing the Colonial government in New South Wales and the Imperial government in Britain to visualise the territory in their possession (Anderson, 2006, p. 178; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2005, p. 32). As planning theorist Libby Porter writes:

> *If initial settlement… was the first moment of an ad hoc (dis)possession, surveying, then, was when that (dis)possession became strategic and sought comprehensiveness* (Porter, 2010, p. 69).

The threat of a rival French colonisation claim spurred the New South Wales government into beginning to measure their territorial wealth through mapping.

Following this survey, the first official government representative arrived in Melbourne to find that nearly 200 settlers had migrated from the Australian Colony of Van Diemen's Land to the south (known as Tasmania today) to the lands around Port Phillip Bay. Official settlement from northern New South Wales soon followed, and in 1837 the town of Melbourne was officially named after the Prime Minister of England at the time, Lord Melbourne (Blainey, 2006, p. 21). Figure 4.1.1.C shows the site of Melbourne at the midpoint of the district's southern coast.

The governance arrangements of this time are perhaps best illustrated by the observation that once Melbourne

1836, MELBOURNE OFFICIALLY ESTABLISHED

Figure 4.1.1.C.
The City of Melbourne, officially settled in 1836 on the site of an earlier graziers settlement

became an established town of brick buildings, the largest public buildings were the courthouse and the gaol, the size of the latter was 'interpreted as symptomatic of the mentality of the convict colony by which they were ruled' (Garden, 1984, p. 63).

4.1.2. Possession

The technology of possession uses British royal symbols to mark ownership of local government, local trade and local peoples. The three devices utilised in this technology are the Arms of Dominion, the British royal coat of arms; the Imperial Crown, the British royal family crest; and a bust of Queen Victoria herself (see Figure 4.1.2.A). Promotion of possession is central to imperial governance for internal and external reasons. Internally, it acts as a reminder to rulers and citizens of the might of Empire, encouraging local maintenance of Britain's social standards and values. Externally, it serves as both a clear label of ownership and a warning to other interested parties; this is clearly our land, challenge us at your peril. Cannadine argues that symbols of the monarchy were used extensively to mark British imperialism in order to tie a new order, British rule of people and places vastly different to Britain, with the old, constant tradition of the British monarchy (Cannadine, 1992/2009, p. 124).

21	ARMS OF DOMINION
6	IMPERIAL CROWN
11	QUEEN VICTORIA
2	PORTRAIT
9	NAME
38	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 4.1.2.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of Britannia through the technology of possession

Arms of Dominion

The British royal coat of arms (since James I), known as the Arms of Dominion (Boutell, 1863, p. 263), functions as a technology of possession in the emblem archive (see Figure 4.1.2.B). In the instance of the City of Prahran arms, the Arms of Dominion are the only symbolic content of the emblem, differentiation coming from the sole addition of an extra motto (see Figure 4.1.2.C). In the Arms of Dominion, the shield is divided into quarters, the first and fourth quarter contain three lions positioned in a vertical stack; these are known as the English Lions. The second quarter contains the Lion

Figure 4.1.2.B.
Arms of Dominion

Figure 4.1.2.C.
Arms of Dominion dominate City of Prahran arms

of Scotland standing on his hind legs (Franklin, 2002, p. 100; Neubecker, 1976, p. 111). The third quarter contains the Irish harp, representing Ireland. The shield is crested with the Imperial crown, the signature crown of the British royal family. The shield is flanked by two animal 'supporters': the Lion of England on the left and a unicorn representing Scotland on the right. For ease of understanding, directions for left and right are given from the perspective of the viewer. However, in official heraldic descriptions are always given from the perspective of the shield, and therefore describe left and right in reverse. The unicorn is chained because this is the way it appeared in James I's coat of arms before he became King of England, and the symbol was kept intact when it was added to the Arms of Dominion at his request (Shepard, 1930/2007 p. 49). Unicorns are commonly depicted in chains in heraldry, the cited reason being that in the wild they are dangerous and unpredictable, but chained they are tame (Neubecker, 1976, p. 116).

The motto on the Arms of Dominion, written in old French, reads 'By God and my right. Dishonoured be those who think ill of it' (Pinches, 1860/1971, p. 83). The motto is both a statement of might and defiance. 'By God and my right' is an association of the power of the Anglican church and a Christian God with a clear assertion of the Queen being entitled to rule. It suggests that all actions undertaken in the name of the Queen, in this context, colonial conquest and rule of the Colony of Victoria, are God's work which the Queen is entitled to do. This strong message is reinforced by the finishing curse 'Dishonoured be those who think

ill of it', that suggests shame on all people who do not look favourably on actions done in the Queen's name. Overall, the Arms of Dominion are confident, partisan and aggressive. In these aspects they accurately reflect British colonial rule.

The Arms of Dominion have been used extensively in Victoria right up until the present day. It often crests shields in the local government emblems, suggesting British dominance over the rest of the symbolism contained within the emblem. In other emblems, the Arms of Dominion is the most prominent, or sometimes the only, symbol. The City of Prahran's emblem is one example of this. It is differentiated by the addition of the motto, from the Latin, 'let us be viewed by our actions.' Therefore the City of Prahran's arms carry two contrasting messages; the Arms of Dominion strongly associate the council with the might and glory of Britain, whereas the additional motto bears a down-to-earth, future-focussed message. One part looks backward to its creator, while the other looks ahead to its future citizens.

Such prominent depiction of the Arms of Dominion is in keeping with the symbolic representation of other public and private institutions in Victoria from the late 1800s to the present day. For example, up until the 1980s, the Arms adorned the government publication the *Local Government Gazette*, where other Australian States displayed their own coats of arms. Also, the Arms of Dominion have adorned the masthead of Melbourne's main newspaper, *The Age,* for over a century. This prolific use of the Arms of Dominion in

Victoria is in contrast with symbolic representation in the other Australian States and Territories, where British symbolic associations are generally eschewed.

Figure 4.1.2.D shows the City of Warrnambool seal which features the Arms of Dominion as crest. Although not all characteristics of the Arms of Dominion can be identified when it is shown at this size, the distinctive outline of the Arms of Dominion is still easily identifiable.

It should also be noted that the local government emblems that feature prominent Arms of Dominion were all early settled, affluent and highly populated areas, relative to the surrounding areas. The emblems that prominently display the Arms of Dominion provide a strong visual reminder of British sovereignty over Victorian territory. The frequency of such use suggests a widespread identification with British rule across the colony (and later, the State).The emblems that contain smaller depictions of the British arms tended to be used by local governments in more rural places, with more dispersed populations and more immediate economic dependence on primary industry.

British Imperial crown

Subjection to British rule is also represented on some Victorian local government emblems by the British Imperial crown, as in the case of the Shire of Bellarine seal (see Figure 4.1.2.F) and the Shire of Tambo seal (see Figure 4.1.2.E). Although still stamping the local government with the authority of British rule, the Imperial crown has different connotations to the depiction of the Arms of Dominion. Throughout the

Figure 4.1.2.D.
Arms of Dominion as ownership crest
City of Warrnambool seal

Figure 4.1.2.F.
Imperial crown as central symbol
Shire of Bellarine seal

Figure 4.1.2.E.
Imperial crown as ownership crest
Shire of Tambo seal

latter part of Queen Victoria's reign, the Imperial crown was more synonymous with the Queen herself, and with the vast British Empire she reigned over, than with the monarchy (Cannadine, 1992/2009, p. 124).

In a colony such as Victoria, the Imperial crown also sends a decisive message of local allegiance to distant rulers. In a political climate in which a nearby local government may proudly display the Australian coat of arms or local wildlife, a prominent depiction of the Imperial crown distances the government who uses it from the allegiances of neighbouring local governments. As well as strongly associating the local government with foreign rulers, the presence of the Imperial crown also suggests continuity and a respect for tradition. It suggests this is not a local government where radical things happen.

Queen Victoria

Direct references to Queen Victoria, monarch and ultimate ruler of Australia from 1837 to early 1901, are also included in some emblems. These depictions, of Queen Victoria herself and of her name, are the most literal of the symbols in the Britannia technologies, but they are less common than the other symbols used in this embodied discourse.

Bust

Queen Victoria's portrait also furthers the technology of possession. The City of Frankston's seal displaying Queen Victoria reminds the viewer that this council once belonged to the Colony of Victoria (see Figure 4.1.2.G). Although the seal's creation date is not known, given its typographic composition, typical of the early

Figure 4.1.2.G.
Queen on seal
City of Frankston seal

twentieth century, it was certainly made after the Queen's death in 1901. While the dates included in emblems in the archive are not reliable, it was common for emblems to include a year earlier than the date the council was formed, but not later, so it can be assumed that this emblem was used sometime after 1966. The use of Queen Victoria's portrait stands in contrast to the other symbols employed in the technology of possession, both in terms of timing and style. The liberal depiction is a very different approach to the traditional symbolism of the Arms of Dominion and the Imperial crown. At the time this emblem was in use, few emblems contained any reference to Britain or Empire at all. This representation is something of a mystery, and may have to do with some local event in Frankston.

Name

Some emblems include the word 'Victoria', a reference to the name of the State, and an indirect reference to Queen Victoria. Nine emblems include the text Victoria, including the Town of Bairnsdale seal (see Figure 4.1.2.H). The majority of these emblems also included the Arms of Dominion, presenting a double reference to British imperial rule.

Figure 4.1.2.H.
'Victoria' in emblem
Town of Bairnsdale seal

4.1.3. Glory

The technology of glory uses mythic stories as well as the reputations of great men and established, faraway places to cast reflected glory on the Victorian local governments (see Figure 4.1.3.A). The glory produced by the appropriation, construction and re-telling of myths, has been a compelling technology of governance for some time (Cassirer, 1946/2007, p. 27). They provide a link to grand old traditions, as well as providing a seamless, simple explanation of phenomena that would otherwise be hard to account for. The technology of glory includes mottoes containing aspirations of grandeur, references to Greek, Roman and English mythology, and tributes, symbolic and written references to people and places from England.

33	MYTH REFERENCES	
	14	CORNUCOPIA
	5	GOLDEN FLEECE
	2	AEQUITUS
	1	EIRENE
	8	LAURELS
	3	POSEIDON'S TRIDENT
8	NAMESAKE SYMBOLS	
	7	PERSON
	1	PLACE
2	GLORY MOTTOES	
43	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE	

Figure 4.1.3.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of Britannia through the technology of glory

Myth references

All of the mythic references utilised in the technology of glory within the emblem archive stem from Greek and Roman mythic traditions. Many of the myths from these traditions are interchangeable, with only the names of gods and small details of the story changing. It is therefore impossible to separate which of these traditions inspired the use of these symbols. Greek and Roman myths have been frequently used in empire building, and the British empire is no exception in this regard (Morgan, 2007, p. 61).

Cornucopia: A land of plenty

The Cornucopia, horn of plenty, or horn of Almaltheia is an ancient (5th century BC) symbol of abundance, a horn that was always full of whatever food and

Figure 4.1.3.B.
Two Cornucopia
Shire of Whittlesea seal

drink anyone wanted (Hamilton, 1942/1998, p. 424). Cornucopia is commonly depicted as a horn shaped vessel out of which tumbles fresh produce of many kinds. Ovid, 1st century BC playwright and scholar, describes the Cornucopia as 'filled by the naiads with fruit and with fragrant flowers' (Ovid & Raeburn, 2004, p. 343). The basic elements of the Cornucopia have remained constant across cultures and continents, the Cornucopias in the Shire of Whittlesea seal depicting horns full to bursting with fresh produce (see Figure 4.1.3.B). In case any viewer is unfamiliar with the symbol, the motto above reads 'Cornucopia,' reinforcing the Shire's link to the Cornucopia myth.

In this emblem, as in many others, Cornucopia is used as an additional glorification of local produce. Used below the wheat sheaf, ram and bull, it adds a connection to glorious mythical abundance and suggests a continuity with the Old World of Europe. The mythic depiction of abundance lends a cultured, lofty air to the otherwise profane depictions of farming. Using Cornucopia, a reference from one of the most well-known and respected mythic traditions in the world also seems a reach out to worldly learning, saying: this may be the New World, but it is no ignorant backwater. Cornucopia is by far the most prevalent of the mythic referents in the emblem archive, casting a glow of glorified abundance across much of the State. The prevalence of Cornucopia reflects the high produce yields in Victoria, which is known for its rich soils, fine wines, thriving fruit vines and market gardens.

The golden fleece

After the myth of Cornucopia, the golden fleece is the most common myth reference depicted in the local government emblems. The golden fleece myth originated from a story of a sheep that could fly, with a fleece made of gold (Hamilton, 1942/1998, p. 161; March, 2009, p. 137). The sheep was sacrificed to Zeus, the God of War, after which the magical golden fleece was given to King Aetes, who kept the sheep's golden fleece in a sacred oak grove, guarded day and night by a dragon. The fleece was stolen by Jason as the trophy of a quest set for him by his half brother (March, 2009, p. 153). For centuries, the story of the golden fleece has been commonly represented in heraldry by the image of a sheep hanging from a sling, as if being raised for transport. The image of a sheep in a sling is now commonly referred to as 'the golden fleece' and is depicted bottom-centre of the City of Malvern arms (see Figure 4.1.3.C).

Figure 4.1.3.C.
The golden fleece
City of Malvern arms

Laurels

Laurels are a celebratory wreath, referencing their use by Roman Emperors, and before then, victors at the original Greek Olympics. Laurels take their name from the laurel tree, the tree first used to make the wreaths (Hamilton, 1942/1988, p. 156). A laurel was worn by Apollo, the Greek Sun God, and in honour of him, 'became the prize for the victor at the Pythian Games... and has been a symbol of winning ever since' (March, 2009, p. 521). In the Victorian government emblems, laurels are made out of two of the State's major crops: wheat and grape vines (see Figure 4.1.3.D). The use of wheat sheafs and grape vines in laurels firmly

Figure 4.1.3.D.
A laurel
Shire of Euroa seal

associates them with victory in the State of Victoria. They are celebratory, victorious depictions of primary industry, suggesting prosperous settlement.

Namesake tributes

As part of the technology of glory, names, symbols and mottoes of prominent English people and places were given prominence in Victorian local government emblems. This was common across all the Australian colonies, and similarly to mapping, it furthered governance by rendering Australian territories intelligible to colonisers in familiar, English terms (Willinsky, 1998, p. 35).

Figure 4.1.3.E.
Arms borrowed from namesake
City of Fitzroy arms

In Victoria, the Colony itself was named after the ruling English monarch, Queen Victoria, in 1850. Such naming and symbol-borrowing conventions ideally cast reflected glory on both the person or place loaning the symbol, and on the borrower of the symbol. In a sense, this phenomena was a nineteenth century precursor to celebrity branding. On the one hand, it celebrated 'heroes of empire' (Willinsky, 1998, p. 36). For example, English Duke of Grafton, John Charles William Fitzroy, the first Governor of New South Wales, was honoured by the use of his name and family crest by the City of Fitzroy (see Figure 4.1.3.E). On the other hand, the City of Fitzroy also gained from the exchange. As new settlements, Victorian local governments had little or no historical identity of their own. Appropriating names and symbols from England gave them a sense of tradition and permanence.

Figure 4.1.3.F.
Reference to place namesake
City of Berwick arms

Hodder refers to this process as 'prestige exchange' (Hodder & Hutson, 2003, p. 164). One emblem, City of

Berwick's arms, makes a symbolic reference to Berwick on Tweed in England. The lower part of the shield depicts a bear chained to a tree; this symbol is taken from the arms of the English town (see Figure 4.1.3.F).

Glory mottoes

The City of Richmond's motto, 'to extend fame by deeds' suggests unapologetic aspiration for glory (see Figure 4.1.3.G). It is a quote from Virgil's *Aeneid*; the full line reads 'to extend fame by deeds — this is the work of valour' (Reed, 2007, p. 169). The use of this quote from ancient Greek myth is imperialist as well as aspiring to glory. To a classically trained nineteenth century audience, this motto would have suggested the latter part of the quote, emphasising valour. This typically imperial message was used by a wealthy, urban council, most likely from the end of the nineteenth century onwards.

Figure 4.1.3.G.
Mottoes promoting Empire
City of Richmond seal

4.1.4. Faith

The technology of faith in a Christian God is found in the emblem archive through written and picture references to the Bible, Saints, faith and moral fortitude (see Figure 4.1.4.A). Promoting a religion is a common part of imperialist governance that is arguably crucial to the success of occupations (Greenlee & Johnston, 1999, p. 6). Specifically, the spread of Christianity is common to all European colonising powers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

4	THE BIBLE
7	THE CROSS
1	ST JOHN'S SWORD
8	FAITH MOTTOES
20	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 4.1.4.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of Britannia through the technology of faith

Adaptation of the Christian faith in newly occupied lands is advantageous for governance purposes because of its emphasis on hard work, humility

and faith in the divine. Christianity is presented as preventing conflict, and its fatalistic trust in a higher purpose gives speedy legitimacy and security to the newly established occupying government. While Christianity serves governance purposes, it is presented as a civilising influence: to be civilised is to conform to a Christian ideal. This reliance on faith for assisting with acceptance of the newly established order is the closest imperialism comes to attempting to govern the minds of its citizens.

Sociologist Robert Miles has acknowledged the pervasiveness of Christian faith in European knowledge traditions in which Christianity became 'the prism through which all knowledge of the world was refracted' (Miles, 1989, p. 16). In writings on European colonisation, promotion of Christianity is intermingled with economics, the other great imperial motivator. Postcolonial theorist Anita Loomba cites references to '"blest commerce"... becoming a crusader for Christianity' (Loomba, 1998, p. 114). This is an economic take on the motto in the Arms of Dominion, 'By God and my right'. Victorian historians have documented similar promotion of Christianity during early Victorian colonial rule (Garden, 1984, p. 53; Stephens, 2010, p. 152).

The Bible

The Bible, in the colonial context, symbolises 'English authority itself' (Loomba, 1998, p. 89). The bible as depicted in the emblem archive can therefore be considered both a symbol of Christianity and English rule. It is also a glorification of God's word, similar to

Figure 4.1.4.B.
The Bible
City of Sale arms

the glorification of grand British people and places in the namesake tributes discussed earlier. The City of Sale's arms in Figure 4.1.4.B contains a winged Bible, identifiable by the cross on its front cover, as its crest. The wings suggest limitless potential for the spread of Christian faith. This arms was awarded in 1985, illustrating the pervasive influence of the Christian aspect of imperialism up until the recent times.

The cross

The cross, the international symbol for Christianity, is evident in several of the local government emblems; it is commonly incorporated into crests and shields. For example, the shield of Shire of Pakenham's arms is divided by an ornate cross (see Figure 4.1.4.C). Similarly to tribute place names, the council gains in familiarity to European sensibilities with the addition of a cross to its emblem. It is both a statement of faith and a marker of future salvation (Howitt, 1845, p. 276).

Figure 4.1.4.C.
The cross
Shire of Pakenham arms

Faith mottoes

Faith and work are intimately tied together in the mottoes found in the emblem archive. Several mottoes contain lines from the bible, and references to faith. The most obvious of these references is in the City of Mildura seal (see Figure 4.1.4.D). The seal contains a motto from the first line of a passage in the Bible that bears a moral warning to the new community in a relatively new colony:

Figure 4.1.4.D.
Faith motto
City of Mildura seal

Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?
Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit;

but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can

a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn

down, and cast into the fire.

Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

(Matthew, 7:16-20)

The sentiment of this quote and the emblems using faith mottoes is that the colonies should be judged by their results, their harvests and their trade, rather than surface appearances. Because their produce was good, the Victorian colonies were also good. And good, in the Christian sense, is akin to Godly. These were councils trusting in their faith, work ethic and way of life to sustain them and prove their worth. The selection of this quote from the Bible may also be a joke, since Mildura has been one of Victoria's best known fruit growing areas for well over a century. This possible double meaning suggests a light-hearted approach to Christianity existed in the local interpretation of Christian words and symbols.

4.2. Trade

Evidence of classical liberal governance was found in the emblems through an embodied discourse of trade. The facets contributing to this discourse rely on three technologies: pastoralism, plunder and transport (see Figure 4.2.A). The technology of pastoralism relates to using the land to raise crops and animals, while the technology of plunder relates to harvesting naturally occurring populations of native animals and plants from land and sea for profit. The technology of transport refers to all means of moving the results of pastoralism and plunder from their point of origin to places of sale or export.

IDEOLOGY	DISCOURSE	DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY
CLASSICAL LIBERALISM	TRADE	PASTORALISM PLUNDER TRANSPORT

Figure 4.2.A.
The embodied trade discourse as it relates to liberalism and to the discourse technologies

Trade was crucial to the expansion of the British Empire, and exploration of the new colony represented yet another opportunity for the English to identify further trading possibilities (Buchan, 2008, p. 34). From 1834 onwards, intrepid individuals were plying the land and sea of the Port Phillip district in the hopes of making their fortunes (Garden, 1984, p. 80). Exports out of Port Phillip from 1835 onwards included whale oil, wool, gold, grain, flour, meat, sugar and wine (Blainey, 2006, p. 19; Levey, 1883, p. 10). Victoria was a fertile and resource rich area, particularly compared to other British colonies, and so the wealth and comfort of the local populations was quickly and relatively easily established (Merivale, 1841, p. 118). With this dramatically increasing affluence, demand for goods increased at a far greater pace than they could be produced locally, and the Colony of Victoria rapidly consumed imports. By 1880 Port Phillip Bay received

a large number of imports, second only in world gross imports to the port of Amsterdam (Davison, 2001, p. 54; Levey, 1883, p. 11).

4.2.1. Classical Liberalism

The discourse of trade embodied in the emblems is a reflection of the pervasiveness of classical liberal ideology in Victorian governance. The term 'classical liberalism' is used in this section to differentiate it from other forms of liberalism, particularly from utilitarian liberalism and social liberalism (Buchan, 2008, p. 121). The term 'liberalism' has been used to describe a wide range of ideological positions both in academia and in every day governance, particularly in Australia (Wear, 2005, p. 473). Very loosely, liberalism encompasses a range of ideological positions that are all concerned with maximising individual happiness and liberty (Hindess, 1996, p. 124; Melleuish, 2001, p. 33).

However, the three strains of liberalism — classical, social and utilitarian — stem from markedly different interpretations of the best course for maximising individual liberty. As a governance ideology, classical liberalism is diferentiated from the other two strains by a faith in market forces, and minimal government intervention in social and market affairs (Buchan, 2008, p. 121). The classical liberal position is highly individualist, acknowledging each individual's worth, and recognising the individual as the only legitimate unit of society. This entails the rejection of notions of common goals and community spirit. In keeping with the individualist theme, classical liberalism holds that government's primary purpose should be ensuring the

freedom of citizens and protection of their property (Mack & Gaus, 2004, pp. 117-118). The driving argument behind this hands-off governance ideology is that all economic activity is 'natural.' This reasoning goes that, as with systems of nature, when left undisturbed economic activity reaches an equilibrium that maintains constant economic growth and maximum fulfillment of each individual's potential (Buchan, 2008, p. 122; Cooper, 2004, pp. 520-521; Hindess, 1996, p. 125). The extreme extension of this view is that governments and law are unnecessary, since the market will provide for all individuals according to their needs. This is a sub-view of classical liberalism called 'market anarchism' (Mack & Gaus, 2004, p. 119). Classical liberalism, and particularly this extreme, market anarchism aspect of the ideology, has been criticised by its opponents for placing too much faith in each individual's ability to rise unassisted. For example, classical liberalism advocates that government should not contribute at all to any kind of welfare for its citizenry (Mack & Gaus, 2004, p. 121). Classical liberalism has also been criticised as being bound up in the practise of imperial rule, and with nineteenth century European concepts of racial superiority (Smits, 2008, p. 1).

Liberalism in Australia

Governance in Australia in the nineteenth century was minimal and reactive, responding to the needs of commerce as they arose. Although British colonial governance was influenced by imperial and classical liberal ideologies, translation of those ideologies into government policy was haphazard across the Australian colonies. Minimal regulation of trade was aspired to

and frequently negotiated for, but protectionist trade measures between Australian colonies were common (Trainor, 1994, p. 109). A fairly rudimentary government infrastructure was established in the various colonies in keeping with the classical liberal idea of small government. In return for taxes, the governments kept law and order of sorts, provided adequate port, train and road infrastructure for transporting goods, and made efforts to ensure a constant influx of appropriate workers (Trainor, 1994, p. 57).

In the early nineteenth century, the more or less classically liberal policies appeared to work, as trade boomed and the colonies flourished concurrently. In 1841, the prosperity of the Colony of New South Wales, which included Victoria at that time (see Figure 4.1.1.A on page 246), was said to be 'the most remarkable phenomena in colonial history' (Merivale, 1841, p. 117). The district of Port Phillip's development, in particular, was said to be 'more striking than that of any other Australian colony', despite Port Phillip only being a relatively small and newly settled district of the Colony of New South Wales at the time (Merivale, 1841, p. 123).

Classical liberalism in Victoria
Early Victorian colonial and, later, State governments were heavily influenced by classical liberalism (Mendes in Lowell, 2005, p. 4). Small government and minimal intervention in social and market matters dominated Victorian governance throughout the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century (Clarke, 1993, p. 397). Although this socially

and fiscally conservative ideology inspired day to day governance in the colony, when the Victorian government was required to respond to dramatic social upheavals — such as economic depression, widespread strikes and prolonged lack of law and order — the government often resorted to more socially minded, interventionist policies. This strategy of resorting to socially interventionist policies in times of crisis was no doubt used in part to appease the wealthy, volatile and socially progressive Victorian population.

Early Victorian history is marked by a dichotomy between the restrained, classical liberal policies of the colonial government, and the fervour for social change amongst the population. Describing the egalitarian nature of Victorian society in the 1860s, historian Geoffrey Serle observes that '[i]n social relations, though not in politics, a "French Revolution" had indeed occurred' (Serle, 1963, p. 30). Such was the scale of change in the air in the Colony of Victoria at the time.

In many respects, Victoria's history is a textbook case of classical liberal governance, in both its good and bad attributes. Partly due to very low levels of regulation in early colonial rule, local entrepreneurs were able to make vast fortunes from Victoria's natural resources. In 1864, celebrated nineteenth century historian William Westgarth wrote that 'every thing in Victoria seemed under a charm, so that the mere making of money was one of the most easy and unanxious concerns of human life' (Westgarth, 1864, p. 144). The down side of such unregulated economic activity was the associated boom and bust cycles. Markets were

regularly overinflated and loans overextended, with the result that several of Victoria's banks closed periodically throughout the last half of the nineteenth century.

Victoria suffered three depressions in its 51 years as a Colony, and two more shortly after it was made a State. This feast and famine economic cycle was exacerbated by the lack of social welfare. It was in these austere times that public policy veered from its typically classical liberal norm. So, for example, Victoria instituted protectionist tariffs against imports from other Colonies in the 1870s and again in the 1890s. Such policies earned Victoria a reputation among British colonies as a hotbed of radicalism (Bate, 2010, p. 11). The so-called radicalism was much hyped despite Victoria's social reforms being short term, knee-jerk policy reactions to unprecedented governance problems, rather than coming from any serious commitment to socially progressive ideals.

An entrepreneurial district

Figure 4.2.1.A. Settlements of early entrepreneurs in the Port Phillip district of New South Wales

In the 1830s, the classical liberal sentiment in the Colony of New South Wales and the Colony of Van Diemen's Land spilled over into the reputedly fertile, but as yet mysterious district of Port Phillip (see Figure 4.2.1.A). Men in the colonies to both the north and the south were keen to maximise their potential for accumulating wealth by making use of the district's natural resources before anyone else did. The men from the north were after seals and whales (Blainey, 2006, p18; Garden, 1984, p. 19; Gurner, 1896, p. 25). Whale oil (sold as 'spermaceti oil') was a valuable commodity used in most lamps in Europe at the time. Whale bone was similarly necessary for the boning of women's corsets. The men from the south, from the Colony of Van Diemen's Land, went in search of lush grazing pastures for sheep, speculating that wool would prove to be an increasingly valuable commodity (Blainey, 2006, p. 182). With these motives, the first successful settlements in the Port Phillip district were established

by private entrepreneurs (see Figure 4.2.1.A). The classical liberal ideals that pervaded the Australian colonies had triggered settlement in Port Phillip that overtook Britain's ambitions. It became a matter of urgency to establish a government presence in the district, and two years after the first entrepreneurial settlements were established, the City of Melbourne was named and laid out (Gurner, 1896, p. 34).

In theory, the early settlers to the district were governed by the administration of the Colony of New South Wales. In practise, all settlers in the district were acting outside of British law. During the first few years of settlement, the governance arrangements were makeshift, necessarily communal and driven by facilitating production and export. The township of Melbourne consisted of several huts and many more tents, with a steady stream of Van Demonian settlers and sheep arriving to populate the town. According to British and New South Wales law, all residents of the Melbourne area, including local Aborigines, were there illegally. The 'wild west' nature of practical governance at this time is illustrated by the fact that the closest magistrate or police officer was over a fortnight's ride away (Blainey, 2006, p. 20).

The Gold Rush democracy

Gold was discovered in Victoria in 1850, with Ballarat and Bendigo soon becoming the twin focal points of what came to be known as the Gold Rush. Victoria's Gold Rush was a world-wide sensation, with one British observer commenting that Ballarat was 'the richest gold-field, perhaps, that the world has ever known' (Westgarth, 1864, p. 126). The Gold Rush has been

attributed with a democratising influence over Victoria, in spite of the colonial government's conservative, classical liberal stance (Bate, 2010, p. 6).

The nature of the gold reserves in Victoria and the hype surrounding those gold reserves, in combination with the government policies regarding gold mining licences, led to massive change within Victorian society over a short period. The first discoveries of alluvial gold in central west Victoria — gold that was 'discovered' through simply picking up alluvial gold deposits from dry riverbeds — sparked rumours of easy fortunes to be made (Fahey, 2001, p. 68). Channeling the bombastic tone of historic reporting on the new gold discoveries, historian Manning Clarke has commented that 'Nature had so strewn gold on the surface of the Earth that it was within the reach of the poorest man who possessed active hands and sharp eyes' (Clarke, 1993, p. 250). It was this emancipating vision that lured immigrants to Victoria in droves in the 1850s. While many did make their fortune on the gold fields, the vast majority of people who went to the gold fields reaped meagre rewards for months, and sometimes years, of labour (Serle, 1963, p. 24; Levey, 1883, p. 11).

Nevertheless, men from all walks of life left their towns, jobs and families to head for the gold fields in a sudden social desertion described at the time as 'the most wonderful revolution which the world has probably witnessed' (Archer, 1861, p. 101). As news of the gold spread, migration increased rapidly, first from other Australian colonies, later from Europe, China and the Americas (Garden, 1984, p. 72; Levey, 1883, p. 4). The scale of the migration was unheard of at

that time; between ten and twenty thousand people arrived in Victoria each month between 1850 and 1854 (Westgarth, 1864, p. 129). The Gold Rush created extremely favourable conditions for entrepreneurs, as Governor of the Colony of Victoria, Charles Hotham, commented in 1855 that

> the population here is essentially migratory, the Man of commerce strives to accumulate wealth, the Capitalist invests his money in land, the Miner seeks of gold, but none of these persons contemplate making this land their homes or endeavour to do more than amass sufficient money to enable them to return to England (Hotham in Garden, 1984, p. 80).

The mass migration and wholesale change of occupation that was good for capitalism, caused chaos for the governance of the Colony of Victoria (Garden, 1984, p. 72). All government departments, including the judiciary and the police force, were chronically understaffed, as the price of labour increased exponentially (Archer, 1861, p. 101; Serle, 1963, p. 21). Military police were sent from England in an attempt to re-establish law and order. The price of commodities and property also saw rapid changes, creating further logistical difficulties for government. Currency could not be minted fast enough to keep pace with the growing wealth in the Colony. Some shops remedied this situation by minting their own, temporary currency (Levey, 1883, p. 10). Further, the fluid nature of the Victorian population prevented the British class structure, so central to British colonial governance elsewhere, from being fully transplanted (Merivale, 1841, p. 118). Finally, the new found wealth

distributed through all levels of a rapidly expanding and increasingly culturally diverse society also brought the threat of democratic sentiment (Bate, 2010, p. 6; Serle, 1963, p. 25).

In Victoria, gold was undoubtedly, if tumultuously, a democratising influence. The wealth generated by the Gold Rush was, unusually for a Colony, and for societies in general at that time, fairly evenly dispersed among all classes of the population. This dispersed wealth across all strata of society perhaps did more for the egalitarian nature of Victorian society, and in less time, than democratic sentiment within government could have. People who had money could buy land, and were thus entitled to vote (suffrage in the Colony of Victoria was initially determined by land ownership). Many women gained independent wealth during the Gold Rush (Maddigan, 2009, p. 169).

4.2.2. Pastoralism

The technology of pastoralism is by far the strongest in the emblem archive. Some of Victoria's mythologised produce has been discussed briefly in relation to the Cornucopia (see section 4.1.3 on page 257). However, many more literal representations of pastoralism exist in the emblem archive (see Figure 4.2.2.A). Multiple symbols of farming are present in many emblems, indicating that after the hubbub of gold fever died down, the majority of Victorian councils depended on agriculture for their livelihoods. Eminent historian Geoffrey Blainey has observed that farmers were 'the backbone of Victoria' for most of its history (Blainey, 2006, p. 174).

84	CROPS	
35	WHEAT	
20	FRUIT	
	3	TREE FRUIT
	17	GRAPES & VINES
29	TOOLS	
	26	HOE
	1	RAKE
	1	SICKLE
	1	THRESHER

66	LIVESTOCK	
30	CATTLE	
33	SHEEP	
3	BEES & HIVES	

150 INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 4.2.2.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of trade through the technology of harvest

The two forms of agriculture reflected in the emblems are raising crops — wheat, tree fruit and grape vines, and rearing animals — cattle, sheep and bees. The large quantity of symbols in the emblem archive representing pastoralism are reminders of the British imperial agenda: wealth creation through trade with the colonies. The trade discourse is furthered by the technology simply because agricultural produce was the largest, most continuous tradeable commodity exported from Victoria as a colony, and later, as a State.

Crops

Despite initially being valued for grazing land, the Colony of Victoria quickly gained a reputation for some of the most fertile croplands in the Australian colonies. Clay or sandy soils with hot, dry weather predominated in most of Australia, producing low crop yields. In contrast, Victoria included large swathes of rich farming lands with moderate temperatures. The weather and land conditions in Victoria were most similar to English conditions, so the settlers' farming techniques were suited to the land, also contributing to high yields.

Wheat

For over a century, wheat has been the favoured crop in Victoria, closely followed by oats and barley (Garden, 1984, p. 427). It is wheat however, that has captured the imaginations of local governments across Victoria. The prevalence of wheat fields is reflected in the Victorian local government emblems, with 35 references to wheat in the emblem archive. Although

Figure 4.2.2.B.
Wheat
Shire of Melton seal

it was first sowed purely as a money making venture, wheat has increasingly become part of local rural identities across Victoria.

Wheat is often depicted more than once in the same emblem, and in different forms, including in the form of sheafs, bushels, as individual stalks and as grain packaged for trade. One example of this is the Shire of Melton seal, which features both wheat as a sheaf and wheat stalks used as a laurel (see Figure 4.2.2.B). In this emblem, wheat is the central feature. It is both part of a rural landscape, and a celebratory, encircling symbol. Sheafs of wheat (as depicted in the Shire of Melton seal) were used when farmers cut wheat by hand. They have since been replaced by large blocks of packaged wheat assembled by a mechanical process. These hand collected wheat sheafs are depicted in relatively recent emblems, long after they went out of regular farming use. Wheat sheafs remain as a nostalgic representation of the wheat industry, depicting an arcane storage form of wheat.

Fruit

Grapes and grapevines are commonly depicted in the emblem archive in all forms: coats of arms, seals and logos. The prevalence of these symbols reflect the fact that, from early settlement, Victoria has been a large manufacturer and exporter of wine (Levey, 1883, p. 9). Although grapes and wine from Victoria at the end of the nineteenth century would hardly have excited praise from experts in France, Victoria's wine production and export from several towns was enough to make them

Figure 4.2.2.C.
Grapes
City of Geelong arms

Figure 4.2.2.D.
Market garden fruit
Shire of Hastings seal

prosper. The City of Geelong arms reflects this history of wine-making with grapes taking pride of place on its shield (see Figure 4.2.2.C).

Although many regions in Victoria rely on market gardens and orchards for their industry and employment, few local government emblems in the sample depict tree fruit. Most of the fruit depicted in emblems is depicted spilling out of Cornucopia. Some emblems, such as the Shire of Hastings, depict apples and pears as a reference to their local orchard industry (see Figure 4.2.2.D).

Tools

Throughout the Victorian local government emblems influenced by classical liberal governance, hoes, drays and other farm equipment feature prominently. One emblem featuring work tools is the Shire of Wycheproof seal, which contains a hoe at centre bottom of the shield (see Figure 4.2.2.E). In early emblems, these would have been literal depictions of work tools of the time, and as such are references to the hard work of harvesting crops by hand. After the introduction of mechanised farming equipment, the meaning of hoes and other manual farming equipment starts to shift. Because manual farming tools were in less common usage in the early twentieth century but still were present in many emblems, their use becomes somewhat nostalgic, more of an abstract representation of agricultural work generally, and possibly also as a tribute to the hard endeavour of the area's first colonial inhabitants.

Figure 4.2.2.E.
Hoe
Shire of Wycheproof seal

Figure 4.2.2.F.
Thresher
Shire of Walpeup seal

One exception to these references to early farm equipment is found in the Shire of Walpeup seal (see Figure 4.2.2.F). The only symbol it contains is a mechanical thresher. The thresher is depicted from the front, displaying its big, mechanical teeth in their most intimidating aspect. This is a depiction of an active, almost threatening agricultural tool. Its imposing form highlights the passive nature of all the other depictions of work tools. All hoes are depicted side on, and mostly in a resting position, isolated from the farmers and animals used to operate them.

Livestock

Victoria proved to contain lush grazing land that fostered a thriving livestock trade from first settlement right up to the present day (Garden, 1984, p. 39). Sheep, cattle and bees are the three kinds of livestock represented in the emblems, with sheep predominating, followed closely by cattle. While cattle grazing has been a significant part of Victoria's economy, particularly in the alpine regions, sheep have made a more dramatic contribution to its history, and feature more prominently in the emblem archive.

From the landing of the two parties of graziers from Van Dieman's Land in Port Phillip Bay, sheep grazing quickly became a crucial economic activity across Victoria, and remains so today. Careful management of the natural environment by Aborigines over many generations had resulted in a landscape around Port Phillip Bay that was suitable for grazing and hunting (Presland, 1997, p. 1). Wide open grasslands were plentiful around the Yarra River and along the bay toward Geelong, and

Figure 4.2.2.G.
Sheep
Southern Grampians Shire Council logo

these presented near perfect conditions for the graziers from Van Diemen's Land. In the 1830s and 1840s many tens of thousands of immigrants to Victoria made their livelihoods in the sheep grazing, sheep selling and wool industries. By-products of sheep rearing also contributed to domestic trade, as they were used in manufacture of soap and salting of meat, both of which were significant industries (Serle, 1963, p. 2, 3; Garden, 1984, p. 42). By 1850, over six million sheep grazed in Victoria. Almost all of these sheep were reared illegally, by squatters on government land. These squatters were largely men of wealth, who had come to Victoria for the purposes of increasing that wealth (Garden, 1984, p. 39).

The significance of sheep to the economy, and later, to the identities of Victorian local governments, is reflected in the local government emblems. The Southern Grampians Shire Council logo is an example of how celebrated sheep are depicted in the emblem archive (see Figure 4.2.2.G). The ram takes centre stage, being framed by references to the Grampians mountain range, Aboriginal art and digital technology.

By and large the sheep transported from Van Diemen's Land prospered and a roaring trade began in buying and selling sheep (Garden, 1984, p. 39). Trade of live sheep was the source of the first financial boom and bust in Victoria's history. Australian historian Weston Bate has observed that in the mid-1800s Victoria's wool industry 'was probably the most capitalistic form of primary production in the world at that time' (Bate, 1978, p. 1).

As news of the idyllic grazing lands in the district of Port Phillip spread, settlers flocked first from Van Diemen's Land and later from northern New South Wales to try their hands at sheep rearing. Like any over-inflated investment opportunity, the sheep rearing boom was shortlived. For several years, large profits were made by people with existing sheep runs as they sold sheep to new arrivals wanting to start sheep runs. Victorian farmers did not reap great profits from wool exportation, since production costs, particularly labour, were high. Most of the profits came from the breeding of the sheep themselves, which were then sold for a large price per head; selling sheep later was the main reason to buy sheep now (Garden, 1984, p. 40).

4.2.3. Plunder

Another smaller, but not insignificant technology is the technology of plunder, which uses images relating to reaping commercial rewards from using the natural resources settlers found in Victoria (see Figure 4.2.3.A). Contributions to this technology are divided up into harvests reaped from land and those reaped from the sea. The vast majority of the emblems using the technology of plunder use the devices of coats of arms or seals, but this technology is not related to any particular form characteristics.

6	SEA	
	4	FISHING
	2	WHALING
15	LAND	
	6	LOGGING
		1 AXE
		2 SAW
		1 LOGGER
		2 TREE STUMP
	9	GOLD MINING
		6 PICK & SHOVEL
		2 MINER
		1 GOLD TOKEN

21 INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 4.2.3.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of trade through the technology of plunder

Sea

Although 'fruits of the sea' played an important role in the early exploration and settlement of Victoria, the seas ultimately provided only a small amount of Victorian tradeable goods. Fishing and whaling, the two sea-based industries depicted in the emblem archive, were not large scale activities for very long. As described previously, whaling was one of the first export industries in the district of Port Phillip, in the form of spermaceti oil. However, the whaling in Victoria was shortlived, ceasing only a few decades after it began (Gurner, 1896, p. 25). The City of Portland arms contains one of the two references in the emblem archive to this early whaling industry (see Figure 4.2.3.B). In these arms, a whale and wavy lines representing the sea are used in the crest.

Fishing has been a relatively small-scale industry for Victoria, providing the domestic market with a small supply of fish, particularly when compared to some of the more explosive markets in Victoria's history. The City of Sandringham seal displays a rare reference to the local fishing industry (see Figure 4.2.3.C). The fish displayed in this seal, as supporters on either side of the shield, are unusual depictions. They look like a kind of fantasy hybrid between dolphins and fish.

Land

The widespread logging throughout Victoria's history is represented by depictions of tree stumps, saws (straight and circular), axes and loggers. Similar in appearance to a cogged wheel of industry, the circular saw is differentiated from a cogged wheel by the sharp

Figure 4.2.3.B.
Whaling
City of Portland arms

Figure 4.2.3.C.
Fis
Ci

Figure 4.2.3.D.
Circular saw
Shire of Maffra arms

teeth facing in one direction. The Shire of Maffra arms celebrates the circular saw displaying it prominently on its shield (see Figure 4.2.3.D).

Gold mining

Mining left a visible legacy on both Victorian local government emblems and Victorian society. There are several references to the local gold mining history in the emblem archive. The most literal depiction of mining is miners. The centre of Gold Rush activity was the goldfields surrounding the town of Ballarat (see Figure 4.2.3.E). This town contained two local governments, one called the City of Ballaarat, and the other called the Shire of Ballarat. It should be noted that the City of Ballaarat uses an older spelling of the town name; it is not a misspelling.

The City of Ballaarat arms uses a miner and a farmer as supporters (see Figure 4.2.3.F). Some emblems use miners as supporters, but contain evidence of having been made well after the mining boom, suggesting an effort to remember the past luck and bounty of otherwise unprosperous areas. Several other emblems feature a symbol made out of the tools of mining — a crossed shovel and pickaxe — and one emblem contains a panning tray.
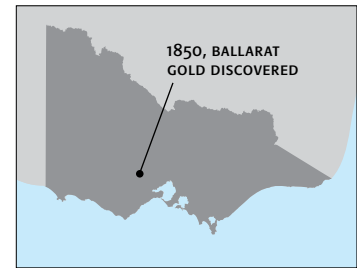
Figure 4.2.3.E.
The goldfields, discovered 1850

Figure 4.2.3.F.
Miner on right
City of Ballaarat arm

4.2.4. Transport

The technology of transport contains ships, trains, vehicles and horses, as well as roads and train tracks (see Figure 4.2.4.A). This technology furthers the discourse of trade by moving goods from their point of origin to their domestic and international markets. The largest domestic markets in Victoria in the nineteenth century were Melbourne and Ballarat, where goods were shipped by road and train. The almost sole international market was England, goods being shipped there via the ports of Geelong and Melbourne. Transportation was integral to trade, and the burgeoning local industries ensured transportation became a significant industry in its own right early in Victoria's history (Serle, 1963, p. 2, 3).

20	SHIPPING
5	ANCHORS
2	SIGNAL FLAGS
8	SHIPS
5	LIGHTHOUSES
3	TRAINS
15	ROAD TRANSPORT
2	ROADS
13	CARRIAGES
9	HORSES
1	LANTERNS
3	WHEELS

38 INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 4.2.4.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of trade through the technology of transport

Ships

Ships have undoubtedly been significant in the history of Victoria; for settlement, immigration purposes and for trade. Although ships have played many roles in Victorian history, in the emblem archive they are primarily considered in their capacity of furthering trade by exporting goods and importing workers as well as goods. Shipping is celebrated in several of the emblems, most notably the City of Williamstown arms (see Figure 4.2.4.B). These arms bear three separate references to shipping: crossed signal flags, an anchor, and a ship at sea. The lighthouse in the bottom left quadrant of the shield could also be considered a reference to shipping since lighthouses played the crucial role of signalling safe passage to ships. The City of Williamstown was surrounded by busy ports, and was an intersection of transportation as goods

Figure 4.2.4.B.
Transport celebrated
City of Williamstown arms

were constantly loaded and unloaded. It is perhaps unsurprising then that the City's arms show such veneration of transport.

Trains

Following the dramatic increase of wealth brought by the Gold Rush, and the consequent increase in trade, train tracks were laid throughout much of Victoria in the last half of the nineteenth century. They brought supplies and news to remote timber milling communities, and brought much sought after wood to Melbourne and the goldfields (Anchen, 2011, p. 16). The trains then were as the internet is to us today: provider of information, communication and connection to the outside world, as well as a means to sell local produce and buy locally unavailable goods. In the shield of the City of Williamstown arms, the only quadrant not taken up with shipping references is reserved for celebration of a cargo train (see Figure 4.2.4.B).

Road transport

Transport is frequently depicted in the emblem archive through use of carriage wheels. In some cases, carriage wheels are supplemented by other symbols of transport. For example, in the City of Heidelberg arms three carriage wheels are supplemented with a carriage lamp and two horses (see Figure 4.2.4.C). Similarly, horses played an important part in the early history of Victoria. In the emblem archive, horses are predominantly depicted as a mode of transport and a work tool.

Figure 4.2.4.C.
Carriage wheels, lamp and horses
City of Heidelberg arms

Roads

The only depictions of roads in the emblem archive are in the two Hume City Council logos, both of which contain stylised depictions of various freeways (see Figure 4.2.4.D). The logo refers to the intersection of three of Melbourne's largest freeways that meet in the area. The depiction of roads was chosen as an intentionally neutral symbol for a council formed during controversial amalgamation of several smaller councils (Taffe, 2008).

Figure 4.2.4.D.
Roads
Hume City Council logo

4.3. The Other

Evidence of exclusionist governance was found in the emblems through an embodied discourse of 'the other.' Othering, as defined by Loomba, is a process of presenting certain peoples as apart from the main events and participants in civil society (Loomba, 1998, p. 104, 138). Otherness, or othering, is a widely acknowledged phenomenon among historians, particularly those studying colonial and postcolonial histories. It is an inevitable side effect of representational focus in both history writing and material artefacts; where certain events and people are highlighted, others are necessarily less well documented (Hart, 2012, p. 59).

In a departure from the common structure of the sections in this two-part history, this section is ordered by the social groups affected by the discourse, rather than by the discourse technologies used to 'other' them. This structural change refects the fact that The Other is the only discourse arising from governance strategies directed at specific individuals.

The facets contributing to this discourse other three groups of people: Aborigines, women and diggers (see Figure 4.3.A). The emblem archive demonstrates these groups as othered people either by omitting them, or presenting them in a nostalgic, distant or novel light. Both a noble savage and a goddess, for example, are representations standing apart from ordinary members of society and from collective community identity. The othering discourse differs from the Britannia and trade discourses in the sense that the othering is furthered primarily by what is not represented in the

IDEOLOGY	DISCOURSE	DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY
EXCLUSIONISM	THE OTHER	ABORIGINES WOMEN DIGGERS

Figure 4.3.A.
The embodied discourse of the other as it relates to exclusionism and the discourse technologies

emblem archive. Female settlers, for example, are not depicted. Diggers at the goldfields are depicted in some emblems, as are Aboriginal people, however they are identified as 'othered' depictions because of the social and political context surrounding their placement.

In their quest for presenting a local identity, many of the emblems present a vision of Victoria and Australia that is almost wholly white. In presenting a persuasive, reassuring image of whiteness they omit much of Victorian history and culture, in order to amplify those qualities considered most attractive at the time the emblem was made: trade and British rule. These omissions and footnotes tell much about what was problematic in Victorian governance at the time the emblems were created.

4.3.1. Exclusionism

Exclusionism has been a central but somewhat implicit aspect of British colonial rule, arising from the juncture of imperialist and liberal rationalisations of British expansionism (Anderson, 2006, p. 93). In a situation of imperial government there is always a ruling peoples and a ruled people. In situations of liberal government, there is always a societal threshold of people who are capable of self-government and those who are not. Exclusionism rests on the combination of these two less powerful groups, those who are ruled, and those who are incapable of self-government become one, ostracised group (Buchan, 2008, p. 120).

Exclusionism provided the British with a convenient moral backing for their expansionist policies: providing civilisation to less capable peoples. The British

presented particular groups as uncivilised through a 'scientific racism' that used an apparently evidence-based, platform to declare particular people as incapable of self-rule. The scientific racism underpinning exclusionism was 'one of the most powerful intellectual currents of the age' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, permeating all areas and levels of colonial governance (Reynolds, 1987, p. 129).

As historian Henry Reynolds suggests above, there are strong links between imperialism, classical liberalism and exclusionism; in the nineteenth century all three were present in the colonised world, and Victoria was no exception. Historian Humphrey McQueen summarises exclusionism as the 'racism inherent in Australia's economic and geographic position as the advance guard of European conquest' (McQueen, 2004, p. 31). The racism inherent in Australian colonisation has been extensively documented (see Fitzgerald, 2007; MacDonald, 2008; Reynolds, 1987, 1992, 2001). While the historically racist tone of exclusionist governance ideology is acknowledged, the focus in this chapter is on exclusionism itself, on the capacity of governments to reject certain peoples from collective rights for any reason.

White Australia

Australian governance related to population management has long maintained a tension between an ideal of racial purity — epitomised by the White Australia Policy — and the economic and logistical necessity of governing an ever-increasingly ethnically diverse population (Jupp, 2002, p. 6). From the outset,

the Australian colonies were imagined by governments as white, English settlements. This was despite the mix of immigrants — prisoners and free settlers — from many countries and races, amounting to a far more varied population in terms of culture, language and skin colour than the official depiction presented (Fitzgerald, 2007, p. 2). Nevertheless, the vision of 'whiteness' was upheld through many government policies. Individuals considered to be 'non-white' have been othered throughout Australian history (McQueen, 2004, p. 51).

White and non-white were terms predominantly used to describe English and non-English respectively. For example, Scottish and Irish people were at times subjected to similar Anglicisation policies as Aborigines (Anderson, 2006, p. 93). However, the term 'white' was sometimes used to describe skin colour, with light skinned Aborigines, Greeks and Italians receiving better treatment from the government. To be considered non-white by the Australian government was to be a second class citizen. Non-whites were denied work, and also denied social welfare payments for healthcare, maternity leave and unemployment (Mendes, 2002, p. 13). Whiteness, a racially couched reference to Englishness, referred to behaviour as well as skin colour. 'Australians of British origin... expected new Australians to abandon their 'foreign' origins and blend quickly with their new environment' (Garden, 1984, p. 401).

The White Australia Policy was a set of government strategies used from the 1880s to the 1960s, formulated with the intention of ensuring Australia became, and stayed, a continent populated by white

people (Garden, 1984, p. 444; Jupp, 2002, p. 8; Reynolds, 1992, p. 3). The Policy included restrictions on non-White immigrants, assisted passage for (white) British citizens who wished to emigrate to Australia, and denial of basic government services to non-white people (Jupp, 2002, p. 19). Officially coordinated from 1901 to 1972, the 'purification' policies continued for at least a decade before and after the official use of the White Australia Policy (Manne, 2001, p. 57; Mendes, 2002, p. 12).

For the duration of the White Australia Policy, whites and non-whites were framed by all Australian governments as in competition with each other for work, resources and dominance of Australia. Though it may sound quaint today, the 'threat' of non-white dominance was taken seriously in Australia, so much so that large scale assisted migration schemes were organised for white English people to emigrate to Australia. Assisted migration of white English citizens only ceased in the 1970s (Blainey, 2006, p. 207).

4.3.2. Aborigines

The othering of Aborigines in the emblem archive includes othered depictions of Aboriginal tools, Aborigines themselves and Aboriginal art in the form of dot paintings, (see Figure 4.3.2.A). Most of these depictions contribute to a retrospective construction of racial unity and harmony, a phenomenon that suggests that the Victorian past of racial segregation is something contemporary governments are not proud of, and would rather forget. Rightly so, as Aboriginal people,

6	ABORIGINE	
	1	NATIVE POLICEMAN
	3	BROTHERS IN ARMS
	2	NOBLE SAVAGE
6	TOOLS	
	4	BOOMERANG
	2	SPEAR
2	DOT PAINTING	
14	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE	

Figure 4.3.2.A.
Instances of the embodied discourse of the other through othering Aborigines

inhabitants of the Australian continent for 40,000 years, were only granted Australian citizenship in 1967 (Blainey, 2006, p. 220).

Although Aborigines were theoretically British citizens, in practise the judiciary excluded them from legal representation, and the government systematically avoided extending them any of the rights of British citizenship (Eidelson, 1997, p. 82; Reynolds, 1992, p. 180). Consequently, they were subject to all Britain's laws, but received none of their protection. The history of colonial governance of Aborigines in Victoria has been described as one of genocide, due to the extent of Aboriginal deaths and loss of culture (Garden, 1984, p. 53; MacDonald, 2008, p. 66).

Aborigines in Victoria

Land dispute and 'terra nullius'
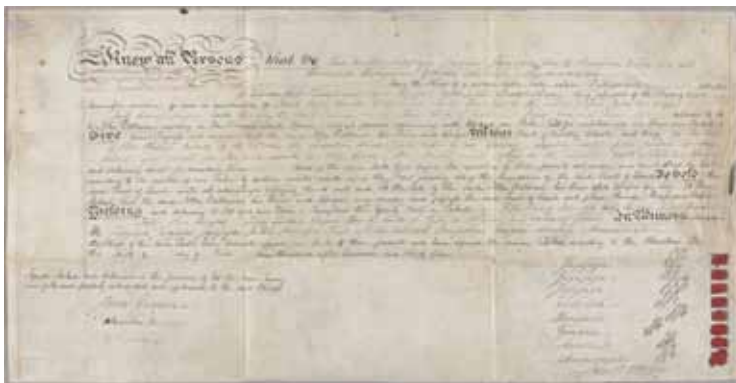
Figure 4.3.2.B. The Batman Deed, 1834

Much of this history stems from specific events early on in the interactions between Victorian settlers and Aborigines regarding land. John Batman, a settler from Van Diemen's Land, sailed to the district of Port Phillip in 1835 — against the orders of the administration of the Colony of New South Wales — with pre-prepared

legal documents for the purpose of buying land (Connor, 2002, p. 57). As agreed with some other explorers from Launceston, soon after landing Batman 'purchased' grazing land from five leaders of the Woi wurrung clan to become 'the greatest landowner in the world' (Blainey, 2006, p. 19; Garden, 1984, p. 27) (see purchase contract in Figure 4.3.2.B). The purchase contract, known as the 'Grant of the Territory called Dutigalla', shows that he paid blankets and glass beads to the Woi wurrung people and all their future relatives in return for the land (Eidelson, 1997, p. 32). Unfortunately for Batman and his associates, the year after his purchase, the Colony of New South Wales adopted the doctrine of 'terra nullius', a legal determination stated that, prior to settlement, Australia was a land without people. Reynolds comments that:

> *The truly amazing achievement of Australian jurisprudence was to deny that the Aborigines were ever in possession of their own land, robbing them of the great legal strength of that position* (Reynolds, 1992, p. 2).

International law at the time stated that if a land was 'terra nullius', it could be settled, but if it had indigenous inhabitants, settlers had to buy land from those inhabitants. In practise, the adoption of this doctrine of 'terra nullius' meant that Aborigines could not sell land, and that any land they inhabited must be purchased from the Crown. Under this policy, Batman's purchase of land from the Woi wurrung was declared invalid (Gurner, 1896, p. 22; Smits, 2008, p. 4).

More recent reflection on this piece of Victorian history suggests that there was some ambiguity of meaning

between Batman and the clan leaders during their transaction. After the signing, all parties participated in a tanderrum ritual, which amounted to an Aboriginal right of use agreement. In Aboriginal law, land could not be bought or sold, but requirements for use of land varied over time and so such leasing agreements were common among Aboriginal clans (Eidelson, 1997, p. 32). Batman, however, understood the ceremony to be a Feoffment, a requirement under British law that at the sale of land, the vendor must pass the purchaser some symbol of the land being sold (Boyce, 2011, p. 67).

Aborigine - settler relationship

At first settlement, the relationship between settlers and Aborigines appears to have been more or less amicable. Complex trade arrangements were established between the Aborigines and settlers co-existing on the banks of the Yarra River. Settlers predominantly occupied lands around Port Phillip Bay, and gave local Aborigines gifts and payment in return for work such as fishing, tracking and menial domestic tasks (Boyce, 2011, p. 97, 102; McCombie, 1858, p. 32).

However, despite the reciprocal arrangements, over the coming years many Aborigines and settlers fell into conflict. Assumption of racial superiority on the part of the settlers was ever present, and guided some to sinister actions (Connor, 2002, p. 102). Also, without a thorough understanding of British laws regarding property, some Aborigines stole livestock from settlers, actions which were usually avenged with mass murder of Aboriginal families. As violence escalated on both sides, Aborigines bore the heaviest casualties (Connor, 2002, p. 105; Boyce, 2011, p. 107).

Relations between Aborigines and settlers in the first two decades of settlement is riddled with stories of atrocities. The local population of Aborigines dropped dramatically during this time (Caldere & Goff, 1991, p. 9). Observing the atrocities and the Aboriginal population decline, contemporary historian James Bonwick gave his opinion that 'There is little need now to argue the subject of native rights, as the ancient lords of the soil will soon be laid beneath it' (Bonwick, 1863, p. 78). In this statement Bonwick expresses a sentiment imbued with cynical, exclusionist hope that was common at the time.

This attitude toward, and treatment of, Aborigines was not without criticism at the time (Caldere & Goff, 1991, p. 3). Edward Wilson, proprietor of the *Argus* newspaper, commented in 1856:

> We have shot them down like dogs. In the guise of friendship we have issued corrosive sublimate in their damper,… have made them drunkards, and infected them with disease… We have made them outcasts on their own land (Wilson in Garden, 1984, p. 78).

Despite such forcefully worded public opposition, Australian governments continued to treat Aborigines as lesser human beings (Reynolds, 1987, p. 117).

Aborigine as 'natural justice'

The only emblem to contain an Aborigine as the sole human reference was the City of Preston seal; this seal is intriguing for several reasons. Firstly, the only figure depicted is an indigenous man. In the other emblems depicting Aboriginal men, there is also a

Figure 4.3.2.C.
Unique message conveyed
City of Preston seal

settler figure. Secondly, this figure has an active, even aggressive stance, with one knee bent and his body poised, apparently ready to throw the boomerang in his left hand. In his right hand he holds a long stick, perhaps a spear. Thirdly, this man is depicted in a pictorial scene on a shield in the low centre of the seal. This shield is small, taking up only perhaps a quarter of the total emblem space. Behind this seal is another pictorial scene, taken up entirely with a factory. No other emblems contain such a small shield, or two such detailed and overlapping pictorial scenes.

Coming from behind the shield is a wheat laurel, the mark of victory, surrounding the factory. The Latin motto (translated) reads 'Industry and justice'. The factory obviously represents industry, and presumably the indigenous man, actively engaged, represents justice. He is not perhaps a surprising representation of justice on his own. In Aboriginal cultures there are clearly defined laws of conduct and harsh penalties inflicted on members of a community by elders if those laws are broken. These cultural laws are different to the laws of the State, operate for a smaller group of people and are sometimes in contravention of the legally sanctioned laws of Australia. Therefore, as the chosen representation of justice by a government, this armed figure is surprising to say the least. He represents local cultural laws, but in this composition, he seemingly also represents the laws of the government.

In terms of wider context, this emblem was in all probability created when the White Australia Policy was still in effect, as it was only abolished in 1972, and this emblem bears many of the hallmarks of emblems

created earlier than this time. The delicate hand etching suggests this emblem was created before the widespread use of desktop publishing software in the 1980s. The black weight of the typeface and the fine, but angular illustration of the wheat laurel suggest a strong modernist influence that also places this emblem earlier than the 1980s. The City of Preston has typically had the largest population of Aboriginal residents of any council area in Victoria, a fact that no doubt contributed to the depiction of the Aborigine in the crest. However, the council staff would have surely been predominantly white, as was the hiring policy in all tiers of government at that time. The Aborigine appears to be a heritage figure, a representation of the past, depicted naked and holding a weapon. But given the demographics of the City of Preston, it seems likely that the depiction is also a reference to the contemporary Aboriginal population.

The emblem can be read as filled with rivalry or victorious unity. Although the factory and the figure appear in two separate pictorial scenes, their overlapping positions create a tension between the two. The Aborigine is in the foreground, seemingly given precedence over the factory. But then the modernist-style factory looms almost menacingly, and is encircled by a laurel representing victory. There are several victorious elements in this composition, and it is not clear whether the Aboriginal man and the factory are in union or opposition. If they are in opposition, they are well matched. The Aborigine is in an active stance, and there is smoke coming from the chimneys of the modernist-style factory, so we know that it

too is active, sort of mechanically alive. The overall composition is filled with an ambiguous energy that is slightly discomfiting, but also nevertheless compelling.

Brothers in arms

In the Shire of Avon seal, an aborigine and a settler are given a central placement (see Figure 4.3.2.D). At the centre of a pictorial scene stands a horse, upon which a finely clothed figure is seated, pointing to the horizon. Another figure, seemingly naked and holding a spear at rest, is at the head of the horse, and it looks like the two men are talking. The Shire of Avon's seal is not as detailed or sharp as others, and the scene is more ambiguous, but this seems to be a representation of a colonial settler discussing directions with an indigenous man. This composition is remarkable among the emblems for showing citizens in a pictorial scene, and also for being the only emblem to show a settler and an indigenous person interacting.

The other two emblems depicting settlers and indigenous people, the City of Brighton arms and the City of Knox arms, while they take different approaches, each have one settler on the left and one indigenous person on the right as supporters either side of the shield. In this formal composition they do not interact, they stand parallel to one another, facing out of the picture (see Figure 4.3.2.E and Figure 4.3.2.F). However, in both cases they share a compartment, the mound of soil below a shield in a coat of arms.

The City of Brighton arms contains a farmer holding a hoe and an Aboriginal man holding a boomerang. Both are tools for harvesting food, the hoe is for

Figure 4.3.2.D.
Unequal brothers in arms
Shire of Avon seal

Figure 4.3.2.E.
Equal brothers in arms
City of Brighton arms

planting crops, the boomerang for catching prey such as kangaroos. The settler is depicted wearing old-fashioned clothes and the Aboriginal man is wearing only a loin cloth. They are both idealised past residents of the council area, equal and both fruitfully employed. However there is an implicit distinction between the two, the settler is 'civilised' and the Aboriginal man is depicted more as a 'noble savage.' The Latin motto, (translated) reads 'It is known by its fruits.' The supporters suggest labour and the motto mentions fruits; the council area should be known by the fruits of the resident's labour. This is a progression of the work theme of the emblems from the early governance period, extending it to include mention of the residents who have done that work in the past.

Native police

The Native Police Corps was an ill-fated all-Aboriginal division of the police force. It was used by the district of Port Phillip administration, and later by the government of the Colony of Victoria, to police problematic 'othered' groups, including Aborigines (Eidelson, 1997, p. 30). One of the Native Police Corps' major tasks was policing the goldfields at Ballarat, as an adjunct to the regular Victorian Police. Law and order was a major problem in the goldfields, with large numbers of people from all tiers of society and from all parts of the world converging on a relatively small area of land. The pickings were small for the number of diggers, and alcohol, though expensive, was plentiful. In addition, the closest court was in New South Wales,

Figure 4.3.2.F.
Native police
City of Knox arms

thousands of kilometres away. To assuage the tide of unpredictable behaviour, the local police force was swelled (Goodman, 1994, p. 75).

The City of Knox arms features a member of the Native Police Corps, of whom the City of Knox is retrospectively proud. The arms depict a settler, perhaps a logger, and an Aboriginal policeman from the Native Police Corps. The settler carries an axe, the policeman, a rifle and ammunition. The logger and the policeman are leaning on the shield as if they are taking a break; an unusual stance for figures known as 'supporters.' This emblem gives the impression that the shield is supporting the figures. This gives the whole arms a slightly more casual appearance than those with supporters in the standard rigid, formal posture of support.

This composition of a logger and an Aboriginal policeman in a government emblem is an undoubted glorification of Aborigine-settler relations, and marks a reversal in government attitudes toward the Native Police. The Native Police were established and abolished three times in a period of ten years, due to a combination of apathy regarding the Corps on the part of the government, and open hostility to it from the public (Eidelson, 1997, p. 30; Bonwick, 1863, p. 79).

4.3.3. Women

The othering of women in the emblem archive includes complete exclusion of depictions and references to of Victorian women. The only female figures in the emblem archive are depictions of otherworldly goddesses and Queen Victoria (see Figure 4.3.3.A).

4	MALE CONQUEST
4	SUPREME FEMALE AUTHORITY
2	AEQUITAS
1	EIRENE
1	QUEEN VICTORIA

8 INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 4.3.3.A.
Instances of the embodied discourse of the other through othering women

Loomba has observed that '[i]f the nation is an imagined community, that imagining is profoundly gendered' (Loomba, 1998, p. 215). Her observation of the gendered nature of nation building is generally supported by the detail within the government emblems, as a theme of gendered conquest runs through them. Male figures are depicted as physically and economically forceful – spear, scythe and axe-wielding. Throughout the emblem archive both land and economic activity are given decidedly masculine representations.

In contrast, the depiction of female figures and femininity is more ambiguous; female figures depict ethereal moral codes and legends, but also British authority and rule. This gender division in representation reflects the patriarchal nature of governance in nation states generally and the absence of women from government and positions of power, particularly during Victoria's period of colonial governance. Perhaps the association of economic activity with masculinity relates to the hidden nature of female contributions to the economy at that time. In the nineteenth century, work done by women contributed greatly to the economy, but this work was largely hidden. Women's work was typically carried out in private homes for little or no wages, and generally not discussed in terms of trade. It could be argued that this depiction of masculinity closely aligned with economic activity also functions to hide female contributions, perpetuating the invisibility of women's work.

Male conquest

As is common in early migrant colonies, men outnumbered women in the colony of Victoria from first settlement through to at least the 1880s (Archer, 1861, pp. 37-38). Most local government emblems from early in the colony's history have no depictions of any people from the colony at all, but when they do, the representations of citizens are invariably male. The male figures are literal depictions of residents of the council area, albeit usually past residents.

All of the human figures in the emblems could be described as 'Aussie battlers', a local term still used today to describe a quintessentially Australian person struggling, against harsh environmental conditions and uncompassionate governments, to get by in life. It implies an industrious worker who is imbued with the idealised Australian values of egalitarianism, competitive sportsmanship, irreverence and mateship. This figure of the Aussie battler is still conjured up in the political rhetoric of Victoria today.

The figures in the City of Port Melbourne seal present a contrasting picture of its local population to this Aussie battler image (see Figure 4.3.3.B). The supporters in this seal are two figures in period dress, one looks like a docker or sailor of some sort, holding a knife. The other is a boating gentleman, holding an oar. The Latin motto, which reads (translated) 'After so many storms a haven' refers to the comparative safety of harbouring in Port Philip Bay relative to other ports along the Victorian coastline. It is a reference to the sentiments or experience of those who established the settlement

Figure 4.3.3.B.
Male conquest
City of Port Melbourne seal

at Port Melbourne which allowed for the establishment of the City of Melbourne itself a few kilometres up river from the coast.

Supreme female authority

The division of labour and trade as masculine and Britain as feminine in the emblem archive reflects the origin of such terms as the 'Mother country' and 'forefathers.' The gender divisions in representations in the Victorian government emblems reflect wider trends of gender depiction in colonised countries. Loomba writes: 'Under colonial rule, the image of nation or culture as a woman... via images of goddesses as primary life-givers or manifestations of female energy... worked to evoke both female power and female helplessness' (Loomba, 1998, p. 218). It is worth noting that the female citizenry of Victoria are not literally depicted in any emblems. Instead, women are relegated to the mythic realm.

Figure 4.3.3.C.
Supreme female authority
Shire of Ballarat seal

This reflects the suffrage status of women in Victoria. During the initial flush of forced egalitarianism in the Gold Rush, women were given the vote, albeit temporarily and by accident in 1864. This accidental policy radicalism was corrected the following year (Maddigan, 2009, p. 169). After this shortlived suffrage, women were not included in the electoral franchise until 1908. Victoria was the last State in Australia to formally and intentionally recognise women as citizens with equal democratic rights to those of men (Maddigan, 2009, p. 183).

Female figures in the emblems are rare, and when they are depicted, represent mythical, ancient references to

European legend, as in the case of the Shire of Ballarat seal, or, in the case of Queen Victoria on the City of Frankston's seal, to a remote, European, inspirational figurehead (see Figure 4.3.3.C on page 303). The Roman goddesses in the Shire of Ballarat seal are, on the right, Eirene, the Goddess of Peace, and on the left, Aequitas, the goddess of fair dealing. Eirene is depicted holding an olive branch, also a symbol of peace (Daly & Rengel, 2009, p. 49). Aequitas holds a Cornucopia, representing abundant produce (Adkins & Adkins, 2004, p. 281).

These two figures are steeped in Greek and Roman mythological symbolism. Dating from the 5th century BC, Eirene (Roman name, Pax) is one of the three Horai, Greek Goddesses of the Seasons. Collectively, the Horai were 'goddesses of order who maintained the stability of society' (March, 2009, p. 35). Eirene was therefore a fitting figure to depict in the Shire of Ballarat, the local government that covered most of the Goldfields, in which maintaining peace and order had been a government priority since early days. Aristophanes is one of the earliest references to the Horai (March, 2009, p. 512) and is said to have had an affinity for olives, thus the olive branch itself came to be associated with peace. This association between the olive branch and peace would later be strengthened by a passage in the Bible relating to Noah (Genesis 8:11). On its own, the olive tree signified plenty to the Greeks, but it was also said to ward away evil spirits, thus Eirene's relationship to and affinity with the olive branch.

4.3.4.Diggers

'Digger' is the colloquial Australian term for a person who worked on the Victorian goldfields in the middle to late nineteenth century. The technology of othering diggers is the least visible of the othering discourse technologies in the emblem archive. While Aborigines are depicted as apart from society as a whole, and women are notable by their absence, references to gold mining are common in the government emblem archive. However, it is telling that in the numerous celebrations of gold mining in the emblem archive, only one emblem contains a depiction of a digger (see Figure 4.3.4.A).

1	DIGGER
3	GOLD DISK
6	MINING TOOLS
10	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 4.3.4.A.
Instances of the embodied discourse of the other through othering diggers

Digger

The sole depiction of a digger in the City of Balaarat arms (see Figure 4.3.4.B) was used well after the end of the Gold Rush, and is a retrospective construction of community unity that was not felt at the time. Similar to the position of the Native Police, diggers were a maligned class, kept separate from the townships as much as possible, yet they are depicted as equals on the more recently used emblem (Clarke, 1993, p. 260).

Figure 4.3.4.B.
Digger
City of Balaarat arms

Diggers were an unsettling, unpredictable force in Victoria in the middle of the nineteenth century. The sheer number of people who came to Victoria in search of gold was overwhelming to the previously small and static society. Men left their positions in all walks of life to go to the gold fields, only adding to the sense of threat to society that gold mining constituted.

The population shifts that the Gold Rush brought were enough to wreak civic and social turmoil alone;

however, the mix of classes and races that gold prospecting brought were considered even bigger threats. Bate observes that 'Victoria had the most socially dynamic goldfields in the world' (Bate, 2010, p. 6). The diverse population of the gold fields lived in makeshift camps, had no public amenities or representation, and were typically ostracised whenever they ventured into the towns (Garden, 1984, p. 109).

Compounding the diggers' social isolation, the vast majority were poor, contrary to rumours among the general population of diggers having untold wealth. While society as a whole, and the government in particular, reaped great wealth from gold mining, only a small proportion of diggers shared in that wealth. Mining technology was rudimentary, basic supplies like food and clothes were sold for exorbitant prices on the remote goldfields, and there were far more diggers than the fields could sustain (Garden, 1984, p, 74, 70; Westgarth, 1864, p. 148). In addition, taxes (in the form of licences) were high, and had to be paid up front, before prospecting began.

The collection of these up front taxes caused much antagonism between police and diggers (Serle, 1963, p. 21). Local police commissioners responsible for checking licenses were openly antagonistic to miners. Collecting licence fees was referred to among commissioners as 'digger hunting' and treated as sport in much the same way as the upper-class, English-born commissioners were used to fox hunting in England. Adding to the effect of game hunting, Commissioners chased on horseback as diggers scurried into bushland

on hearing of the Commissioners' approach. Various degrading treatments were in store for the digger caught without a license (Clarke, 1993, p. 260).

Mining tools

Diggers are more commonly represented by depictions of mining tools. The tools diggers used in gold mining include picks, shovels and panning trays. While mining tools are not prominently positioned in any of the emblems, they are frequently placed in one quadrant of a shield, or in the lower portion of a seal, as in the Shire of Mornington seal (see Figure 4.3.4.C).

Figure 4.3.4.C.
Mining tools
Shire of Mornington seal

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the first half of an artefact-led history of governance in Victoria, Australia, the half concerned with governance of physical attributes: goods, infrastructure, people and land. The three ideologies influencing governance of the physical in Victoria — imperialism, classical liberalism and exclusionism — have been presented in the context of three discourses embodied in the government emblem archive: Britannia, trade, and the other. The following chapter continues this artefact-led history of governance, presenting the half concerned with governing the minds of Victorian people.

5.   **GOVERNING THE MIND:**

A HISTORY OF NATIONALIST, KEYNESIAN &

NEOLIBERAL GOVERNANCE IN VICTORIA

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction

This chapter examines the independence, progress and commercialisation governance discourses embodied in the Victorian government emblems. These discourses reflect the nationalism, Keynesian welfarism and neoliberalism ideologies that influenced Victorian governance during the twentieth century (see Figure 5.A and Figure 4.B on page 240). As Figure 4.B shows, the ideologies influencing Victorian governance have had concurrent influence, and the ideologies discussed in the previous chapter still had significant purchase over Victorian governance well into the twentieth century.

The governance ideologies included in this chapter — nationalism, Keynesian welfarism and neoliberalism — all rely on harnessing popular attitudes, beliefs and imaginings to assist with governance. Citizens' mentalities are influenced by use of a wide range of rhetorical governance strategies, one of which is government emblems. Whereas the emblems cited in the previous chapter are primarily concerned with identification, those cited in this chapter have a decidedly persuasive aspect that relates to the governance ideologies influencing their creation and use.

Where the previous chapter was concerned with governance of physical resources, these more recent ideologies and embodied discourses target the mindset of Victorians. Under the influence of the ideologies covered in this chapter, government emblems contribute to the mediation of how citizens think about themselves, each other and Victorian governments.

EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE IDEOLOGY	EMBODIED GOVERNANCE DISCOURSE
NATIONALISM	INDEPENDENCE
KEYNESIAN WELFARISM	PROGRESS
NEOLIBERALISM	COMMERCIALISATION

Figure 5.A.
Late governance ideologies in Victorian governance as they relate to discourses embodied in the emblem archive

The government emblems in this sample mediate perceptions through use of three embodied discourses: independence, progress and commercialisation.

This is governance from afar, prompted by the increase in democratic rights and individual freedoms accorded to Australians over the course of the twentieth century. Consider, for example, Victorian government policy on population. When Victoria became a British colony, the Victorian population had few rights and even less allegiance to their place of residence (Serle, 1963, p. 25). Under British rule, a marginally representational colonial government was established, but democracy remained a remote concept (Clark, 1993, p. 245). Up until the early twentieth century, population management in Victorian governments was essentially a question of meeting the labour demands of private businesses, preferably with white workers.

After Australian Federation in 1901, the foundling State government of Victoria continued many of the policies and practises of the colonial administration, but a slow change in attitude toward the Victorian population began. After Federation, the government increasingly considered the population's social selves and personal activities as useful for governance ends. This was a trend in governance throughout the Commonwealth (Rose, 2008, p. 141).

As laws protecting citizens' independence and increasingly democratic representational legal structures gave governments less physical control over the population, so emotional or mental influence over the population became more important (Hobsbawm, 1990/2004, p. 82). In a climate of increasing individual

freedoms, Victorian governments at both State and local levels used nation building strategies to ensure consent for their rule and for their policies. Consent was sought for the government to take a welfare role toward the population (under the influence of Keynesian welfarism), and then later, to retreat from that welfare support structure (under the influence of neoliberalism).

Ideology and human nature

Each of the three ideologies discussed in this chapter has its roots in a particular understanding of human nature. This understanding provides the justification for development of theories of human behaviour, which in turn provides the basis for ideologies used to govern large numbers of people and assets. The first ideology, nationalism, emphasises the group mentality in human nature, 'regard[ing] individuals as rather like leaves in a forest, all moved together by the prevailing wind' (Birch, 1989, p. 13). It is based on the assumption that homogenous groups of people get along better than heterogeneous groups, and supposes this human quality of preferring sameness in groups can be harnessed to achieve political ends (Birch, 1989, p. 14; Rousseau, 1762/1968, p. 46).

The second ideology, Keynesian welfarism, is even more dependent on an understanding of human nature than nationalism, viewing human nature as the root of all societies' strengths and ills (Morgenthau, 1948/1993, p. 3). The Keynesian welfarist view of human nature emphasises human foibles and considers self-interest the most compelling human motivator. Political scientist Hans J Morgenthau defines self interest as 'expectation

of benefits, the fear of disadvantages, [and] the respect or love for men or institutions' (Morgenthau, 1948/1993, p. 30). Morgenthau goes on to cite many examples from history to illustrate how people's decision making is commonly flawed. Therefore, each person's judgement of what is in their own interest is often incorrect. From the Keynesian welfarist position, people are seen as predictable in their motives, but unpredictable, even irrational, in their decision making and actions.

The third ideology, neoliberalism, is the least concerned with observation of human nature, as it rests on an abstract understanding of human motivation and activity. Neoliberalism emphasises self-interest as the primary and strongest motivator for all human behaviour, but differs with Keynesian welfarism in its interpretation of self interest, and in predicting how effective people are at serving their own interests. From the neoliberal position, self-interest is viewed purely in terms of direct, immediate, financial profit. In this abstract theoretical view of human nature, people are viewed as rational and predictable in their decisions and actions, and as having equal skills, knowledge and opportunity (Gray & Agllias, 2009, p. 279). These three markedly different views of human nature determine the direction of each of the ideologies discussed in this chapter, and as this chapter shows, have influenced the discourse technologies embodied in the government emblems.

5.1. Independence

Evidence of nationalist governance was found in
the emblems in this sample through an embodied
discourse of independence. The emblem facets
contributing to this discourse have been identified as
using three technologies: romance, pride and unity (See
Figure 5.1.A). The emblems using these technologies
celebrate Australia as an independent nation. Many of
the emblems in this section display uniquely Australian
wildlife or scenery; the focus in these emblems is on
Australia as 'natural.' Others include landmarks of the
built environment that celebrate Australia as a 'civilised'
man-made environment. Still others present a picture
of solidarity among citizens; the focus in these emblems
is on nation as collective, as a group of people.

Almost by definition, the idea of any nation is
contested, with many and varied official views,
even within the same government, about what the
national characteristics are, and about which of them
are the most important (Loomba, 1998, p. 207). In
Victoria during the mid-1850s, trade was the driving
force in local government emblems. In contrast, the
various imaginings of Australian national identity
presented in this section veer away from commercial
themes, presenting an idyllic, but somewhat benign
picture of Australianness. Evidence of the embodied
independence discourse — related to nationalism —
tapers off in the 1990s, with the increased presence
in the emblems of the embodied commercialisation
discourse.

Just as the independence discourse relates to
the influence of nationalist ideology in Victorian

EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE	GOVERNANCE EMBODIED IN EMBLEMS	
IDEOLOGY	DISCOURSE	DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY
NATIONALISM	INDEPENDENCE	ROMANCE
		PRIDE
		UNITY

Figure 5.1.A.
The embodied independence discourse as it relates to nationalism and to the discourse technologies

governance, the four embodied discourse technologies making up the independence discourse relate to four different approaches to nation building. The first, romance, depicts both the natural and built environment steeped in nostalgia and exoticism. Depictions of citizens too, are calculatedly artful. The second, pride, includes representations of Australian wildlife and plants; it is a less self-conscious display of what is different about, and unique to, Australia. The third technology, unity, presents nation through a celebration of communal effort either in images or words. The fourth technology, hope, employs mottoes containing references to a brighter future.

5.1.1. Nationalism

This section differs from the previous chapter's discussion of national imagery in that it deals specifically with the ideology of nationalism, and its use by Victorian governments predominantly during the twentieth century. One of the characteristics of nationalism is how it has been adapted to suit the other governance ideologies it cohabits with, and to suit economic and social conditions over time (Anderson, 2006, p. 157).

The idea of 'nation' and the ideology of nationalism are often written about, but nevertheless remain ambiguous, even for experts. For the purposes of this thesis, nationalism is defined as the promotion and use of culture, disputed territory, language, memory and myth to foster internal camaraderie within a group, and to create divisions between the group and an external enemy (Spencer & Wollman, 2002, p. 2).

As an idea, nationalism gained esteem in England throughout the nineteenth century (Anderson, 2006, p. 85). However, nationalism only came to have widespread influence over day-to-day governance ideology after World War I, with the break up of several European monarchies and the consequent shift in power relations in the English landscape. Nationalism gained even more influence after World War II, with the creation of still more new nation states (Anderson, 2006, p. 113; Morgenthau, 1948/1993, p. 118). Ever since, the 'nation state' has been the pre-eminent form of political human organisation (Anderson, 2006, p. 113). As its name suggests, the nation state is a political structure in which the rights and responsibilities of 'the state' are wedded with ideas and sentiments of 'nation.'

As historian Anne Marie Willis points out, 'the concept of nation is perhaps the most significant figure of collective emotional identification in the modern world' (Willis, 1993, p. 158). Sociologist Benedict Anderson attributes the pre-eminence of the nation as a system of human organisation to the emotional appeal of the idea of nation. He observes that nations have a greater capacity than monarchies (the common system of human organisation prior to the rise of the nation-state) to inspire love. In explanation, Anderson gives an example related to war: dying for one's country is far more glorious than dying for one's monarch (Anderson, 2006, p. 141).

Nationalism in Australia

Australian nationalism was necessarily a response to English colonialism, but it was a relatively mild one compared with the interest in national identity sparked in other British colonies (Anderson, 2006, p. 139). As elsewhere, nationalism gained influence in Australia only after World War II. Historian Geoffrey Blainey writes that 'in 1939 the loyalty to Britain was not so total and the knowledge of what a war was like was less romantic… There were still six Australia's,' as States collected their own income tax and provided their own social welfare (Blainey, 2006, p. 187). After World War II, national sentiment was also increased by the granting of Australian citizenship in 1949. Prior to 1949, people born in Australia were British citizens (Finian, 2000, p. 1).

Both the World Wars sharpened the sense of Australia as slightly apart from, and no longer wholly subsumed in, British identity (Garden, 1984, p. 384). Post World War II Australia was relatively wealthy and unharmed compared to its European allies. The immediate effect on Australia of the re-drawing of national boundaries in Europe post-World War II was a growing sense of what it meant to be Australian, coinciding with a rapid influx of refugees and migrants over the following decades (Blainey, 2006, p. 223). The intake of refugees was not purely for humanitarian reasons, it made good economic and political sense too.

The fear of Australia being occupied by Japan that had been so prevalent during the war, lingered in the post-war era. In 1947, former Australian Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell famously declared that 'we

must populate or perish' in justification of policies encouraging mass immigration (Manne, 2001, p. 61). A common supposition at the time was that because Australia had great natural wealth, vast land expanses and a high standard of living, the war-ravaged countries to its north in South East Asia would invade sooner or later (Blainey, 2006, p. 207; Garden, 1984, p. 391). It was thought that the more populous Australia became, the more imposing economic presence it would become in the region and the better defence it could afford, thereby reducing the likelihood of foreign invasion (Perera, 2009, p. 93). The White Australia Policy discussed in the previous chapter was an effort to maintain 'whiteness' while at the same time increasing immigration (see page 289).

Nationalism in Victoria

Nationalism in Victoria has taken the form of promoting Australianness largely as whiteness (Fitzgerald, 2007, p. 7; Perera, 2009, p. 162). It fosters the idea that there are moral standards and social allegiances that are inherently Australian, and that these should be reflected in the educational system and public policy (Birch, 1989, p. 15). Although colonialism has influenced Victorian politics arguably up to the present, at the turn of the twentieth century it gained a rival in the small but steady influence of nationalism. In the 1890s, nationalism first started to influence Victorian politics, although its influence was small, and would increase slowly over the course of the twentieth century (Robin, 2007, p. 12).

5.1.2. Romance

In the emblems displaying the independence governance discourse, those employing the technology of romance appear to be the earliest. In terms of form, the technology of romance predominantly uses the device of pictorial seals. In terms of content, the technology of romance depicts idealised scenes of settler life: work, wild surroundings and landmarks. This technology also employs mythical scenes imbued with a sense of nostalgia and sentiment (see Figure 5.1.2.A).

It is not clear what these romantic depictions of Victorian settler and city life stand for. They predominantly feature benign imagery of beautiful landscapes and unusual animals. Although these emblems show an increasing sense of independent identity, Australia is still depicted as an exotic possession of Britain. Possession of an exotic land is evoked in these emblems by the frequent combination of British arms and quotes in Latin (harking back to Europe and classical education) in combination with images of landscapes, flora and fauna that are foreign to the English context.

Landscapes

Both physical landscapes and representations of them have long played leading roles in myth making, particularly in settler colonies. The continued, Australia-wide celebration of the idyllic, benign Victorian landscapes painted by the Heidelberg School is one such example. Working from the 1890s through to the 1920s, the Heidelberg School was a group of bohemian urban artists painting rural scenes for an

5	LANDSCAPES
3	BUILDINGS
2	LANDFORMS
4	EVERYDAY LIFE
3	HUMAN FIGURES
3	MYTHS
15	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 5.1.2.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of independence through the technology of romance

urban audience. Their landscape paintings of nature, containing only hints of human habitation, in the form of an occasional building or person, stood in stark contrast to the lived experience of Victorians at the time (Bate, 2010, p. 14). Art critics have suggested that such romantic views of nature, notably absent of human figures, were a safe choice of subject matter in Australian nationalist imagery (Willis, 1993, p. 189). Landscapes without figures also reinforced the image of Australian land as a possession of England, and brought the legal concept of 'terra nullius' to the popular imagination (see page 292).

Landforms

The early twentieth century was a time of widespread interest in Australia's natural attributes. Large groups would travel on the recently completed railways to share elaborate picnics in romantic locations such as the temperate rainforests of the Dandenong Ranges and the rock formations of Mount Arapiles (Lockwood, 2009, p. 25). These visits were an early form of tourism, strongly imbued with a nationalist and progressive fervour. They were in part celebrations of Australia's physical qualities, part amateur science excursions, and part entertainment.

Figure 5.1.2.B.
Celebrated landmark
Shire of Arapiles seal

Victoria's striking natural landforms captured the public imagination and became an object of pride for local councils. The Shire of Arapiles seal is one such example of romantic depictions of natural landforms (see Figure 5.1.2.B). It depicts the local major landform, Mount Arapiles, which, despite its name, is less a mountain

and more an unusually large rock formation similar to the more famous Uluru (formerly called Ayer's Rock) in central Australia.

Buildings

In a pioneer colony, imposing buildings were something to be celebrated. They indicated the permanency of the relatively new settlements, along with a civilised way of life. These buildings marked the cultured, civilising influence of England upon local surroundings that still felt foreign to settlers (Ahluwalia & Ashcroft, 2008, p. 85). In the case of the Borough of Queenscliffe, the lighthouse was both a marker of civilisation and a communication beacon to ensure safe shipping, on which the local economy depended (see Figure 5.1.2.C).

Figure 5.1.2.C.
Celebrated building
Borough of Queenscliffe seal

Everyday life

Romanticised pictures of everyday life were also typical of the technology of romance. They continue the romantic landscape scenes, but include evidence of everyday human activity, such as work tools and transport. The City of Hawthorn seal is typical of these emblems (see Figure 5.1.2.D). One of the most instantly noticeable aspects of this scene is that it is encased in a heart shape. This indicates a cherished landscape. The rising sun suggests clear skies, a new dawn and general optimism. The bridge and train suggest human industry and transport of goods for trade. This emblem contains evidence of two discourse technologies: the romance discourse technology related to independence, and the aspiration discourse technology related to progress. The Latin motto reads 'from the shadows to the light,' which is more indicative of progress than romanticisation.

Figure 5.1.2.D.
Everyday life
City of Hawthorn seal

It should be noted that, as is the case with many emblems in the sample, the year printed bottom centre in the City of Hawthorn seal, '1860,' is misleading.

Myths

Depictions of myths are commonly used in the technology of romance. In a wider sense, ancient myths are often used to shore up the legitimacy of new institutions (Walzer, 1967, p. 193). The name of the council itself, the City of Ararat, suggests a mythical connection. The City of Ararat takes its name from Mount Ararat in the Bible, where Noah built his ark before the Great Flood. In reference to this, its emblem features a pictorial Bible scene (see Figure 5.1.2.E).

Figure 5.1.2.E.
Biblical scene
City of Ararat arms

The chosen scene is one in which a dove brings an olive branch to Noah's Ark. The olive branch is a message that there is land nearby, and that Noah will have somewhere to land his Ark, and so all the animals will have somewhere to live (Genesis 8:11). This is a story of hope at finding a promised land, and also of the importance of obeying God's will. The Latin motto, 'I bring good tidings,' supports the message carried by the dove.

Figure 5.1.2.F.
Folkloric scene
City of St Kilda seal

The City of St Kilda seal depicts a coastal scene in which a mermaid sits on a rock (see Figure 5.1.2.F). Mermaids are fantasy beings, half-woman, half fish, featuring in the folklore of fishermen. The Latin motto reads, 'Born on a favouring breeze.' This motto suggests that St Kilda is a prosperous or fortunate settlement. Perhaps then the mermaid represents a good omen, the luck of finding or establishing such a port as St Kilda. The mermaid could also be a literal interpretation

of St Kilda's naming origins, as St Kilda was named after
The Lady of St Kilda, the first boat that regularly moored
in that area.

Founding citizens

Founding citizens are depicted in several emblems
using the technology of romance. Pioneer settlers are
depicted in emblems of the twentieth century, long
after the initial struggles of settlement were over. These
nostalgic depictions are reminiscent of Hobsbawm's
observation that symbols become more potent once
they lose their day-to-day relevance (Hobsbawm &
Ranger, 1992/2009, p. 4). The crest of the Shire of
Charlton's seal provides a relevant example of this
(see Figure 5.1.2.G). A farmer using a hand-operated
cultivator to turn the soil in his wheat field (wheat
sheafs are visible behind him) is perhaps a more
potent symbol of farming in this emblem than a more
contemporary method, such as a horse drawn or
mechanical cultivator. It was only in the very early days
of Victorian settlement that hand cultivators were in
use, so this is undoubtedly a nostalgic reference.

Figure 5.1.2.G.
Celebrated founding citizen
Shire of Charlton seal

This seal is unusual among the Victorian local
government emblems and in the composition of arms
and seals generally. The crest typically contains a
ruler's crown or arms, or else some native animal or
plant that typifies, and is common to, the local area.
In the Shire of Charlton seal, the position of farmer as
the sole crest symbol suggests that the farmer tilling
his field was the 'native animal' that typified the local
area. He is portrayed almost as a beast of burden,
with wheat sheafs and hills behind him, and the farm

produce of grapes, sheep and cattle represented in the shield below him. He is nevertheless given pride of place at the centre top of the composition, his work being positioned literally higher (and possibly with consequent higher meaning) than the rest of the seal's symbols. The Latin motto, 'industry enriches,' supports his endeavour.

5.1.3. Pride

The technology of pride uses uniquely Australian symbols, colour combinations and phraseology in a celebration of Australianness (see Figure 5.1.3.A). The use of this technology indicates a growing attachment to the idea of a united Australia, and of Victoria's place in it. The display of these elements shows a pride in place and a pride in nation that were not associated with the technologies used in the nineteenth century emblems.

This technology is the strongest of the independence technologies found in the emblems. In terms of form, it includes use of the Australian sporting colours: green and gold. As for written content, it includes mottoes referencing the Advance Australia arms. Symbolic content is by far the most used device in this technology, with depictions of Australian flora and fauna being very common.

31	NATIVE FAUNA	
	5	MARSUPIALS
		4 KANGAROOS
		1 WOMBATS
	26	BIRDS
		3 BIRDS OF PREY
		1 COCKATOOS
		3 LYREBIRDS
		2 PELICANS
		4 SEAGULLS
		6 SWANS
		7 MISCELLANEOUS
5	GREEN AND GOLD	
2	MOTTOES	
38	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE	

Figure 5.1.3.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of independence through the technology of pride

Native fauna

In terms of native animals, the kangaroo has been an iconic symbol of Australia — and, before Federation, for the separate Australia colonies — since British settlement. In the emblem archive, kangaroos are used (see Figure 5.1.3.B) but as Figure 5.1.3.A shows, they are not particularly common. Local birds far outweigh all other native animal depictions, and many emblems contain birds as their only symbolic content. Birds are used to indicate a variety of things, but mostly they appear to represent 'nature' itself.

Although not similarly documented, this effect is reminiscent of the neutral landscapes discussed on page 321. With the exception of birds, native animals are used mostly as adornment, adding supplementary local touches to otherwise Britannia or trade-related content. Despite their often secondary role, the presence of Australian animals is evidence of a growing technology of pride in the emblems.

For example, the Shire of Healesville seal features a lyrebird. This bird's name has a double meaning, as its tail feathers look a little like a lyre (see Figure 5.1.3.D), and the bird is also known for telling falsehoods (a liar) with its remarkable ability to mimic any sound mechanical or natural, pitch-perfect. In the Shire of Healesville seal, the lyrebird is pictured by a waterfall in a temperate rainforest, its natural habitat and a common local landscape in the Shire of Healesville (see Figure 5.1.3.C).

Figure 5.1.3.B.
Rare use of kangaroos
City of Waverley arms

Figure 5.1.3.C.
Lyrebird
Shire of Healesville seal

Figure 5.1.3.D.
Artists' impression of lyrebirds
John Gould (1848) *The Birds of Australia.*

Other typically Australian birds used in the emblems include the cockatoo and the kookaburra. The cockatoo is a common Australian bird often used to communicate Australianness. There are many species, the most striking of which are black cockatoos and sulphur crested cockatoos, as depicted in the City of Doncaster arms (see Figure 5.1.3.E). The cockatoos, in combination with the green and gold mantling and shield, are one of the more obvious references to Australian national pride in the emblem archive. The kookaburra, used as a crest and also on the shield in the City of Maroondah arms (see Figure 5.1.3.F), although uniquely Australian, is less commonly used in Australian symbolism generally.

Seagulls, coastal-dwelling birds, are commonly depicted in the emblem archive, perhaps unsurprisingly given the 2,512 kilometres of coastline in Victoria (see Figure 5.1.3.G). As in many parts of the world, coastal position is highly regarded in Victoria, and perhaps the seagull, as indicative of coastline, is used to demonstrate pride in the local governments' coastal situation.

Figure 5.1.3.E.
Cockatoos
City of Doncaster and Templestowe arms

Figure 5.1.3.F.
Kookaburras
City of Maroondah arms

Figure 5.1.3.G.
Seagulls
City of Portland arms

Figure 5.1.3.H. Pelicans
Hobsons Bay City Council logo, Shire of Alberton seal

Another coastal bird, the pelican, appears in several emblems. Figure 5.1.3.H illustrates two variations in the pelican depictions. On the left, the Shire of Alberton seal features a pelican parent feeding her chick. The pelican and her chicks suggest a coastal scene, and the depiction of feeding adds a suggestion of a nurturing family scene. On the right, Hobsons Bay City Council logo features a pelican and reeds with a silhouette of a factory roof in the background. As well as a coastal location, this composition suggests the union of nature and industry. If anything it suggests the dominance of nature over industry, given that the pelican and reeds are in front of the factory and take up by far the largest part of the composition.

Green and gold

Several emblems use colour to illustrate patriotism or affinity with a unified Australia. Australia's official sporting colours, green and gold, are used for this purpose (see Figure 5.1.3.I). Like birds, the green and gold colour combination is used in all three kinds of emblem devices: coats of arms, seals and logos. The meaning of using these colours is plain: green and gold have been used to indicate Australianness for well over a century, having been unofficially used as national sporting colours since the late 1800s, officially since 1984 (N. A., 2000, p. 12).

This is local identification with the nation of Australia, supplementing local references. For example, the City of Northcote seal depicts local allegiance with the mural crown used as a crest (see Figure 5.1.3.J). The

Figure 5.1.3.I.
Green and gold, the Australian national sporting colours

Figure 5.1.3.J.
Green and gold in emblem City of Northcote seal

shield depicts common trade symbols, and the colours of the shield indicate national allegiance with the use of green and gold.

Pride mottoes

The technology of pride is also communicated through emblem mottoes that demonstrate pride at a local or national level (see Figure 5.1.3.K). The motto in the City of Oakleigh seal reflects both local and national pride, as the words 'Advance Oakleigh' are a promotion of Oakleigh's interest, but also a play on the nationalist catch cry 'Advance Australia.' The Australian national flower, the wattle, is represented in this seal with wattle branches surrounding the Advance Australia arms in a laurel. The overall impression given by the arms, the motto, and the wattle laurel is one of unusually overt nationalist pride.

Figure 5.1.3.K.
Pride motto
City of Oakleigh seal

5.1.4. Unity

Another smaller, but not insignificant technology is the technology of unity, which uses images and words reminiscent of togetherness to communicate local independence and community solidarity. This is nationalism operating at a small-scale level, as the technology of unity relates to individual communities rather than Victoria or Australia as a whole. The vast majority of the emblems using the technology of unity use the devices of coats of arms or seals, but this technology is not related to any particular form characteristics.

Although Figure 5.1.4.A shows that a similar number of emblems use the technology of unity as use the

17	MURAL CROWN
8	RATEPAYERS & COUNCILLORS
5	MOTTOES
30	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 5.1.4.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of independence through the technology of unity

technology of pride (see Figure 5.1.3.A on page 326), the overall presence of unity in the emblem archive is much smaller. This is perhaps attributable to the mostly subtle usage of the mural crown in arms, and unity references in mottoes, as opposed to the large scale and multiple depictions of native fauna in the emblems.

The mural crown

Unity was given a human emphasis in some emblems through the use of the mural crown. This is a heraldic device usually used as a crest or on supporters to indicate the arms of a local government (Neubecker, 1977, p. 246). In coats of arms, mural crowns are generally used around the necks of supporter animals, or as a coronet (setting between the mantling and the crest). The City of Heidelberg arms features mural crowns used as the coronet and around the supporters' necks (see Figure 5.1.4.B).

Figure 5.1.4.B.
Mural crowns
City of Heidelberg arms

Councillors and ratepayers

Another way the technology of unity manifests in government emblems is in the words 'mayor, councillors and citizens/ratepayers' of the council as written on the City of Moorabbin seal (see Figure 5.1.4.C). This wording emphasizes the human element of local government: the participation of voters and representatives. It gives an impression of citizens and elected officials working together as one community.

Figure 5.1.4.C.
Written reference to councillors and citizens
City of Moorabbin seal

Unlike the City of Moorabbin seal, most of the emblems using this wording use 'ratepayers' rather than 'citizens.' The choice of the term 'ratepayers' is significant. Ratepayers were the only citizens who could

vote under early local government legislation. This wording therefore includes all those people included in representational government, but also highlights the exclusion of all those who were not allowed or able to buy land. This aspect of the mentioning of ratepayers, is an early sign of what would later become a full-scale transition of governments relating to citizens as customers. For the present, there is an emphasis on the elected officials as well as the paying citizens.

Unity mottoes

The technology of unity is also present in several mottoes that use terms such as 'community' and 'unity.' Mottoes referring to unity are found in arms, seals and mottoes in the emblem archive. The City of Brunswick arms is one example of this, with its motto 'Unity is strength' (see Figure 5.1.4.D). The City of Brunswick has a history of strong trade unionism and an ethnically diverse population, which this motto reflects.

Figure 5.1.4.D.
Unity motto
City of Brunswick arms

5.2. Progress

Evidence of Keynesian welfare governance was found in the emblems through an embodied discourse of progress. The emblem facets contributing to this discourse rely on three technologies: modernity, aspiration and mechanisation (see Figure 5.2.A). The emblems using these technologies show celebration or anticipation of an idyllic, modernist-inspired future. In some cases this is displayed through the emblem form: through colours, typefaces and typographic composition combined in modernist period style. In others, emblem content shows progress through celebration of secondary industries (mechanisation).

Whether they present progress through either their form or content, the emblems in the embodied progress discourse have a distinctly different ideological emphasis than the others discussed in this thesis. Of all the embodied governance discourses in the emblem archive, the progress discourse is the only one that presents an image of transcendence. The picture of progress in these emblems, particularly as painted through modernist form, suggests the triumph of civil society over human ills of the past. This transcendent aspect of the progress discourse reflects the aspirational nature of Keynesian welfarism. In governments influenced by Keynesian welfarism, for example, it was widely thought that poverty could be completely eradicated from society (Mendes, 2002, p. 17). The thread of utopianism running through Keynesian welfarism is also evident in the embodied governance discourse of progress. Such efforts to portray a kind of human evolution like those in the

EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE	GOVERNANCE EMBODIED IN EMBLEMS	
IDEOLOGY	DISCOURSE	DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY
KEYNESIAN MODERNITY	PROGRESS	
WELFARISM		ASPIRATION
		MECHANISATION

Figure 5.2.A.
The embodied progress discourse as it relates to Keynesian welfarism and to the discourse technologies

progress discourse are common in the governance of many developing countries and regions (Larner & Walters, 2004, p. 500).

Victoria's early wealth and history of stop-start economic development (in no small part due to the influence of colonialism and classical liberalism) saw it develop widespread industrialisation in the mid-nineteenth century. This development occurred ahead of most other colonies, and rivalled development in larger, established cities such as London and New York. However, these early industrial efforts were shortlived due to the boom and bust nature of Victorian economic development, and are not found in the Victorian emblems of the nineteenth century. It is only in the early to mid-twentieth century that they are depicted, as the progress discourse emerged.

The appearance of progress was particularly useful for governance purposes at this time because Keynesian welfarism was formulated in reaction to the spread of another governance ideology, communism (Morgenthau, 1948/1993, p. 3). Keynesian welfarism influenced Australian public policy from 1941 onwards, and much of its early use was couched in terms of fighting the ominous threat of communism. Australia had participated in two World Wars in quick succession, and this had heightened the sense of Australia having allies and enemies; us and them. Prior to these two wars, the idea of Australia having enemies was rarely considered; Australia was a chattel of Britain, and so was under its protection.

Also, the alliance with the United States in the Second World War brought a heightened awareness, and fear,

of the ideological threat of communism. Communist governance sought to raise human nature and society to a higher level than experienced previously; Keynesian welfare governance sought to affirm that this high level could be, and was being, reached without resort to the extremes of either communism or classical liberalism (Morgenthau, 1948/1993, p. 9).

5.2.1. Keynesian Welfarism

Keynesian welfarism was founded on the premise that national stability is maintained when minimum standards of health, well-being and employment are provided for citizens by the government. Ensuring a basic — just and humanitarian — level of services was thought to ensure fiscal stability as well as national security. Rose describes this as '[g]overnment of the social in the name of the national economy' (Rose, 2008, p. 144). This was a reversal of the liberal 'trickle down' effect described in chapter four (on page 266). Where liberalism advocated that what is good for the rich will also, by default, be good for the poor, Keynesian welfarism argued the opposite. Keynesian welfarism was therefore pitted against liberalism as well as communism. Indeed, its creator, John Maynard Keynes, suggested it as a pragmatic middle path between both. Whereas many ideologies, such as liberalism, have an ideal at their core, Keynesian welfarism 'aims at the realization of the lesser evil rather than of the absolute good' (Morgenthau, 1948/1993, p. 4).

When the influence of Keynesian welfarism began to spread widely during World War II, the horrendous toll

of human suffering wrought by communism, national socialism and unfettered liberalism were keenly felt by policy makers. Avoiding another World War and ensuring a stable global financial system were top priorities for policy makers the world over (Harvey, 2007, p. 9).

To this end, toward the end of World War II, delegates from all the Allied nations met in an to attempt to prevent further world economic crises (Cooper, 2004, p. 524). This meeting was held at Bretton Woods in the United Kingdom, and the outcome is known as the Bretton Woods Agreement. Stabilising relations between nations through a system of international financial and political governance was deemed the best preventative of future large-scale conflicts, though opinions on the required level of supra-national government varied widely. Ultimately, the Agreement established the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the United Nations (Harvey, 2007, p. 10). It also resulted in the establishment of the 'gold exchange standard', a system whereby many currencies were pegged to the US dollar and, in turn, the US dollar value of gold was fixed (Cooper, 2004, p. 525). These events occurring far from Victoria would, in time, have dramatic effects on Victorian governance.

John Maynard Keynes & the welfare state

John Maynard Keynes, a British economist, was an influential participant in the Bretton Woods conference. Since the 1930s he had been critiquing liberal economic models and advocating for more government regulation of national commercial systems, in order to

prevent such extreme, widespread poverty as had been seen in the global depression of the 1930s. To this end he proposed the (then) radical idea that governments should take responsibility for the basic wellbeing of their citizens. They should provide minimum standards of education, health care and employment. Even more controversially, he argued that when governments didn't have the money for such social services, they should borrow it. Under this system, unemployed people would be provided with a small allowance on which to survive while they were out of work, paid for by increased taxes.

After World War II, Keynes' proposed economic model became standard governance practise in western industrialised nation states. The practical application of his theories came to be popularly known as the welfare state. This included 'a state-provided system of universal health care, old age pensions and provision for support of those who were unemployed or incapable of work' (Backhouse & Nichizawa, 2010, p. 2). Under the slogan 'from cradle to grave,' the Allied nations took responsibility for their citizens' health and happiness, intervening in the national economy with the aim of reaching full employment and promoting economic growth (Dean, 2008, p. 30; Harvey, 2007, p. 10; Rose, 2008, p. 4). Keynesian welfarism continued to be the dominant influence on governance across western Europe and the Commonwealth countries almost until the end of the twentieth century (Rose, 2008, p. 135).

The ideological drive behind the changes came to be known as Keynesian welfarism (also Keynesianism or

welfarism) (Hall, 1979, p. 17). Theoretically speaking, Keynes' innovation was 'an alliance between... state legislative power and the liberal doctrine of economic freedom. Such an alliance, Keynes theorized, offered the only practical means of establishing the equilibrium that classical liberalism merely assumes' (Cooper, 2004, p. 529).

In the defining text on international relations at the time, *Politics Among Nations*, Hans J Morgenthau uses the words 'objective,' 'rational,' and 'universally valid' to describe Keynesian welfarism (Morgenthau, 1948/1993, p. 3). The governance ideology is presented in the modernist, universalist terms that are reflected in the progress discourse in the Victorian local government emblems. In the Australian welfare state, the connection between modernist language, architecture and welfarism has been established previously (Davison, 2009, p. 106). However, graphic design artefacts have yet to be incorporated into discussion of the Australian welfare state and modernism.

The Australian welfare state

Australia is unique among countries influenced by Keynesian welfarism in that a welfare state of sorts was already in operation in Australia prior to the first introduction of Keynes-influenced national policies in 1941. In the late 1890s, Victoria led the way in pioneering a basic system of social welfare that later came to be known as the wage earners' welfare state. In this system, the welfare emphasis was on linking industrial relations with social policy, so that 'wage arbitration and the delivery of high wage outcomes

were the *principle means* of social protection' (Gray & Agllias, 2009, p. 273, their emphasis). A minimum working wage was considered crucial to social welfare and people who could not work were supported, but it was intended that this support was meagre and uncomfortable in order to prevent people choosing idleness over employment (Bate, 2010, p. 11; Mendes, 2002, p. 16). This early experimentation was supplemented in the first decade of the twentieth century with awarding of old age and invalid pensions. Within these small allowances, the influences of exclusionism continued, as the pensions were only given to people of 'good character' — and all non-whites, as well as all recent immigrants and former convicts were considered to be of bad character (Mendes, 2002, p. 13).

After these early innovations, Australian welfare provision tended to follow the trends witnessed in the Allied European nations (Obinger, 2005, p. 51). In 1942, Australia's unique welfare state model of government was extended slightly, justified in terms of Keynesian welfarist ideology. Prime Minister Ben Chifley reasoned that provision of basic social services would improve standards of living, thereby increasing Australians' willingness and ability to contribute to the war effort (Mendes, 2002, p. 15). The extension of welfare services included revised maternity and unemployment benefits, as well as hospital, sickness and pharmaceutical benefits. These benefits were extended again in 1946, after which time they

remained largely the same, with a few small additions, until 1972, when the Whitlam government took office in the federal government (Obinger, 2005, p. 53).

From 1972 to the late 1980s, Australia's welfare state came to look more like the welfare states of western Europe, with the Whitlam government introducing free access to tertiary education, supplementing already free access to primary and secondary public schools. From 1972–1975, the Whitlam government extended the welfare state further than any previous government, in an organised federal government effort to re-distribute Australia's wealth from the rich to the poor (Mendes, 2002, p. 20). Policies intended to redistribute wealth and make Australia a true, Keynesian welfare state included introduction of a universal health care scheme (Medicare), abolition of university fees, and a scheme for allowing greater local involvement in the distribution of social welfare services (Mendes, 2002, p. 21). In addition, existing pensions and benefits were increased.

The Victorian welfare state

Victoria's egalitarian experiment in the decades after the Gold Rush has been mentioned in chapter four (see page 272). During this period, the wage earners' welfare state was pioneered in Victoria. The eight hour working day and minimum pay rates were established in 1886 (Mendes, 2002, p. 12). From the end of World War II to the mid-1970s Victoria was prosperous, with immigration-fuelled growth that was comparable to the economic booms Victoria experienced in the 1850s and 1880s (Garden, 1984, p. 390). This post-War

wealth drove the construction of public recreational infrastructure: pools, sporting grounds and civic centres, as well as sprawling suburbs.

However, by the commencement of World War II, Melbourne had lost much of is nineteenth century grandeur. It was no longer the exciting city where fortunes were won and lost, where wages were high and seemingly everyone was prosperous. Hosting the 1956 Olympic Games put Melbourne on the world stage once again, this time presented as the quintessential modern city. In preparation for the Games, the early 1950s were a time of rapid modernisation in Melbourne particularly, but also in parts of regional Victoria (Reeder, 1996, p. 7). Modernisation was prompted by the widespread fear that Melbourne would be ridiculed by international visitors unless certain minimum modern standards were met. These included modernist architecture, motels with central heating and cooling as well as running water and modern furnishings (Davison, 1996, p. 54). As well as prompting widespread construction of modernist sporting facilities and motels, the upcoming Olympics also increased investment and innovation in modernist art, architecture and design (Davison, 1996, p. 50). Government buildings and government emblems also benefitted from this sweep of modernisation.

Historian Graeme Davison pithily observes that the Olympic Games' motto of 'faster, stronger, higher' was 'a summation of our faith in the seemingly boundless capacity of humans to master their natural environment' (Davison, 2009, p. 92). Historian Simon Plant observes the effect they had of assisting in

moving on, as the Games were 'symbolically drawing a line between the grey austerity of postwar life and a brighter, prosperous and more modern future' (Plant, 1996, p. 9). For Victoria, the Olympic Games were a physical embodiment of progress, and a symbolic vehicle for speeding away from past economic troubles.

The boom and bust cycle familiar to Victoria was kept at bay in Victoria from the early 1950s up to the 1970s; investment in infrastructure, art and culture continued long after the Olympic Games ended. In the 1960s, the government of Premier Henry Bolte focused on public transport, public housing and assistance for home buyers in keeping with Keynesian welfarist principles (Garden, 1984, p. 414). Despite Bolte's early efforts, public transport was improved late in the welfare state agenda, with transport infrastructure only becoming reliable and extensive in the 1980s (Garden, 1984, p. 425)

In 1972, Premier Rupert Hamer invested in the arts, and his governments' social welfare agenda was in accord with Whitlam's at the Federal level, although it was more modest (Garden, 1984, p. 433). Extensive areas of wilderness were reserved for State and national parks, for preservation of wildlife and also for recreation of Victorian citizens (Garden, 1984, p. 434). Throughout Hamer's rule, other Keynesian welfarist policies also grew, including subsidies and other assistance for citizens in need.

Local government was key in the provision of these human services on a local community level. The City of Melbourne provided Meals on Wheels to its elderly residents, for example, and through daily delivery

of meals they found out if the recipients were ill or needed other services (Taffe, 2008). For the most part, the Victorian State government allowed local governments to run these services as they wished and as driven by local community needs, interfering with such services only minimally.

Over the period when Keynesian welfarism was influencing Victorian government there was a slow but steady shift in State government attitude toward local governments, in which local government was increasingly treated as an independent, representational third tier of government, providing essential human services to local communities for the first time (Lowell, 2005, p. 18). The Victorian State government provided incentive schemes for local governments to extend their services beyond the traditional remit of roads, rubbish and property upkeep. Child care, home help for the elderly and infirm, and library services were introduced at the local government level. Recreational activities were encouraged by State government funding for local government constructed and operated sporting facilities such as swimming pools and running tracks (Lowell, 2005, p. 18). Local governments also took on provision of essential community services such as elderly care, child care and English lessons for new migrants. Immediately after World War II these services were sporadic, but by the 1960s they had become more stable and established (Lowell, 2005, p. 19). All in all, the building activity before and after the Melbourne Olympics, along provision of welfare services, signified that Victoria was now a modern State.

5.2.2. **Modernity**

The technology of modernity is a curious anomaly in the emblems. It is a technology utilising form that is relatively unconcerned with content, and is consequently exhibited through depiction style and typography rather than through content (see Figure 5.2.2.A). Modernist style and Keynesian welfarism are linked by their connection with the ideology of modernity. They are both universalist, in that they emphasise rationality and progress, while de-emphasising cultural and geographical variations. Figure 5.2.2.B and Figure 5.2.2.C show some of the diverse symbolic content, but with similarities between each maintained in the way the images and words are depicted.

The technology of modernity, is, as its name suggests, connected with promotion of the ideological associations of modernity: rationality, production and progress. In the emblems using the technology of modernity, what is depicted, the content, is far less significant than how it is depicted, the form. The content is subsumed in the overall effect of distinct lines and striking typefaces. It should be noted that this description refers to modern layout as found in these emblems. This is in stark contrast to the layout of modernist poster and publication design generally, which is usually asymmetrical.

37	MODERNIST PERIOD STYLE
24	MODERNIST TYPOGRAPHY
61	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 5.2.2.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of progress through the technology of modernity

Modernist depiction

Modernist depiction of images in the emblems includes symmetrical layout and angular objects edges that are emphasised with thick outlines. The composition of these emblems is strictly balanced, and the shapes they contain are composed of shapes that are geometrically proportional to one another. The Shire of Flinders seal provides an example of modernist depiction, with its heavily accentuated object edges and symmetrical (see Figure 5.2.2.B).

Figure 5.2.2.B.
Modernist depiction
Shire of Flinders seal

Modernist typography

Modernist type treatment includes symmetrically constructed, roundish letterforms. They are often displayed with wide tracking (space between the letters), in a heavy weight (thick letters) and often use only one weight or style of a typeface. The City of Footscray seal demonstrates these attributes along with modernist depiction of a farmer tilling his field, as well as a modernist treatment of the City of Fitzroy's coat of arms (see Figure 5.2.2.C). The farmer is abstracted a little because of the strong geometrical shapes used to form him. In contrast, the strong geographical lines emphasise the factory in the background, behind the farmer.

Figure 5.2.2.C.
Modernist type
Shire of Footscray seal

| 18 | ASPIRATIONAL MOTTOES |
| 18 | INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE |

Figure 5.2.3.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of progress through the technology of aspiration

5.2.3. Aspiration

The technology of aspiration uses only words in the form of mottoes (see Figure 5.2.3.A). It includes all references to improvement, a brighter future, progress, prosperity and fame. The technology of aspiration is one of the ways the progress discourse communicates its efforts at transcendence. The City of Colac's

Figure 5.2.3.B.
Aspirational motto
City of Colac seal

motto, for example, reflects both the aspirational and welfare aspects of the progress discourse in the words 'progress and service' (see Figure 5.2.3.B). The shield bears the Southern Cross star formation, a reference to Australian nationalism. The crossed swords above the shield, combined with the laurel surrounding it suggest a victorious, as well as progressing, Australia. The message from this seal is that through progress and service, Australia, and presumably, also the City of Colac, will be victorious.

5.2.4. Mechanisation

The technology of mechanisation uses depictions of factories and cogged wheels to communicate the industrialising aspect of progress (see Figure 5.2.4.A). Although Victoria industrialised in the 1870s, illustration of mechanisation only appears in the early twentieth century. The appearance in the emblems at this time fits with the other elements of the progress discourse: aspiration and modernity. Although it was not possible to verify the dates of use of the emblems, enough is known to observe a disjuncture between when Victoria industrialised and when representations of that industrialisation began to appear in the emblems. This thesis argues that the images of mechanisation only became advantageous to portray in the twentieth century when displaying progress became politically expedient for ideological reasons.

Victoria had strong mechanised industries as early as the 1860s, and these were consolidated throughout the 1870s and 1880s (Manne, 2001, p. 61). However, these industries, while prodigious, were typically

8	FACTORIES
2	COGGED WHEELS
10	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 5.2.4.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of progress through the technology of mechanisation

cottage industries performed by ethnic minorities. They were not activities to capture the imagination or fill governments with pride.

Factories

There is a growing depiction of factories in the emblems of the twentieth century, despite Victoria having been industrialised since the 1870s. Between the World Wars large factories started to dot the skylines of several Melbourne suburbs. They became large employers for local communities and there was a consequent growing consciousness of and identity placed in secondary industry. In the 1920s and 1930s there was much hope in factories becoming the new economic powerhouse of the State (Blainey, 2006, p. 173). Although Victoria's economy at present depends on primary (mining, agriculture) and tertiary (education) industries, at one time there was extensive second industry (manufacturing), particularly of electrical goods and cars, both of which were protected by tariffs (Davison, 1996, p. 50). Post World War II, the progress suggested by these huge buildings with smoke stacks was an enticing symbol for many governments (see Figure 5.2.4.B).

While many symbols become less common in the emblems as time goes on, depictions of factories remain frequent in the recent local government emblems. Even as the Victorian economy became less and less reliant on mechanisation and other secondary industry, the image of a sawtooth factory roof and/ or smoke stack remained constant on many emblems (see Figure 5.2.4.C). Although secondary industry is

Figure 5.2.4.B.
Celebrated factory
City of Altona seal

Ararat Rural City

Figure 5.2.4.C.
Factory in logo
Ararat Rural City Council logo

less essential to the overall Victorian economy today, it is worth noting that some areas still depend heavily on mechanisation for employment, and have much of their local identity, as well as employment, invested in the maintenance of such secondary industry in the area. In addition to the representation of industry, these buildings that were once factories have now become iconic in many inner city areas, as their outer facades remain but their interiors are re-purposed into apartments and small businesses.

Cogged wheels

The cogged wheel is a figurative reference to mechanisation used commonly in heraldry. Cogged wheels are fairly common in the coats of arms used as emblems by Victorian local governments. The shield of the City of Dandenong arms features three cogged wheels above primary industry referents in a composition similar to other government emblems including cogged wheels (see Figure 5.2.4.D). The motto, 'virtue and work' supports these primary and secondary industry referents.

Figure 5.2.4.D.
Cogged wheels
City of Dandenong arms

5.3. Commercialisation

Evidence of neoliberal governance was found in the emblems through an embodied discourse of commercialisation. The embodied discourse of commercialisation relies on three technologies: neutrality, business and juxtaposition (see Figure 5.3.A). Emblems using these technologies show a decided preference for saleability. Individual flora, fauna, places and people in these emblems are typically highly stylised, and seldom include fine detail. This discourse includes all evidence of places, citizens and the governments themselves being depicted as commercial entities.

EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE	GOVERNANCE EMBODIED IN EMBLEMS	
IDEOLOGY	DISCOURSE	DISCOURSE TECHNOLOGY
NEOLIBERALISM	COMMER-CIALISATION	NEUTRALITY BUSINESS JUXTAPOSITION

Figure 5.3.A.
The embodied commercialisation discourse as it relates to neoliberalism and to the embodied discourse technologies

The technology of neutrality is the most prominent of the three, as the content and form of emblems in this discourse appear to have been almost emptied of meaning. References to civil society, local community, place and independence are conspicuously absent. This absence says much about which aspects of governance and society are anathema to commercialisation, and to neoliberal governance.

The technology of business includes emblems that present government as a commercial enterprise, and place as a tourist attraction. Governing a region and a people, the emblems suggest, is akin to running a business. The final technology presented here, juxtaposition, includes emblems that use postmodern period style as a means of depicting governments as abstract bodies that have transcended the roles of rule and commerce. Where the technology of business commodifies government services, the technology of juxtaposition commodifies governments themselves.

The commercialisation discourse is found embodied in the emblem archive from the 1980s onwards, coinciding with the increasing influence, and ultimate dominance of neoliberal governance. All emblems contributing to the commercialisation discourse are in the form of logos. In Victoria, prior to the commercialisation discourse influencing Victorian governments, logos were exclusively used by private firms in their efforts to promote themselves and their goods to customers. With the rise of the commercialisation discourse, government emblems began to resemble the logos of private companies. For example, the Shire of Narracan logo shown in Figure 5.3.B, contains a blue and green pattern showing an abstracted tree and abstracted water. Abstracted, highly geometric representations such as this are typical of logos used by private companies in Victoria in the 1980s.

As well as resembling the logos of private companies, emblems contributing to the commercialisation discourse also resemble each other more than earlier Victorian government emblems. The blue and green colour scheme, and abstracted hills and water representation are often repeated themes, as are the use of particular typeface weight combinations, Bold Roman combined with Regular Italic, for example (see Figure 5.3.4.C on page 375).

Figure 5.3.B.
Corporate appearance
Shire of Narracan logo

5.3.1. Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism, the driving ideology behind the commercialisation discourse in the emblems, is, as the name suggests, an extreme extension of liberal governance. Where liberalism prioritises trade above the non-commercial areas of life, neoliberalism reduces all values to a commercial value. Under neoliberal governance, what cannot be given a financial value cannot be governed; therefore elaborate efforts at commercialisation of previously unprofitable aspects of society are made (Rüstow in Rose, 2008, p. 137). Where liberalism advocated free markets and minimal government intervention in society, neoliberalism expands the limits of what was formerly marketable, creating new markets from work and leisure activities that previously did not involve monetary exchange.

It is a philosophy that focuses on governing people as individuals, rather than as a group (Gray & Agllias, 2009. p. 279). British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher memorably summed up this particular aspect of the neoliberal position, when she said in 1987 'There is no such thing as society: there are individual men and women, and there are families.' (Thatcher & Keay, 1987, n.p.). This statement is a rejection of the concept of a 'public' or 'publics' and is therefore also a rejection of the liberal idea of a 'public good,' so central to Keynesian welfare governance. It also implies a rejection of governmental responsibility for social welfare.

Rose describes the rupture involved in shifting from Keynesian welfare to neoliberal governance. He writes that implementing neoliberal governance involves:

> [re-]organizing all features of one's national policy to enable a market to exist, and to provide what it needs to function. [Keynesian welfare] government must be restructured in the name of an economic logic, and economic government must create and sustain the central elements of economic well-being such as... competition (Rose, 2008, p. 141).

This restructure constitutes a reversal from the pragmatic approach to managing human nature on which Keynesian welfarism is based. It involves a shift to a financially based, idealistic view of how people are, and therefore how they should be governed.

Under neoliberal governance, the private sphere of a given region, city or nation becomes the public sphere in the sense that private behaviours, connections and experiences become even more commodified than under previous modes of governance, thereby bringing what was once private into the public world of commerce. Arguably the most important function of governments, maintaining the security of the territory and population, is done through the private means of financialisation (Harvey, 2007, p. 33). With the private financial sphere subsuming the public, both governments and citizens are required to 'conform to the norms of the market' (Harvey, 2007, p. 33). Citizens and governments are coaxed into behaviour conducive to market performance through sympathetic governance strategies (Larner, 2000, p. 12).

Society and the public are not readily graspable
concepts from the neoliberal perspective mainly
because they are not readily quantifiable. By reducing
everything to a measurable sum (for example, not the
amorphous 'society' but its individual parts)

*the objects of government are rendered thinkable in
such a way that their difficulties appear amenable
to diagnosis, prescription and cure. Neoliberalism
does not abandon the "will to govern": it maintains
the view that failure of government to achieve
its objectives is to be overcome by inventing new
strategies of government that will succeed* (Rose,
1996, p. 53).

The new strategies that Rose refers to as being invented
under neoliberal governance include the use of graphic
design in ways that are new for governments. Typically,
governments influenced by neoliberal ideology are
more image conscious than their predecessors,
implementing branding and corporate identity
campaigns in concert with their policy reforms. While
many political scientists hint at such visual strategies,
no detailed investigation of the visual aspects of
these neoliberal governance strategies has yet been
conducted. These strategies include using government
emblems in new ways that assist with gaining
widespread acceptance of neoliberal policy reform.

Public choice theory

Neoliberalism as a political philosophy and neoliberal governance as a set of practises are based on a fiscal theory known as 'public choice theory.' Public choice theory 'is fundamentally driven by the application of market principles to social life' and 'aims to create a science whose key concepts are the market, individual choice, and private self-interest' (Mosco, 2009, p. 217, 218).Public choice theory centres around one crucial concept: capture. Capture is the private consumption of government owned resources. Or, more specifically, capture is the practise of government workers using their position within the government for their own personal financial gain (Alford & O'Neill, 1994, p. 159). Proponents of neoliberalism consider capture to be the worst of all evils. With neoliberal governance it is therefore common to see a rise in stigmatisation of government employees (Hall, 1979, p. 17). Avoiding capture has therefore become the primary theoretical justification behind all neoliberal governance strategies.

The contractual model

To avoid this theoretical notion of capture, of a government that has been guided by Keynesian welfarism requires significant changes to the organisation. Firstly, it requires dramatic reduction in the number of government staff. All work that can be outsourced to private organisations is outsourced. Secondly, remaining government workers' capacity for independent decision making in relation to their work should be curtailed as much as possible. No government worker should be able to decide on any allocation of public resources so far as it can be

helped, in order to avoid capture. In the shift from Keynesian welfare to neoliberal governance, the role of government workers changes from service providers to contract administrators. This shift in the role of government workers is known as the 'contractual model' of governance (Alford & O'Neill, 1994, p. 159).

Neoliberalism in Victoria

One of Victoria's best known Premiers, Jeff Kennett, was an avid proponent of neoliberal policies, and the reform to government that he oversaw fit squarely within this contractual model of governance. The many reforms this government implemented included outsourcing an unprecedented number of public services and sacking government staff by the thousands. Those staff that remained became administrators of privately tendered contracts.

In Victoria at least, going to such lengths to prevent self-interested behaviour has had the unfortunate effect of promoting it (Alford & O'Neill, 1994, p. 159). Reforms were performed under the pretence of drastically reducing spending, when, in local government reform at least, spending was not reduced, merely transferred to 'consultancy fees' (Worthington & Dollery, 2002, p. 497). Many of the funds freed up from wages and service provision were spent in fees paid to communication experts in order to assist in the construction of consent (Cozzolino, 2008).

The Kennett effect

An exploration of neoliberal governance in Victoria is necessarily a study of the public policy, legislative reform, and various personal qualities of Jeff Kennett,

who loomed large in Victorian politics for 18 years
(Steketee, 1992, p. 2). In his few years as Premier,
a relatively short time in office, he carried out an
extensive set of reforms to both State and local
government that has had lasting effects: positive
financially and negative in terms of social welfare.
Kennett is remembered for attracting large-scale
investments to Victoria and for the considerable
negative effects of his neoliberal policy agenda on
Victorian social services.

The Kennett government's principal agenda was
the 'radical reshaping of the role of government,'
of which local government reform was one part
(Korporaal & Skulley, 1995, p. 6). Soon after taking
office, it embarked on a program of legislative change
that centralised power in the Premier's office, as
well as curtailing Parliament's capacity to call the
Premier to account (Alford & O'Neill, 1994, p. 164).
Government media relations were also centralised in
the Premier's office, all ministerial press secretaries
being located there, rather than in their respective
departments (Dodd, 1999, p. 1). The reforms 'focused
on a corporate approach to governance involving new
public management, corporate accountability through
democratic representation and the redefinition of
citizens as shareholders and customers' (O'Toole &
Burdess, 2006, p. 242).

More than most politicians in Victoria's history,
Kennett's personal beliefs and experiences stood out

as helping his reform agenda. Journalist Michael Davie, after interviewing Kennett during his term as Premier, offered this incisive observation:

> *One of the interesting things about Kennett, to an outsider, is the extent to which he really believes that you can run a state like a business. Politics notoriously demands skills that are foreign to business: no successful businessman has repeated his success as an elected politician. Kennett takes pride in saying that he is running the fifth biggest business in Australia and that he has done better than "any other" business group in Australia. "Very few businesses have turned around a deficit so fast and started making profits"* (Davie, 1995, p. 1).

An essential part of running government as a business for Kennett was the maintenance of a positive and strong image of the government in the minds of its citizens and potential investors.

For Kennett, who prior to becoming Premier, had owned and run a public relations agency, the Victorian government was a business brand like any other (Blainey, 2006, p. 240). Under Kennett's watchful eye, his government built up, managed and protected the Victorian brand through extensive and sophisticated advertising, public relations and media management. Advertising campaigns involving television and billboard advertisements, as well as mail-outs to every Victorian home, accompanied various reforms to State legislation. The State of Victoria acquired a logo, corporate identity and an associated marketing campaign, all of which were used throughout the bulk of the neoliberal reforms (see Figure 5.3.1.A).

Figure 5.3.1.A.
The Victorian government logo used during by the Kennett government to promote its reforms

The Victorian State government used its new logo in addition to the State coat of arms. The coat of arms was reserved for formal occasions, and the logo was used for everyday business. 'Victoria, the place to be' suddenly appeared on letterheads, press releases, government advertising and number plates (see Figure 5.3.1.B).

The Kennett government treated even the wording of legislation itself as a public relations exercise. Writing about a piece of legislation affecting Victorian local government, political scientists Alford & O'Neill write that:

Figure 5.3.1.B.
A Victorian government licence plate used to promote the Kennett government's reforms

> *One of the most noteworthy features of the Victorian [compulsory competitive tendering, or] CCT model is the way in which it disguises the level of compulsion involved... it represents a politically astute way for a central government to introduce compulsory competitive tendering... a way which ostensibly takes much of the sting out of the argument that CCT undermines local democracy... In reality, however, the scope for local decision-making and choice may often turn out to be more rhetorical that real* (Alford & O'Neill, 1994, p. 123).

Compulsory competitive tendering requires government departments to tender to private companies for most or all services. A common neoliberal government policy, compulsory competitive tendering has been legislated — made compulsory by being enshrined in legislation — in many western industrialised countries, several of which Alford & O'Neill have studied. Relative to legislation in other countries, they found the Kennett government's legislation was cleverly obfuscating.

This kind of play on public perception is typical of the strategies employed by neoliberal governments worldwide. Rose identifies neoliberal governance with a 'proliferation of new apparatuses, devices and mechanisms for the government of conduct and forms of life: new forms of consumption, a public habitat of images, the regulation of habits, dispositions, styles of existence' (Rose, 2008, p. 164). The embracing of logos and corporate identities at State and local government levels in Victoria is merely one neoliberal governance strategy in a broad range of previously unheard of means to govern through popular opinion.

Constructing consent

Changes as extensive as those brought about by the Kennett government required approval and maintenance of consent by the public at large. There is plenty of anecdotal evidence of the process of construction of consent in Victoria prior to and during the implementation of neoliberal reforms, and even some quantitative evidence. In his masters thesis on press coverage of the Kennett government, Kelvyn Lavelle conducted an extensive survey of media reporting during Kennett's time in office. In this survey he found overwhelming support for the government, with twice as many positive articles as negative, and with positive articles given more prominence (Lavelle, 2000, p. 116). The findings of Lavelle's study support political polemicist Noam Chomsky's observation that in neoliberal governance, the media play a crucial role in manufacturing consent (Chomsky & Herman, 1988/2010, p. 298).

Kennett justified his reshaping of government on the basis of an economic crisis, which, it was claimed, the government needed to respond to with swift and drastic reforms in order to prevent the imminent economic collapse of the State of Victoria. Political scientist Melinda Cooper refers to such activity by governments as 'a politics of austerity' calculated to simultaneously construct local consent for radical policy changes and attract foreign investment (Cooper, 2004, p. 526). Since Kennett's rule, academics have ascertained that the economic crisis was a fabrication, constructed through the theatre of a sham independent commission, combined with extensive promotional campaigns advising the Victorian public of the severity of the so-called crisis (Lavelle, 2000, p. 129). Kennett's perception management was legendary at the time, and its results pay tribute to his skill: Lavelle found that less than 5% of the coverage of the government addressed whether or not an economic crisis existed. The press were told there was a crisis and promptly reported it. 'In the overwhelming bulk of articles', Lavelle writes, 'the existence of a crisis was simply assumed' (Lavelle, 2000, p. 117).

Key to the success of the Kennett government's reform agenda was that 'solving the economic crisis' came to be understood as common sense. Kennett was a great fan of deferring to common sense in interviews and everyday work. Marxist academics cite links between construction of consent and the idea of common sense in neoliberal governance generally (Hall, 1979, p. 16; Harvey, 2007, p. 39). When a belief becomes taken for

granted as common sense, it loses the fragility of an opinion and takes on the solidity of a personal value or an inalienable truth.

Rhetoric

Marxist scholar David Harvey acknowledges that consent is constructed with the aid of 'political slogans… that mask specific strategies beneath vague rhetorical devices' (Harvey, 2007, p. 39). Motion and Leitch are more specific, arguing that as a technology of neoliberal governance, corporate identity 'may be seen as a form of social practice that aims to construct commonsense understandings of organizations' (Motion & Leitch, 2002, p. 50). Even more specifically, Barack Obama's Presidential campaign manager Scott Thomas provides insight into the everyday practise of communication design as it relates to policy:

> *While the talking points of the campaign may be changing daily or even hourly as events unfold, our message would retain stability and consistency if the design elements that delivered it remained constant and imperturbable… if we wanted to "control the message," we had to create and maintain an effective design* (Thomas, 2010, p. xxix).

What Thomas is referring to here is the maintenance of a visual rhetoric — a consistent, partisan message maintained through the appearance of all people, places and objects associated with the campaign — that would fulfill two roles. Firstly, it supported the verbal rhetoric of the candidate when he was 'on message'. Secondly, it dampened any contradictory 'off message' blips by continuing the familiar visual message through

all non-verbal means at the campaign's disposal. The interrelation of visual and verbal rhetoric Thomas describes in the Obama election campaign goes on in everyday governance, as well as during campaigning, albeit usually at a less hyperbolic, frenzied level.

The high level of communication consistency at a visual rhetoric level that Thomas describes was also a hallmark of the Kennett government's term in office. While Thomas achieved a consistent visual rhetoric through the maintenance of specific colours, typefaces, slogans and compositions over the course of a political campaign, the Kennett government maintained a less focussed, but no less effective message of 'business' through an array of public works projects, campaigns, policy initiatives, major public art commissions and corporate identity programs (Blainey, 2006, p. 241). To a large extent, he ran his terms in office as a large scale promotional campaign consisting of many small parts.

Local government reform

This visual rhetoric extended to the Kennett government's efforts at local government reform. Kennett himself referred to his government's local government reform as consisting of two parts: legislated change, and marketing of that change (Carney, 1993, p. 13). Local government reform had long been desirable for both Labor and Liberal governments. What was best for colonial townships — interminable seceding at the extremities — was not good for the implementation of neoliberal policy 140 years later. Successive governments had tried to reform local government in Victoria to adjust it more to the needs of the State government, without much

success (Bramley, 1984, p. 5; O'Donnell, 1985, p. 13; Worthington & Dollery, 2002, p. 497). Kennett applied his mix of talents to local government reform as he did to many other areas of government, succeeding in reforming local government, and critically, gaining public approval for that reform. This is the context in which, between 1994 and 1996, 201 Victorian local governments were amalgamated to become 78 councils, and all but one of the new councils gained new emblems.

Just as Kennett could not force journalists to write about his policies positively, he could not directly order local governments to change their emblems. But like the positive articles about his policies, he could set up legislative and other conditions that were conducive to councils adopting logos that would support his overall agenda of presenting Victorian government as a whole as big business. The depiction of Victorian local governments as businesses was greatly assisted by the technology of neutrality.

5.3.2. Neutrality

The technology of neutrality is both strong and common in the emblems. As Figure 5.3.2.A shows, a large number of the collected emblems use content that avoids making any statement at all, or at most, a benign one. This indefiniteness of meaning in the emblems using the technology of neutrality is akin to a phenomenon anthropologist Karen Knorr Cetina describes as an indefiniteness of being. Knorr Cetina observes this indefiniteness in objects, and communication theorists Celia Lury summarises her

84	GENERIC LANDSCAPE	
	2	BLUE ONLY
	14	BLUE & YELLOW
	9	BLUE & GREEN
	5	BLUE, GREEN & ORANGE
	9	BLUE, GREEN & YELLOW
	45	HILLS
42	MIS-NAMING	
	2	NO NAME
	9	WRONG NAME
	31	PARTIAL NAME
27	INITIAL(S)	
	11	INITIAL AS ONLY SYMBOL
		4 INITIALS MEETING PARTS
		7 INITIAL IN WHITE SPACE
	16	INITIAL AS DEPICTIVE SYMBOL
		2 INITIAL AS PEOPLE
		7 INITIAL AS LANDSCAPE
		7 INITIAL AS OBJECT
8	BIRDS	
	3	BIRD AS INITIALS
	5	GENERIC BIRDS
5	HARMONY MOTTOES	
166	**INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE**	

Figure 5.3.2.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of commercialisation through the technology of neutrality

position as 'the way in which we relate to objects is changing profoundly... objects are now characterised by an indefiniteness of being... a non-identity with themselves' (Lury, 2004, p. 129). This non-identity is communicated in both the form and content of the government emblems influenced by neoliberalism. In the context of the technology of neutrality, the logos in this sample can be considered part of the sophisticated governmental use of rhetoric to construct consent, and later, approval, for the neoliberal policy reforms.

In terms of form, the technology of neutrality is exclusively associated with logos. Not all logos in the emblem archive use this technology, but all emblems in the sample that use the technology of neutrality are logos. Most of the logos using this technology were used immediately after the neoliberal local government reform described on page 355. It is suggested that the technology of neutrality is so strong in these particular emblems because of either unconscious or conscious efforts at smoothing the waters after a turbulent and controversial reform. Lury has observed similar usage of trademarks to avoid particular issues or impressions. She refers to this as 'trade marks as a way of fixing things' (Lury, 2004, p. 98). Finally, in terms of form, there is postmodernism and its associated ambiguity. Many of the emblems using this technology contain signs of postmodernism including modular composition, juxtaposition and pastiche (Jameson, 1988, p. 244; Poynor, 2003, p. 71). The overwhelming effect of this postmodern style is opacity: obfuscation is the message.

In terms of word content, the technology of neutrality is used in both council names and council mottoes. In the mottoes it is present as references to 'harmony'; a smoothing over of recent troubles. In the names, it is in usage of partial or incorrect names. So the Cardinia Shire Council becomes Cardinia only, making it unclear to the viewer that the logo represents a government (see Figure 5.3.2.J on page 369). In terms of symbols, there are three themes that are frequently repeated in the technology of neutrality: initials, birds and generic landscapes.

Generic landscape

The benign symbolic effect of landscapes, as discussed in relation to the technology of romance on page 322, is found again used in the technology of neutrality. In this technology the use of landscape is markedly different than the earlier examples. In these emblems the benign effect is still more increased than in the previous examples, with many instances of extreme abstraction, reducing landscape to the suggestion of a couple of coloured shapes or the vague outline of hills, or waterways. Where the previous discussion of landscape included examples of local landscapes, the landscapes in the technology of neutrality are mostly devoid of local references. Water, hills, sand, sun and earth are recurring themes that refer to place in only the most general of terms.

Blue

The dominant colour in the emblems influenced by the commercialisation discourse is definitely blue. Only two emblems, however, uses blue on its own, one being the

Figure 5.3.2.B.
Blue logo
Monash City Council logo

Monash City Council logo (see Figure 5.3.2.B). Although it is sparse on details, the blue mass has a double meaning, it forms an 'M' standing for the Monash City Council and also refers to the rolling hills in the council area. Logos are commonly depicted in blue with one or two other colours, such as: blue and yellow; blue and green; blue, green and orange. The colour combinations are often used to make abstract shapes suggest a pictorial scene — blue for sky or water, and yellow for sand.

Blue and yellow

Blue and yellow could be termed a water and sand/sun colour scheme. In the Maribyrnong City Council logo two abstract shapes are composed and coloured to suggest a river (the Maribyrnong River, after which the Council is named) and its sandy bank (see Figure 5.3.2.C). In other emblems, blue and yellow are commonly used to depict sea water and sandy beaches.

Figure 5.3.2.C.
Blue and yellow logo
Maribyrnong City Council logo

Blue and green

Blue and green emblems are common in the emblem archive. Although they are used in various shapes and compositions, each bears a reference to farmland and water in its use of colour. Take, for example, the Warrnambool City Council logo (see Figure 5.3.2.D). The symbol is in the shape of a ship, but the green striped sail appears to also reference rows of green crops, while the blue hull suggests the coastline surrounding the city of Warrnambool.

Figure 5.3.2.D.
Blue and green logo
Warrnambool City Council logo

Blue, green and orange

The common blue, green and orange colour combination is a variation on the blue and green, crops and water theme described previously. However, the addition of orange in these emblems refers to uncultivated land. Much of the soil in Victoria is an ochre or orange colour naturally, before the addition of fertilisers for agricultural production. From left to right, the use of orange, green and blue in the Kingston City Council logo can be seen to represent wilderness, farmland and water respectively (see Figure 5.3.2.E).

Figure 5.3.2.E.
Blue, orange and green logo
Kingston City Council

Hills

Hills are a central element of the slightly less abstracted generic landscapes. They are depicted with brush strokes, rolling lines and various shades of green. The Baw Baw Shire Council emblem uses hills as its only symbol and exemplifies the neutrality that hills in emblems can present (see Figure 5.3.2.F).

Figure 5.3.2.F.
Hills
Baw Baw Shire Council logo

Naming

In keeping with the Kennett government's emphasis on using local governments as local implementation units for State government policies, during the local government reforms, all new councils were given consistent names that reflected their status as regional or metropolitan government areas. The metropolitan governments were all named in the format '_____ City Council', and the regional local governments were all named in the format '_____ Shire Council.' The first word or words were taken from a geographical or

cultural reference to the local area, disassociating the new local government, in name at least, from those that had been amalgamated to form it.

Partial names

The interesting thing about this naming convention in the government emblem archive is the extent to which it is flaunted. In the logos, the primary symbol used to identify these local governments, many of the names are only partially represented or the name is written incorrectly. For example, the name of the Alpine Shire Council in its logo is written as 'Alpine Shire' (see Figure 5.3.2.G). This wording suggests the old format of council names, such as the Shire of Bright, and removes some of the administrative uniformity of the new names.

Other councils remove references to government from their emblem altogether, thus the Cardinia Shire Council emblem merely says 'Cardinia' (see Figure 5.3.2.H). This increases the ambiguity of the emblems, adding to the overall neutralising effect of postmodern style, benign symbolic content and harmony emphasising mottoes. The benign content and form of these logos reflects the Kennett government's efforts to de-politicise the population. People who used local government services began to be referred to as service users rather than citizens. In addition, with the amalgamation of small councils, some of which had strong community identities, some sense of community was lost.

Incorrect names

Still other emblems display an incorrect name, such as the Yarra Ranges Shire Council emblem that reads 'Shire

Figure 5.3.2.G.
Partial name
Alpine Shire Council logo

Figure 5.3.2.H.
No reference to government
Cardinia Shire Council logo

Figure 5.3.2.I.
Incorrect name
Yarra Ranges Shire Council

of Yarra Ranges' (see Figure 5.3.2.I). Like the 'Alpine Shire' example above, this relates to the old local government naming system and, inevitably, to the old, Keynesian welfare-influenced local government system. These intentionally incorrect name presentations are frequent in the emblems, and are in all likelihood a symbolic rejection of the constant, State-driven coercion local governments were experiencing with the implementation of neoliberal reforms.

Initials

Continuing the theme of benign symbolism, the technology of neutrality also used various depictions of initials. Using initials of the council name as the main, or only, symbolic content of an emblems is a way of using a symbol without the burden of association. The initials relate to the council name, and the council name relates to the initials. It is a neat circularity in which any further communication is unnecessary.

Initials of meeting

Several of the initials are formed by separate parts coming together, suggesting balance, harmony or unification. Most of these initials of meeting are used for councils after the amalgamations when smoothing over the transition was a high priority for the State government. The Stonnington City Council emblem for example, shows two 'c' shapes coming together to form an 'S' (see Figure 5.3.2.J). The two shapes are representative of the former City of Malvern and the former City of Prahran (Huxley, 2010).

Figure 5.3.2.J.
One initial formed by union of parts
Stonnington City Council logo

Multiple initials forming landscape

Several of the initials in the emblems are positioned in such a way that they are part of, or frame, a landscape. This is a double neutrality effect; the emblems present initials and landscape without saying anything about the place, people or aspirations of the government. The Colac Otway Shire Council logo is one such example of this (see Figure 5.3.2.K).

Figure 5.3.2.K.
Interwoven initials forming nature scene
Colac Otway Shire Council logo

Initials as (genderless) citizens

Figure 5.3.2.L. Initials forming people
City of Waverley logo, Shire of Eltham logo

Some emblems from the recent past depict people, but these are genderless, abstracted customers, rather than detailed, personable figures (see Figure 5.3.2.L). They represent a generic citizen-consumer who purchases services. The depiction can be seen as either inclusive, representative of all, or alienating, representing of no-one. Either way, it does not invite open association with a particular gender, let alone a social group, region or ethnicity.

Birds

The most consistent thing about emblems influenced by all governance periods from colonial to neoliberal is the inclusion of birds in symbolic content. In emblems influenced by colonial, liberal and exclusionist ideology, birds are a minor addition to coats of arms and seals. In emblems influenced by nationalism, Keynesian welfarism and neoliberalism, birds feature more prominently, but their use changes with the transition of dominance of one governance ideology to the next.

The depictions of generic birds in emblems influenced by neoliberalism further the technology of neutrality by suggesting content while providing very little meaning. On the one hand, the birds could represent soaring, aspiration, or sky; on the other, they could be an additional obfuscation of meaning, similar to that argued by Willis regarding landscape (see page 322).

Birds as ink

Birds as used in the technology of neutrality are usually depicted with far less detail than those used in the technology of pride. For example, birds in the technology of neutrality are often depicted as a brush stroke. These representations are barely a suggestion of a bird, devoid of context, species or detail. See, for example the Banyule City Council logo (see Figure 5.3.2.M).

Birds as initials

Continuing the theme of initials in the logos (see page 327) in many of the logos using birds, the bird also forms an initial. See for example, the City of Broadmeadows logo (Figure 5.3.2.N). The

Figure 5.3.2.M.
Brush stroke as bird
Banyule City Council logo

Figure 5.3.2.N.
Birds as initials
City of Broadmeadows logo

symbol depicts one bird, another bird head, and the combination suggests the letter 'B.' In the structure of the technology of neutrality section, 'birds as initials' are discussed with other birds, and apart from 'initials as objects,' because the bird forms are the emphasis in these logos, with the initial being secondary. In the other 'initials as objects' instances, the initial appears more prominent than the other things being depicted.

Harmony mottoes

Other councils used their straplines for furthering the effect of unity, such as 'City of harmony' and 'Balance of city and country' as used by the Boroondara City Council and Manningham Shire Council respectively (see Figure 5.3.2.O & Figure 5.3.2.P). Both of these emblems were results of the local government amalgamations and so these references are perhaps references to a smooth progression to the new local government entity. The City of Doncaster, City of Templestowe and Shire of Lilydale were combined to make the Manningham City Council. At the time of the amalgamations, from 1995-1997, such combinations of socioeconomically and culturally different council areas was frequent, and the cause of much local tension. The Manningham City Council logo presents this tension in a positive light, which suggests the council areas balance one another. This is a working example of Lury's comment about trademarks as a way of fixing things.

Figure 5.3.2.O.
Harmony motto
Boroondara City Council logo

Figure 5.3.2.P.
Harmony motto
Manningham City Council logo

5.3.3. Business

The technology of business is evident in the emblems through the use of logos, and also the use of accompanying straplines and corporate identities (see Figure 5.3.3.A). Many of the form and content facets contributed to the technology of neutrality also serve to present the councils as private businesses. This is one aspect of the neoliberal change in governmental role. Instead of governments providing welfare to citizens, the role of local government has shifted to one of service provision to customers. While this is a subtle shift, it signals other far-reaching effects of the of the commercialisation discourse.

31	CORPORATE IDENTITY
6	STRAPLINES
37	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 5.3.3.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of commercialisation through the technology of business

Straplines

Emblems using a corporate identity often include a strapline. This is a line of text similar to a motto, except that where a motto summarises attributes and aspirations, a strapline promotes, representing the object in an idealised light in an effort to create positive associations in the minds of viewers (Neubecker, 1977, p. 203; Hammond, 2011, p. 246). These straplines are one of the more obvious devices in the technology of business, as they give otherwise fairly neutral logos a decidedly promotional, or tourism flavour. The South Gippsland Shire Council logo is a good example of this (see Figure 5.3.3.B). The land and water blocks in this logo are similar to many of the other logos influenced by neoliberalism, but it is the strapline that gives this emblem a tourism feel, a sense that it is selling South Gippsland. Generally, less known council areas that resort to using straplines.

South Gippsland
Shire Council
Come for the beauty, Stay for the lifestyle

Figure 5.3.3.B.
Strapline
South Gippsland Shire Council

5.3.4.Postmodern Juxtaposition

Perhaps ironically, the commercialisation discourse involves some emblems moving away from a rational, reasoned representation of government and toward a fragmented juxtaposition of elements. In the emblems this has been identified in strong typeface contrast and strong image contrast (see Figure 5.3.4.A). The shift from rational or ordered representation to a fragmented, abstracted representation constitutes a shift from modern to postmodern representation. Just as Jameson suggests a link between the various threads of modernist thought, governance and construction, he also suggests a link between postmodernity and what he terms 'late capitalism.' This is in part a reference to neoliberal policy and practise in both government and commercial settings (Loomba, 1998, p. 247; Jameson, 1991, p. 1).

Postmodern style is part of a deconstructivist tradition in graphic design, in which the contradictions between discrete objects create meaning (Lupton & Miller, 1996/2008, p. 8). A quite literal example of this is the City of Casey's emblem, in which the spaces between the parts form a 'C' in the white space (see Figure 5.3.4.B). In the late 1980s and through the 1990s, postmodern style influenced logos throughout western industrialised countries. In Victoria, postmodern style affected music and popular culture during the 1980s, and by the mid-1990s it started to appear in government emblems. It is identified by the juxtaposition and assemblage aspects of postmodern logo composition.

49	TYPEFACE CONTRAST
29	IMAGE CONTRAST
78	INSTANCES IN EMBLEM ARCHIVE

Figure 5.3.4.A.
Facets contributing to the embodied discourse of commercialisation through the technology of juxtaposition

Figure 5.3.4.B.
A 'C' formed from a combination of objects and negative space
Casey City Council logo

The use of postmodern style works as both an aid to and a decoy from neoliberal governance. It aids the commercialisation discourse by suggesting a frenetic pastiche; if all is a jumbled mess, what does it matter who governs, or how? The decoy is in the pastiche itself, the accumulated contrasting objects, typefaces and colours that presents a striking difference to what has gone before, but a difference that obfuscates what it stands for (Economou, 2003, p. 15).

Typeface contrast

Many of the emblems in the technology of postmodernity juxtapose contrasting type weights and styles. The most common type contrast in the emblems is the combination of italic and plain type. Italic versions of faces are designed for emphasising words in body type (Bringhurst, 1996, p. 103). In the postmodern emblems, however, it is frequently used in the de-emphasised part of the text. Other emblems using the technology of postmodernity employ contrasting serif and sans-serif type. Another type contrast is the use of title case and uppercase in combination. The Surf Coast Shire Council logo combines the three kinds of type contrast in one highly juxtapositional logotype. For good measure, the serifed, italicised, title case word 'Surf' is also a different colour from the remainder of the text (see Figure 5.3.4.C).

Image contrast

Image contrast refers to the use of incongruous symbols and styling, combined in a way that gives the impression of a partially finished whole. These potentially awkward compositions are frequently

Figure 5.3.4.C.
Typeface contrast
Surf Coast Shire Council logo

Figure 5.3.4.D.
Image contrast
City of Melbourne logo

balanced with modular type composition. For example, the City of Melbourne logo contains half a roman 'M,' a column from a building, a eucalypt leaf and a sphere representing a head or a sun (see Figure 5.3.4.D). At the time, assembling these disparate parts was considered an effective way to represent various aspects of the Council (Taffe, 2008).

Conclusion

Together, chapters four and five have presented a history of the governance ideologies and embodied governance discourses in local government emblems from settlement to the end of the twentieth century. The six embodied governance discourses — Britannia, trade, othering, independence, progress and commercialisation — have been shown to relate to six external governance ideologies: colonialism, liberalism, exclusionism, nationalism, Keynesian welfarism and neoliberalism. These external discourses have influenced Victorian governments from occupation and settlement to the present. The final ideology to have a strong influence over Victorian governance, neoliberalism, has been reflected in the emblems most dramatically, with striking changes to their form and content. Emblems from governments influenced by neoliberalism are most notable for their absence of symbolic content, and their dependence on juxtaposition of form for communicating meaning. The influence of neoliberalism started in the 1980s, but was accelerated by the Kennett government's enthusiastic pursuit of neoliberal reforms to both State and local governments.

This history has been researched and written using the discursive method, described in chapter three, to collect, document, observe and contextualise a sample of 282 Victorian local government emblems. Description of the emblems' form and content has revealed the discourses and discourse technologies they contain. A review of local political history and

political science theory has identified the external
governance ideologies to which each embodied
governance discourse relates.

The external and embodied governance ideologies
and discourses have been presented over these two
chapters in a loosely chronological order based on the
beginning of their influence in Victoria, but it should
be reiterated that they did not run through Victorian
politics in a successive stream (see Figure 4.B on page
240 for the range of influence of each governance
ideology). The embodied governance discourses have
been discussed in terms of how they appeared in
the emblems and also in terms of how they related
to the governance of Victoria over time. The external
governance ideologies relating to each of the embodied
governance discourses have been defined in general
terms, as have their effects on Victorian government
and society. Through charting the history of Victorian
local government emblems in relation to the discourses
they embodied and the ideologies that influenced
them, these two chapters have given a uniquely
political perspective on graphic design artefacts.
Study of Victorian local government emblems using
discursive method has illuminated aspects of Victorian
governance that would not have been obvious through
study of textual documents alone. Finally, observing
the government emblems' participation in ideologies
and embodiment of discourses would not have been
possible using any other method of historical inquiry or
visual analysis.

CONCLUSION

In order to create an artefact-led history of governance in Victoria, Australia, this thesis has covered a significant intellectual terrain over its five chapters.

In chapter one, Literature Review, the importance of methods to the field of graphic design history was established. Five existing methods used to write graphic design histories were identified in the literature, including texts identified as graphic design histories and texts from other history disciplines. The three main methods, connoisseurship method, hagiographic method and empirical method, were studied in detail, including explanation of the steps involved in using each method, and critiques of the kinds of histories each method produced. Two less common methods were also examined, albeit in less detail. The existing methods were determined to be insufficient because of their empiricist theoretical foundations and their dependence on existing archives.

Chapter two, Methodology, was therefore devoted to investigating alternative methodological foundations upon which a new method, one in which artefacts led the narrative formation process, could be built. This chapter presented concepts relating to inquiry generally, historical investigation specifically, power generally and power as it specifically relates to artefacts. These explorations among the works of authors from disparate disciplines, times and places were linked by a serious commitment to relativism throughout. While the concepts presented in this chapter were at times highly abstract, they were presented in such a way that each prepared the ground for the following chapter. Without the coverage of Bloch, Foucault,

Geertz, Hodder and White, the historian would not have arrived at her original concept of 'embodied discourse'. In turn, without this theoretical innovation, the method presented in chapter three, Discursive Method, could not have been developed, and the history presented in chapters four and five would not have been written. While a history of governance in Victoria, Australia could have been written using existing methods, it would not be artefact-led, and it would therefore have a different structure, focus and narrative style.

Based on the methodological investigation in chapter two, chapter three presented the detailed method used for writing the relativist, artefact-led history presented in chapters four and five. Chapter three, Discursive Method, provided an intricate account of each step and sub-step performed. Extensive figures in this chapter illustrated the process of conducting each step; the technical requirements that each digital file had at various stages of refinement; the faceted classification used to describe every readily identifiable detail of the emblems; and the documentation of each emblem file in a database. After the process of each step and sub-step was clearly explained, the results of performing that step were presented. This gave a clear picture of how each small process in discursive method contributed to the final development of the emblem archive and the emblem-led history of Victorian governance.

The final two chapters, Governing the Body and Governing the Mind, presented the ultimate findings of using discursive method, a two part history of governance in Victoria, Australia. Embodied discourses

found within the emblem archive formed the basis of the narrative in this history, with details added from supplementary texts as appropriate. This history is unique among histories of governance in Victoria, Australia because it was produced using discursive method. Histories of governance in this region frequently focus on party politics, leading politicians and economic conditions. By relying on evidence of past governance discourses within the emblems, this history treated party politics as a minor aside, and instead focussed on the ideologies that influenced whoever was in power at a particular time. This was particularly helpful considering the frequency of changing party alliances and affiliations in Victoria.

c.1. Scope

This thesis has an unusual, and unusually large, scope. Presenting an original theoretical concept, a new method, an original artefact archive and a new history in one thesis is ambitious. In hindsight, it would have likely been less onerous to reduce the scope of this thesis early in its development.

There are several rich seams in this thesis that are worthy of further exploration, and could have been the main subject of theses in their own right. For example, the concept of embodied discourse is sketched out relatively briefly here. There is a vast body of political theory that the historian could have employed to develop embodied discourse into a more robust concept. To write a thesis that developed embodied discourse in this way would have been to produce a highly original theoretical work with great potential impact in the field of political science. As it is, that is work for a future study.

Also, while discursive method has been outlined in this thesis in great detail, it could have been developed further without the inclusion of the history in chapters four and five. Testing the method by using it to write a history has its advantages, but further development of discursive method would have been beneficial also. It would have been particularly beneficial to develop discursive method into a repeatable format that could be applied to a greater variety of artefacts. Similarly, the history contained in chapters four and five gives a relatively brief account of 180 years of Victorian governance history; this history could have easily been expanded to take up an entire thesis. Without

the development of discursive method it would not have been possible to write this particular, artefact-led history, but no doubt a history of Victorian governance using empiricist methods (and therefore without being led by the emblem archive) would have delivered a sufficient contribution to academic knowledge.

However, the historian only realised the profound excess in the scope of her project at a very advanced stage of the research. With a comparatively small amount of work remaining relative to what had been done already, the project was completed as envisioned in spite of its overly large scope. While the large scope was not optimal, it has nevertheless produced a highly original thesis contributing several areas of new academic knowledge.

Method and history

Presenting both the history and the method in the same thesis has allowed the rare opportunity to compare the effectiveness of the method by viewing the history produced using discursive method. On reflection, discursive method has produced a very different history to the typical format of histories focussed on design artefacts. This was to be expected, given the dramatically different methodological basis of this history compared with other design history methodologies. Also, the narrative formation aspect of discursive method, in which embodied discourses within the emblem archive determined the narrative structure, produced a history with a focus on ideologies influencing governance in Victoria.

c.1.1. Limitations

One limitation of this thesis is that, despite the process used to research and write it, the artefact-led history presented in chapters four and five does not appear to be artefact-led. On reflection, the two part history of Victorian governance looks as if it is artefact-supported, as it does not adequately communicate the extent to which it is dependent on the embodied discourses found in the emblem archive. The entire structure of the history, including incorporation of political theories and social context, was based around the embodied discourses found in the emblem archive. In turn, the embodied discourses were found by performing the steps of discursive method outlined in chapter three. The embodied discourses in the emblem archive are the foundation for this history, but those foundations are not as obvious in the text as they could be.

Without the previous chapters, and without explanation of the method, the two part history presented in the last two chapters of this thesis could be interpreted as a history of Victorian governance that has been supported and illustrated with government emblems. In the context of this thesis, this is a limiting attribute of discursive method, since the history is included in large part to test and verify discursive method. However, in terms of using discursive method for future histories, the seamless integration of embodied discourses and external context could be advantageous. If future histories using discursive method appear similarly 'normal' or uncontroversial, in spite of their quite radical relativist theoretical underpinnings, this could

have benefits in terms of acceptance among the wider history community, as well as adding a divergent model to the graphic design history canon.

The broad scope of this research inevitably proved to be limiting in terms of the depth to which investigation could have gone if there was only one contribution to new knowledge presented. If this thesis focused solely on methodological development, for example, it may have been possible to further refine discursive method to a point where it could be used to create archives and write histories of a wide variety of design artefacts. As it is presented in this thesis, discursive method is a documentation of what was done in the course of this research, and is not readily usable to write other histories in its present form. However, it is a model that could readily be adapted for use with other graphic design artefacts.

Alternatively, if this research was focussed on the original concept of embodied discourse, it could have it could have been more rigorously formulated and investigated in further depth. The resulting thesis would have been conducted more in the style of an intellectual history, focusing on methodological theory. Such a focus would have suggested development of discursive method as a course of future investigation.

Another limitation relates to discursive method itself. The sheer amount of work involved in collecting such a large number of emblems, and then accruing a formidable amount of data about them in the classification process, inevitably meant that much data was either not used, or not evident in the resulting history. In this sense it could be said there is much

waste in discursive method. However, as chapter two discussed in great detail, power is everywhere and governance discourses run through the smallest of channels (see 2.3.2 on page 129). To find out which details of the emblems bore particular relation to the governance trends at the centre of the history (in chapters four and five), the comprehensive survey was deemed both worthwhile and necessary.

c.2. Contributions

This thesis has presented four discrete contributions to academic knowledge; one major contribution and three minor ones. Figure c.A shows the new contributions to academic knowledge presented in this thesis.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTION	IN	BENEFITS
DISCURSIVE METHOD	CHAPTER 3	GRAPHIC DESIGN HISTORY METHODS

MINOR CONTRIBUTION	IN	BENEFITS
EMBODIED DISCOURSE	CHAPTER 2	GRAPHIC DESIGN HISTORY THEORY
		MATERIAL CULTURE THEORY
		POLITICAL SCIENCE THEORY
ARTEFACT-LED HISTORY	CHAPTERS 4 & 5	GRAPHIC DESIGN HISTORY CANON
		VICTORIAN HISTORY
EMBLEM ARCHIVE	APPENDIX 2	VICTORIAN EPHEMERA COLLECTIONS

Figure c.A. Thesis contributions

c.2.1. Discursive Method

Firstly and most significantly, this thesis contributed discursive method, an original method for writing artefact-led histories, to the small field of graphic design history methodology. Although discursive method was developed specifically to address the challenges of locating local government emblems in the graphic design history canon, it also has the potential to be used to write histories led by other graphic design artefacts.

To put this first and major contribution into perspective, while there has been extensive criticism of graphic design history methods from graphic design historians and those outside of the field since the discipline was established in the 1970s, there have been few serious methodological inquiries during that time. Further, for over fifteen years there have been calls by graphic design historians for relativist approaches to be used in graphic design history writing, without any attempts

at providing a practical guide of how to do so (Bush, 1994; Blauvelt, 1994; Margolin, 2009; Nooney, 2006). The graphic design history literature reveals that no matter the ideological perspective taken in graphic design histories, the empiricist, positivist approach developed by Leopold von Ranke has been implicitly accepted as 'the' history method by the overwhelming majority of historians studying graphic design artefacts. While Ranke's methods have much value, the ongoing critiques of graphic design history from within and outside of the field suggest that many historians are eager to see and use alternative approaches. This thesis presents the first substantive, alternative design history methodology; hopefully it will be the first of many.

c.2.2.Embodied Discourse

Secondly, chapter two presented the original concept of embodied discourse as a theoretical framework for studying how power can be traced within artefacts. Although this thesis is focussed on graphic design artefacts, embodied discourse can potentially be used to theorise about and investigate power relationships within other artefacts. Without this theoretical innovation, discursive method would not have been formulated, and the two part history in chapters four and five would not have been written.

c.2.3.Artefact-Led History

Thirdly, this thesis contributes an artefact-led history of governance in Victoria, Australia. The artefact-led history draws on both discursive method and the emblem archive. The history contributes academic knowledge to two fields: graphic design history and Victorian

history. To the field of graphic design history, this history contributes a rich depiction of how government emblems are entwined in the political currents of the time and place where they are used. In so doing, it provides examples of how graphic design artefacts are unavoidably, inextricably enmeshed in political processes, thereby tackling the aversion to politics and power in the graphic design history canon.

To the field of Victorian history, this history presents an original contribution to the much explored area of Victorian political history. Although much has been written on certain periods of Victorian governance, few works in this area consider the role of graphic design artefacts, and none focusses on them. The artefact-led nature of this history has provided a unique perspective on several political events in Victoria's history, one that goes beyond the common division of political history along party political lines. Much of the available Victorian political history has been overtly or covertly funded through Australian political parties and is consequently partisan.

The focus on evidence of discourses in the emblem archive also provided a previously undocumented account of how the various governance ideologies influencing Victorian political life transitioned into one another. In the existing literature, each period of governance has been discussed separately, but the transitions between them have not. Consequently, these periods of Victorian history have typically been presented as disjointed and isolated, whereas this history highlights the slow transitions from one into the other.

The assertions made here about contribution are large considering the limitations of a doctoral thesis, but are intentionally so. The field of graphic design history is young and small, particularly compared with the more established fields within the humanities. In such a small field there are more opportunities for having impact than in the larger bodies of knowledge collected in older schools of thought. The large number of calls for methodological development in graphic design history, combined with the lack of such previous work, has presented a ripe opportunity for research impact. In addition, because this thesis is cross disciplinary, it necessarily has impact across graphic design history, local political history (Victoria) and national history (Australia).

c.2.4. Emblem Archive

Fourthly and finally, this thesis presents an archive of 282 previously undocumented local government emblems from Victoria, Australia. This antipodean contribution to the growing number of archives of design ephemera has been stored in paper and electronic formats that ensure the archive will last and can be used by future historians. Although this archive is a smaller contribution to academic knowledge than discursive method, it is significant in that it is the first archive devoted to government emblems in Australia.

This contribution is also significant in a local context, since graphic design ephemera is seldom collected in Australia generally, and in Victoria specifically. Part of the reason there are no academic histories of Australian graphic design artefacts is that there are so

few Australian graphic design artefacts readily available to historians. In the canon of Australian design history, industrial design dominates to the exclusion of other design disciplines. This thesis makes a contribution to redressing the balance by focussing on graphic design artefacts, as well as making those artefacts readily available to future historians.

c.3. Future Research

The research presented in this thesis suggests several avenues for future research. The area of most significance for graphic design history is further use, testing and refinement of discursive method. With further use, the value of discursive method to graphic design history can better be ascertained.

c.3.1. Discursive Method

The obvious first step for future research into discursive method is to develop a practical, step-by-step guide to discursive method that is written without reference to the emblem archive or governance. This abstracted guide would ideally facilitate use of discursive method among other historians. By following each of the steps included in the guide, the historian would be able to develop her own artefact archive, build a faceted classification system of all the communicative aspects of form and content in that archive, and identify themes in the archive that correspond to a broader context that the historian seeks to explore.

Discursive method would also benefit from further testing. It would be valuable to apply discursive method to very different groups of graphic design artefacts in future research. For example, a history led by a group of commercial graphic design artefacts, and another history lead by a group of community-oriented, non-commercial artefacts. For the purposes of testing, these need not be extensive histories or large artefact samples; they could be written to fit the requirements of a journal article. The history led by commercial artefacts could be a history of prestige, led by print

advertisements for luxury watches. The history led by community-oriented, non-commercial artefacts could be a history of social responsibility, led by posters containing public service announcements.

Ultimately, discursive method would be of most benefit to design history if, after testing and refinement, it was further developed and published in book form. Such a project would allow the method to be expanded to allow for identification of embodied discourses in three dimensional artefacts (as presented in this thesis, discursive method only has capacity for identification of communication in two dimensional artefacts). In such a project, there may be potential for investigating the value of discursive method for fields beyond graphic design history. Discursive method may prove a valuable tool in other fields in which communication through artefacts is investigated: cultural studies, interpretive archaeology and material culture studies.

In terms of method, most histories of graphic design treat artefacts as artworks, rather than as evidence. Consequently, they are seldom collected or documented with the rigour of other fields that have dealt with visual artefacts for a longer period of time. For example, there is extensive archaeological literature on the most appropriate ways to collect, record and preserve different finds on archaeological digs. In years to come, graphic design history may develop its own body of literature regarding similar questions of collecting, recording and preserving of various kinds of graphic design artefacts. This method of historical investigation involves more extensive, detailed and rigorous processes for obtaining and dealing with an

artefact sample than many graphic design historians will be used to or comfortable with. The emphasis on integrity of collecting methods bears more similarity to ethnography or archaeology than existing practises in graphic design history.

The level of groundwork involved in discursive method may not be feasible to fit in to the day-to-day schedule of many working graphic design historians. However, graphic design historians have long shown an interest in incorporating postmodern philosophical ideas and methods into their work, so some may deem the change in work focus worthwhile.

c.4. Supreme Form

In their influential book *The Medium is the Massage*, communication theorists Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore observed that 'societies have always been shaped more by the nature of the media which men use to communicate than by the content of that communication' (McLuhan & Fiore, 1967/2008, p. 8). In the hype surrounding its publication in the mid-1960s, attention was focused the implications of McLuhan and Fiore's work in relation to technology as a whole, and the press specifically. While the quote above has been commonly interpreted as referring to technology and the press, it also has broader significance.

McLuhan and Fiore's distinction between 'media' and content can also be seen as the division between form and content. When considered over time, the form in which communication takes place is also more influential upon society than the content of that communication. This is as true of visual conventions as it is of physical technologies. Thus, the use of coats of arms, seals and logos by governments determines how governments are imagined by their staff and citizenry.

The history presented in chapters four and five of this thesis has highlighted how over the course of the twentieth century, governments in Victoria, Australia, have taken increasing advantage of the capacity of form to influence society. With the rise of nationalist, Keynesian welfarist, and lately, neoliberal governance ideologies, the emblems of Victorian governments have contained ever diminishing amounts of content. Under neoliberal governance, content becomes incidental; form communicates everything that is needed.

The logo as used in neoliberal governance is a medium that relies almost solely on its form for its communicative capacity. The form of the logo engenders an ideological position — of service-driven, anti-humanist, apolitical capital — and is communicated unconsciously. Its beauty, from a governmental perspective, is in its banality; where there is so little content, there is no content to criticise or to react against. Content is unnecessary, or at least, supplemental, since the visual conventions of the logo have already had their governmental, subliminal effect.

Where the coat of arms painstakingly identifies multiple aspects of its bearer's nature and provenance, the logo intentionally presents a metaphorical white wall. The logo of neoliberal governance serves to deflect attention; what it does not communicate becomes more important than what it does. Nevertheless, logos inevitably demonstrate the ideological origins behind their creation and use, through their form if not through their content. By identifying the origins behind the use of various kinds of government emblems over time, this thesis provides an original means through which to critique the use of power by governments.

Government emblems, like all artefacts, contain evidence of the ideologies surrounding their use in the form embodied discourses. Together, external ideologies and embodied discourses form a compelling framework through which to examine the relationships of power that artefacts are inextricably bound up in. The ways in which graphic design artefacts, in particular, are enmeshed in relationships of power is an overlooked, yet important aspect of contemporary life.

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APPENDIX I

ETHICS APPROVAL AND COMPLETION FORMS

420

Gmail by Google BETA   **Katherine Hepworth <khepworth@gmail.com>**

SUHREC Project 0708/030 Ethics Clearance
1 message

Keith Wilkins <KWilkins@groupwise.swin.edu.au>   **17 August 2007 11:16**
To: khepworth@gmail.com, Carolyn Barnes <CBarnes@groupwise.swin.edu.au>

To: Dr Carolyn Barnes/Ms Katherine Hepworth, Faculty of Design

Dear Carolyn and Katherine

SUHREC Project 0708/030 Governing by design: visual representation of Victorian local
government before and after council amalgamations
Dr C Barnes Design Ms Katherine Hepworth
Approved Duration: 17/08/2007 To 01/10/2009

I refer to the ethical review of the above project protocols carried out on behalf of Swinburne's
Human Research Ethics Committee (SUHREC) by a SUHREC Subcommittee (SHESC4). Your
responses to the review, as emailed on 16 August 2007, were put to a delegate of the
Subcommittee and, I am pleased to advise, considered sufficient.

Approval has therefore been given for the project to proceed in line with standard on-going ethics
clearance conditions here outlined.

- All human research activity undertaken under Swinburne auspices must conform to Swinburne
and external regulatory standards, including the current National Statement on Ethical Conduct in
Research Involving Humans and with respect to secure data use, retention and disposal.

- The named Swinburne Chief Investigator/Supervisor remains responsible for any personnel
appointed to or associated with the project being made aware of ethics clearance conditions,
including research and consent procedures or instruments approved. Any change in chief
investigator/supervisor requires timely notification and SUHREC endorsement.

- The above project has been approved as submitted for ethical review by or on behalf of
SUHREC. Amendments to approved procedures or instruments ordinarily require prior ethical
appraisal/ clearance. SUHREC must be notified immediately or as soon as possible thereafter of (a)
any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants and any redress measures; (b)
proposed changes in protocols; and (c) unforeseen events which might affect continued ethical
acceptability of the project.

- At a minimum, an annual report on the progress of the project is required as well as at the
conclusion (or abandonment) of the project.

- A duly authorised external or internal audit of the project may be undertaken at any time.

Please contact me if you have any queries about the ethical review process undertaken. The
SUHREC project number should be quoted in communication.

Best wishes for the project.

Yours sincerely

Keith Wilkins
Secretary, SHESC4
****
Keith Wilkins

SUHREC Project 0708/030 Final Report Acknowledgment
 From: Kaye Goldenberg
 To: Barnes, Carolyn; Hepworth, Katherine
 CC: Mosel, Rachel
 Date: Friday - February 10, 2012 10:28 AM
 Subject: SUHREC Project 0708/030 Final Report Acknowledgment

To:
Dr Carolyn Barnes/Ms Katherine Hepworth, Design
cc Ms Rachel Mosel, Research Admin. Co-ordinator, Design

Dear Carolyn and Katherine

SUHREC Project 0708/030 Governing by design: visual representation of Victorian local
government before and after council amalgamations
Dr C Barnes, Design; Ms Katherine Hepworth
Approved Duration: 17/08/2007 To 01/10/2009 [Extended to 01/12/2011]

Thank you for your final report on the above project dated 7 February 2012. This
satisfies the ethics clearance condition re reporting at the conclusion of human research
activity.

The report will be formally noted by Swinburne's Human Research Ethics Committee
(SUHREC) in due course.

Best wishes for the future.

Kaye Goldenberg
Secretary, SHESC4
****
Kaye Goldenberg
Administrative Officer (Research Ethics)
Swinburne Research (H68)
Swinburne University of Technology
P O Box 218
HAWTHORN VIC 3122
Tel +61 3 9214 8468
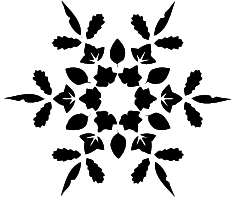
APPENDIX II

COMPLETE EMBLEM SAMPLE

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
1.	Shire of Alberton seal	1993–1993	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1993, April) Local Government Focus, 9:3, 5.
2.	Alpine Shire Council logo	2005–2005	Alpine Shire Council. (2005). Alpine Shire 2030 Community Vision. Retrieved August 8, 2008, from http://www.alpineshire.vic.gov.au/Files/2030-Community-Vision.pdf
3.	City of Altona seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 249
4.	Shire of Arapiles seal	1988–1988	Lockwood, A. (1988). Nine Around the Table. Natimuk: Council of the Shire of Arapiles. p. 1.
5.	Shire of Ararat seal	1992–1992	J. Woolcock [Executive Assistant] (personal communication, September 10, 2009)

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
6.	City of Ararat seal	1987–1992	J. Woolcock [Executive Assistant] (personal communication, September 10, 2009) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1987, June) Local Government Focus, 3:5, 3.
7.	Ararat Rural City Council logo	2007–2007	Tourism Victoria. (2007). Northern Grampians Official Visitor Brochure. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.ararat.vic.gov.au/Files/NorthernGrampiansOVG.pdf
8.	Shire of Avoca seal	1987–1987	Shire of Avoca. (Personal communication, March 18, 1987) [Remittance and Cheque].
9.	Shire of Avon seal	1993–1993	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1993, April) Local Government Focus, 9:3, 5.
10.	Town of Bairnsdale seal	1986–1986	G. C. McWhinney [Town Clerk] (Personal communication, May 20, 1986)
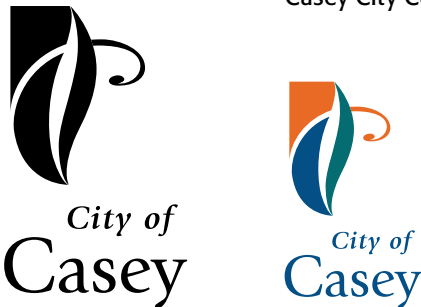
EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
11.	City of Balaarat coat of arms	1956–1986	I. C. Smith [Town Clerk] (Personal communication, February 11, 1986) Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/ballarat.htm
12.	Shire of Ballarat seal	1993–1992	J. Johnson [Shire Secretary] (Personal communication, September 28, 1992) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1993, March) Local Government Focus, 9:2, 5.
13.	City of Ballarat logo	1994–2007	City of Ballarat. (2007). 06-07 Annual Report. Retrieved November 27, 2008, from http://www.ballarat.vic.gov.au/media/53067/annual%20report%202006-2007.pdf P. Mangan [General Manager] (personal communication, November 2, 1994)
14.	City of Banyule logo	2005–2005	City of Banyule. (2005). Banyule City Council Annual Report 2004-05. Retrieved September 15, 2008, from http://www.banyule.vic.gov.au/Page.aspx?ID=172
15.	Shire of Barrabool seal	1988–1988	M. W. Hair [Shire Secretary] (Personal communication, March 7, 1988)

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
16.	Bass Coast Shire Council logo	2008–2008	Bass Coast Shire Council. (n.d.) Phillip Island Official Visitors Guide. Retrieved August 8, 2008, from http://www.visitphillipisland.com/files/Phillip%20Island%20%20Surrounds%20 2008%20Official%20Visitors%20 Guide_1212107720.pdf
17.	Baw Baw Shire Council logo	1996–2006	Baw Baw Shire Council. (2006). Council Plan 2006-2010. Retrieved August 8, 2008, from http://www.bawbawshire.vic.gov.au/Files/CouncilPlan2006-2010.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1996, November 30). What's happening in local government in 1997 [calendar].
18.	Bayside City Council logo	1997–2006	Bayside City Council. (2006). Annual Report 2005-2006. Retrieved September 23, 2008, http://www.bayside.vic.gov.au/Documents/annual_report_2005-2006.pdf P. A. Akers [Chief Executive Officer] (personal communication, June 2, 1997)
19.	Shire of Bellarine seal	1988–1988	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1988, February) Local Government Focus, 4:1, 6.
20.	Bellarine Rural City Council logo	1990–1990	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1990, July) Local Government Focus, 6:6, 6.

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
21.	City of Benalla logo	–	?
22.	City of Berwick coat of arms	1976–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 300
23.	City of Berwick logo	1990–1990	City of Berwick. (1990). Council and Community Greenhouse Action: City of Berwick. (Available from Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd, 785 High Street Thornbury, VIC 3071)
24.	Shire of Birchip seal	1990–1990	T. Hooper (personal communication, October 12, 2009)
25.	City of Boroondara logo	2003–2003	City of Boroondara. (2003). http://boroondara.mylithio.com/council/publications/annualreport/2003_2004

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
26.	City of Box Hill coat of arms	1977–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 211
27.	City of Brighton coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 278
28.	Brimbank City Council logo	1997–2007	Brimbank City Council. (2007). Brimbank City Council Annual Report 2006-2007. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.brimbank.vic. gov.au/Files/annualreportcovers2007. pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1997, November 30). What's happening in local government in 1998 [calendar].
29.	City of Broadmeadows seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 168
30.	City of Broadmeadows seal	1993–1993	S. Mahon [Manager Administration] (Personal communication, September 14, 1993)

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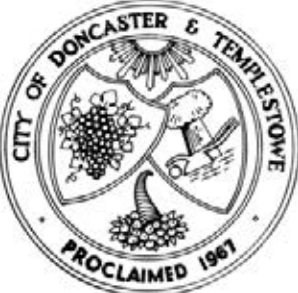
EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
31.	City of Broadmeadows logo	1994–1994	S. Mahon [Manager Administration] (Personal communication, February 15, 1994)
32.	City of Brunswick coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 159 Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/brunswick.htm
33.	Shire of Bulla seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 256
34.	Buloke Shire Council logo	2008–2008	Buloke Shire Council. (2007). Annual Report 2006/07. Retrieved August 8, 2008, from http://www.buloke.vic.gov.au/buloke/extranet.nsf/0/1BE95916176D3C4FCA2573FB00073D96/$file/Annual%20Report%202006-2007%20Final.pdf
35.	City of Camberwell seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 208

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
36.	**Campaspe Shire Council logo**	2008–2010	Campaspe Shire Council. (n.d.). Shire of Campaspe Corporate Services Division Organisational Structure Map. Retrieved August 8, 2008, from http://www.campaspe.vic.gov.au/hardcopy/1021_188438.pdf Signage, Shire of Campaspe Building, Cnr Hare and Heygarth Streets, Echuca. Visited: 1 April 2010
37.	**Cardinia Shire Council logo**	2003–2003	Cardinia Shire Council. (2003). Cardinia Shire Council Annual Report 2002-2003. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.cardinia.vic.gov.au/Files/Annual_Report_2002_2003_Our_Organisation.pdf
38.	**Casey City Council logo**	2004–2004	Casey City Council. (2004). Casey City Council 2003-2004. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.casey.vic.gov.au/annualreport/article.asp?Item=4078
39.	**City of Caufield coat of arms**	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 275
40.	**Shire of Charlton seal**	1990–1990	T. Hooper (personal communication, October 12, 2009)

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
41.	**City of Chelsea coat of arms**	1990–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 293 City of Chelsea. (1990). Council and Community Greenhouse Action: City of Chelsea. (Available from Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd, 785 High Street Thornbury, VIC 3071)
42.	**City of Coburg seal**	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 162
43.	**City of Colac seal**	1998–1998	B. R. Greaves [Town Clerk] (personal communication, December 23, 1988)
44.	**Colac-Otway Shire Council logo**	2005–2005	Colac-Otway Shire Council. (2005). Annual Report 2004-05. Retrieved September 15, 2008, from http://www.colacotway.vic.gov.au/Page/Download.asp?name=annualreport.pdf&size=2457908&link=../Files/annualreport.pdf
45.	**City of Collingwood seal**	1992–1992	City of Collingwood. (1992). Local Government Education Kit, Years 5 & 6. p. 1. (Available from Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd, 785 High Street Thornbury, VIC 3071)

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
46.	City of Collingwood seal	1992–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 152 City of Collingwood. (1992). Local Government Education Kit, Years 5 & 6. p. 1. (Available from Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd, 785 High Street Thornbury, VIC 3071)
47.	Corangamite Shire Council logo	2006–2006	Corangamite Shire Council. (2006). Annual Report 2004-05. Retrieved September 15, 2008, from http://www.corangamite.vic.gov.au/Page/Download.asp?name=2004-2005AnnualReport.pdf&size=2598688&link=../Files/2004-2005AnnualReport.pdf
48.	Shire of Cranbourne seal	1990–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 304 Shire of Cranbourne. (1990, March). Your Council Contact: The Shire of Cranbourne Newsletter, 4, 1.
49.	City of Cranbourne logo	1994–1994	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1994, May) Local Government Focus, 10:4, 2.
50.	City of Croydon coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 227

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
51.	City of Dandenong coat of arms	1971–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 297 G. C. Dickie [City Manager] (personal communication, Febrary 21, 1990)
52.	Darebin City Council logo	1996–2007	G. Edge [Manager Information] (personal communication, September 10, 2009) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1996, May) Local Government Focus, 12:4, 5.
53.	Shire of Daylesford and Glenlyon seal	1989–1989	K. J. Tori [Shire Secretary] (May 24, 1989)
54.	Shire of Deakin seal	1998–1998	G. McKenzie [Shire Secretary] (personal communication, May 24, 1989)
55.	Shire of Diamond Valley seal	1982–1988	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 172 Shire of Diamond Valley. (1988, February 10). Remittance and Cheque [stationery].

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
56.	Shire of Dimboola seal	1989–1989	M. B. Moloney [Shire Secretary] (personal communication, March 6, 1989)
57.	Shire of Donald seal	1990–1990	T. Hooper (personal communication, October 12, 2009)
58.	City of Doncaster and Templestowe seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 214
59.	City of Doncaster and Templestowe coat of arms	1984–1984	Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/donctemp.htm
60.	East Gippsland Shire Council logo	1995–2008	East Gippsland Shire Council. (2008). Annual Budget 2008-2009. Retrieved September 29, 2008, from http://www.egipps.vic.gov.au/Files/Budget2008_09.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1995, September) Local Government Focus, 11:8, 4.

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
61.	Shire of Eltham seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 174
62.	Shire of Eltham logo	1987–1987	Shire of Eltham. (1987, September 17) Purchase order. Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1987, October) Local Government Focus, 3:9, 2.
63.	City of Essendon seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 246
64.	Shire of Euroa seal	1988–1988	D. Anderson [Shire Secretary] (personal communication, April 18, 1988)
65.	City of Fitzroy coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 148

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
66.	Shire of Flinders coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 315
67.	City of Footscray seal	1988–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 244 R. J. McQullen [Director] (personal communication, May 20, 1988)
68.	City of Frankston seal	1986–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 306 A. H. Butler [Chief Executive Officer] (personal communication, August 4, 1986)
69.	Frankston City Council logo	1996–2005	I. Kelly [Senior Adviser] (personal communication, September 10, 2009) Frankston City Council. (2005). Frankston City Council Annual Report on PRIDE for Best Value Reporting 2004-2005. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.frankston.vic.gov.au/library/scripts/objectifyMedia.aspx?file=pdf/32/84.PDF&str_title=Best%20Value%20Report%202004-05.PDF
70.	City of Frankston logo	1993–1994	I. Kelly [Senior Adviser] (personal communication, September 10, 2009) C. Dale [Executive Assistant] (personal communication, January 6, 1993)

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
71.	Gannawarra Shire Council logo	1995–2007	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1995, November 30). What's happening in local government in 1996 [calendar]. Gannawarra Shire Council. (2007). Annual Report 2007. Retrieved 23 September 2009 from http://www.gannawarra.vic.gov.au/Files/GannawarraAnnualReport07.pdf
72.	City of Geelong coat of arms	1981–1981	Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/geelong.htm
73.	Glen Eira City Council logo	2004–2004	Glen Eira City Council. (2004). Glen Eira City Council Financial Statements 2003-2004. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.gleneira.vic.gov.au/Files/Annual_Report03-04_Financial_report_and_performance_statements.pdf
74.	Glenelg Shire Council logo	2003–2003	Glenelg Shire Council. (2003). Annual Report 2002-2003. Retrieved September 23, 2008, from http://www.glenelg.vic.gov.au/Files/AnnualReport2002-2003.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1995, August) Local Government Focus, 11:7, 3.
75.	Golden Plains Shire Council logo	1997–2005	Golden Plains Shire Council. (2005). Annual Report 2004-2005. Retrieved September 23, 2008, from http://www.goldenplains.vic.gov.au/webdata/resources/files/Annual_Report_for_Web_2004-2005.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1997, November 30). What's happening in local government in 1998 [calendar].

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
76.	City of Greater Bendigo logo	2005–2005	City of Greater Bendigo. (2005). Annual Report 2004-2005. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.bendigo.vic.gov.au/ Files/2087COGBARtextFINAL.pdf
77.	Greater Dandenong City Council logo	2007–2007	Greater Dandenong City Council. (2007). Annual Report 2006-2007. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.greaterdandenong.com/ Resources/SiteDocuments/sid1_ doc46854.pdf
78.	City of Greater Geelong logo	1989–1989	Geelong Regional Alliance. (2005). G21 Annual Report 2004-2005. Retrieved September 25, 2008, http://www.g21.com.au/index. php?option=com_docman&task=doc_ details&gid=74&Itemid=11
79.	Greater Shepparton City Council logo	2005–2005	Greater Shepparton City Council. (2005). Annual Report 2004-2005. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.greatershepparton.com.au/ annualreport/
80.	City of Hamilton seal	1986–1986	K. Thomas [Hamilton Promotion Officer] (personal communication, September 2, 1986)

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
81.	Shire of Hastings seal	1989–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 312 B. F. Rillson [Information Services] (personal communication, January 4, 1989)
82.	City of Hawthorn seal	1993–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 200 A. Pennell [Town Clerk] (personal communication, June 1, 1993)
83.	Shire of Healesville seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 181
84.	City of Heidelberg seal	1990–1990	City of Heidelberg. (1990, March). Heidelberg City Courier, 1.
85.	City of Heidelberg logo	1992–1992	City of Heidelberg. (1992, October). Heidelberg City Courier, 1.

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
86.	City of Heidelberg coat of arms	1973–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 170 Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/heidelbe.htm
87.	City of Hobsons Bay logo	2006–2006	City of Hobsons Bay. (2006). Annual Report 2005-2006. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.hobsons.vic.gov.au/Files/AnnualReportComplete.pdf
88.	City of Horsham seal	1993–1993	City of Horsham. (n.d.). Badge, Foyer, Horsham Rural City Council [photograph, taken March 23, 2009]
89.	Horsham Rural City Council logo	1998–1998	C. McClure [Marketing Manager] (personal communication, May 19, 2008)
90.	Hume City Council logo	1996–1998	J. De Vos [Director, Corporate Development] (personal communication, October 10, 1996) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1998, December) Local Government Focus, 14:12, 4.

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EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
91.	Hume City Council logo	1999–2002	Hume City Council. (2002). Annual Report 2001-2002. Retrieved September 25, 2008, from http://www.hume.vic.gov.au/Files/HumeAnnualReport2001-2002.pdf N. Simmons [Communications Officer] (personal communication, June 8, 1999)
92.	City of Keilor seal	1982–1989	I. Carpenter [Manager] (personal communication, January 3, 1989) Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 254
93.	City of Kew coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 204
94.	Kingston City Council logo	1996–1996	J. Mulcahy [Manager, Communications and Promotions] (personal communication, October 14, 1996)
95.	City of Knox coat of arms	1980–1992	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 222 G. Inkster [Print Production Adviser] (personal communication, September 17, 2009)
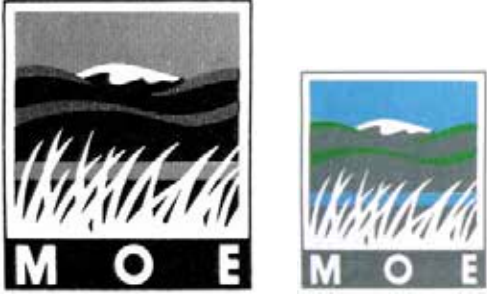
EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
96.	Knox City Council logo	–	?
97.	City of Knox logo	1992–1992	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1992, July) Local Government Focus, 8:6, 6.
98.	City of Knox logo	1992–1992	G. Inkster [Print Production Adviser] (personal communication, September 17, 2009)
99.	La Trobe City Council logo	–	?
100.	La Trobe City Council logo	1994–1994	J. Bein [Media Relations] (personal communication, September 17, 2009)

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
101.	La Trobe Shire Council logo	1994–1994	J. Bein [Media Relations] (personal communication, September 17, 2009)
102.	Shire of Lillydale coat of arms	1988–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 229 S. Watson [Public Relations Officer] (personal communication, March 7, 1988)
103.	Loddon Shire Council logo	2007–2007	Loddon Shire Council. (2007). Loddon Shire Council Annual Report 2007. Retrieved September 15, 2008, from http://www.loddon.vic.gov.au/Page/Download.asp?name=Annualreport.pdf&size=979776&link=../Files/Annualreport.pdf
104.	Macedon Ranges Shire Council logo	–	?
105.	Shire of Maffra seal	1992–1992	M. R. Collins [Secretary] (personal communication, July 7, 1992) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1993, April) Local Government Focus, 9:3, 5.
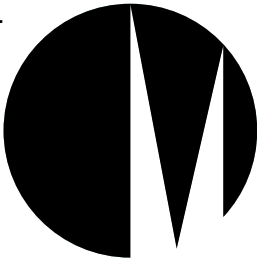
EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
106.	City of Malvern coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 196
107.	Manningham City Council logo	1996–1997	B. Seiffert [Chief Executive] (personal communication, March 13, 1996) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1997, January) Local Government Focus, 13:1, 3.
108.	Mansfield Shire Council logo	–	?
109.	Maribyrnong City Council logo	2007–2007	http://www.maribyrnong.vic.gov.au/Page/Download.asp?name=Maribyrnong_News_June_2007.pdf&size=1627792&link=../Files/Maribyrnong_News_June_2007.pdf
110.	Maroondah City Council coat of arms	1999–1999	Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/maroonda.htm

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
111.	City of Maroondah logo	1995–1995	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1995, November 30). What's happening in local government in 1996 [calendar].
112.	City of Melbourne coat of arms	1970–2008	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 32
113.	City of Melbourne logo	1993–1996	R. J. Adams [Manager, Urban Design & Architecture] (personal communication, March 11, 1993) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1996, November) Local Government Focus, 12:10, 7.
114.	City of Melbourne logo	–	?
115.	Shire of Melton seal	1982–1992	L. A. Merritt [Chief Executive] (personal communication, March 20, 1992) Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 258

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
116.	Melton Shire Council logo	1997–2007	Melton Shire Council. (2007). Annual Report 2006-2007. Retrieved June 15, 2008, from http://www.melton.vic.gov.au/Page/Download.asp?name=MeltonAnnualReport2007finalwebsmall1.pdf&size=1370811&link=../Files/MeltonAnnualReport2007finalwebsmall1.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1997, February) Local Government Focus, 13:1, 1.
117.	Shire of Mildura seal	1994–1994	C. Mansell [Manager, Marketing] (personal communication, September 10, 2009)
118.	City of Mildura seal	1986–1992	M. Symes [Communications Officer] (personal communication, September 11, 2009) D. B. Goss [Town Clerk] (personal communication, December 16, 1986)
119.	Mildura Rural City Council logo	1996–2008	Mildura Rural City Council. (n.d.). Mildura Official Visitors Guide. Retrieved August 8, 2008 from http://www.visitmildura.com.au/assets/files/pdf/OVG-A.pdf A. Curtis [Communications Officer] (personal communication, May 27, 1996)
120.	Mitchell Shire Council logo	1996–2005	Mitchell Shire Council. (1996) Business card for D. Treloar [Chief Executive Officer]. Mitchell Shire Council. (2005). Mitchell Shire Council Annual Report 2004-05. Retrieved September 15, 2008, from http://www.mitchellshire.vic.gov.au/Page/Download.asp?name=AnnualReport2004-05.pdf&size=4565889&link=../Files/AnnualReport2004-05.pdf

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
121.	City of Moe seal	1992–1992	J. W. Mattews [Chief Executive] (personal communication, June 15, 1992)
122.	City of Moe logo	1992–1992	J. W. Mattews [Chief Executive] (personal communication, June 15, 1992)
123.	Moira Shire Council logo	2007–2007	Moira Shire Council. (2007, February). Moira Shire Messenger, 1. Retrieved August 28, 2008, from http://www.moira.vic.gov.au/OpenSol/OSHomepage.nsf/WEBView/FAFB21CB5E028965CA257313001A23A3/$FILE/february+newsletter.pdf
124.	Monash City Council logo	2007–2007	Monash City Council. (2007). Golden Plate Winners 2007. Retrieved August 28, 2008, from http://www.monash.vic.gov.au/services/pdftext/GoldenPlateWinners2007.pdf
125.	Moonee Valley City Council logo	2006–2006	

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
126.	City of Moorabbin seal	1982–1991	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 284 Bennett, N. P. (1991, 29 July). Clear Air Poster Competition Participation Award [certificate].
127.	City of Moorabbin logo	1991–1991	Bennett, N. P. (1991, 29 July). Clear Air Poster Competition Participation Award [certificate].
128.	Moorabool Shire Council logo	2002–2002	Moorabool Shire Council. (2002). Annual Report 2002. Retrieved August 28, 2008, from http://www.moorabool.vic.gov.au/CA256C4E0009460F/Lookup/AnnualReport20012002/$file/MSCAnnualReport20012002.pdf
129.	City of Mordialloc seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 290
130.	City of Mordialloc logo	1988–1988	D. H. Corben [Town Clerk] (personal communication, March 8, 1988)

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EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
131.	Moreland City Council logo	1998–2000	Moreland City Council. (2000). Annual Report 2000. Retrieved August 28, 2008, from http://www.moreland.vic.gov.au/mccwr/publications/reports/moreland-annual-report-2000.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1998, April) Local Government Focus, 14:4, 5.
132.	Shire of Mornington seal	1982–1985	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 309 D. G. Collings [Chief Executive Officer] (personal communication, November 4, 1985)
133.	Mornington Peninsula Shire Council logo	1997–2007	Mornington Peninsula Shire Council. (2007). Mornington Peninsula Annual Report 2006-2007. Retrieved June 3, 2008, from http://www.mornpen.vic.gov.au/Page/Download.asp?name=AnnualReport200607.PDF&size=3957139&link=../Files/AnnualReport200607.PDF. Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1997, November 30). What's happening in local government in 1998 [calendar].
134.	Shire of Morwell seal	1988–1988	R. H. Waters [Chief Executive Officer] (personal communication, June 17, 1988) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1988, August) Local Government Focus, 4:7, 4.
135.	Mount Alexander Shire Council logo	2007–1997	Mount Alexander Shire Council. (1997). Corporate Plan 1998-2003. p. 1. Mount Alexander Shire Council. (2007). Map 2020 Community Plan. Retrieved September 15, 2008, from http://www.mountalexander.vic.gov.au/Files/MAP2020CommunityPlan.pdf

EMBLEM	DEVICE	DATE OF USE	SOURCE REFERENCE
136.	Moyne Shire Council logo	2005–2005	Moyne Shire Council. (2005). Moyne Shire Annual Report 2004/05. Retrieved August 8, 2008, http://www.moyne.vic.gov.au/Files/AnnualReport_2004_2005_Part_A1.pdf
137.	Murrindindi Shire Council logo	2007–2007	Murrindindi Shire Council. (2007). Annual Report 2006-07. Retrieved August 8, 2008, from http://www.murrindindi.vic.gov.au/Files/Annual_Report_06-07_Part1_Overview.pdf Regional Industry Link. (2010). Homepage. Retrieved September 20, 2010, from http://www.regionalindustrylink.com.au/uploads/671139312363.jpg
138.	Shire of Narracan logo	1988–1988	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1988, February) Local Government Focus, 4:1, 3.
139.	Nillumbik Shire Council logo	1996–2006	Nillumbik Shire Council. (2006). Nillimbuk Annual Report 2005-2006. Retrieved June 15, 2008, from http://www.nillumbik.vic.gov.au/Page/Download.asp?name=2005-2006_AnnualReport_section1.pdf&size=3894324&link=../Files/2005-2006_AnnualReport_section1.pdf. Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1996, April) Local Government Focus, 12:3, 5.
140.	City of Northcote seal	1982–1993	G. Edge [Manager Information] (personal communication, September 10, 2009) Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 157

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141.	Northern Grampians Shire Council logo	2007–2007	Tourism Victoria. (2007). Northern Grampians Official Visitor Brochure. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.ararat.vic.gov.au/Files/ NorthernGrampiansOVG.pdf
142.	City of Nunawading coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 218
143.	City of Nunawading logo	1991–1991	City of Nunawading. (1991, December). City of Nunawading News, 10:1, 1.
144.	City of Oakleigh seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 288
145.	Shire of Pakenham coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 302

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146.	City of Port Melbourne seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 236
147.	City of Port Phillip logo	2007–2007	City of Port Phillip. (2007). Annual Report 2006/2007. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.portphillip.vic. gov.au/attachments/o26197.pdf
148.	City of Portland coat of arms	1998–1998	G. K. Trevaskis [Chief Executive] (personal communication, January 27, 1998)
149.	City of Prahran coat of arms	1982–1993	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 188 M. Wehl [Marketing Projects Officer] (personal communication, February 16, 1993)
150.	City of Preston seal	1982–1990	G. Edge [Manager Information] (personal communication, September 10, 2009)

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151.	City of Preston seal	1982–1990	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 164
152.	City of Preston logo	1992–1992	G. Edge [Manager Information] (personal communication, September 10, 2009)
153.	Borough of Queenscliff seal	2005–2005	Geelong Regional Alliance. (2005). G21 Annual Report 2004-2005. Retrieved September 25, 2008, http://www.g21.com.au/index. php?option=com_docman&task=doc_ details&gid=74&Itemid=11
154.	City of Richmond seal	1982–1992	City of Richmond. (1992, September). City of Richmond Community Newsletter. p. 1. Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 184
155.	City of Ringwood coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 224

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156.	Shire of Rodney seal	1986–1986	J. L. Purdey [Shire Secretary] (personal communication, October 15, 1986) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1988, February) Local Government Focus, 4:1, 4.
157.	Shire of Rosedale seal	1993–1993	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1993, April) Local Government Focus, 9:3, 5.
158.	City of Sale coat of arms	1985–1985	Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/sale.htm
159.	City of Sale logo	1993–1993	Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1993, April) Local Government Focus, 9:3, 5.
160.	City of Sandringham seal	1982–1988	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 281 City of Sandringham. (1990, June) The City of Sandringham Bulletin, 3, 1.

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161.	Shire of Sherbrooke seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 232
162.	Shire of Sherbrooke logo	1987–1986	M. Elg [Senior Executive Officer] (personal communication, October 15, 1986) Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1987, June) Local Government Focus, 3:5, 7.
163.	City of South Barwon logo	2009–2009	City of South Barwon. (n.d.). logo. Retrieved November 27, 2009, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:City-of-South-Barwon.jpg
164.	South Gippsland Shire Council logo	2007–2007	South Gippsland Shire Council. (2007). 2006-07 Annual Report. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.southgippsland.vic.gov.au/Files/AnnualReport2006-07.pdf
165.	City of South Melbourne coat of arms	1967–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 264 Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/southmel.htm

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166.	Southern Grampians Shire Council logo	1996–2004	Tourism Victoria. (2004). Southern Grampians Official Visitors Guide. Retrieved August 7, 2008, http://www.sthgrampians.vic.gov.au/files/SouthernGrampiansOfficialVisitorsGuide.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1996, February) Local Government Focus, 12:1, 5.
167.	City of Springvale coat of arms	1976–1986	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 295 Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1986, December) Local Government Focus, 2:11, 4.
168.	City of St Kilda coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 268
169.	City of Stonnington logo	1996?–2007	City of Stonnington. (2007). Annual Report 2006/07. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.stonnington.vic.gov.au/resources/documents/Adopted_Annual_Report_2006-07.pdf
170.	Strathbogie Shire Council logo	1995–?	Strathbogie Shire Council. (n.d.). Shire of Strathbogie Business Directory. Retrieved August 7, 2008 from http://www.strathbogie.vic.gov.au/Files/business_directory_survey_.pdf Shire of Strathbogie. (1995, November). Shire of Strathbogie Shire Bulletin, 1st Anniversary Edition, 1.

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171.	City of Sunshine seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 252
172.	Surf Coast Shire Council logo	1995–2005	Surf Coast Shire. (2005). 2004/2005 Annual Report. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.surfcoast. vic.gov.au/Governance/Documents/ Annual_Report_0506_Part_A.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1995, August) Local Government Focus, 11:7, 4.
173.	Shire of Swan Hill seal	1987–1987	N. L. Noelker [Shire Secretary] (personal communication, March 16, 1987)
174.	Swan Hill Rural City Council logo	2010–2010	Swan Hill Rural City Council. (2007). 2006/2007 Annual Report. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www. swanhill.vic.gov.au/council/documents/ images/shrccANUAL4Mb.pdf
175.	Shire of Tambo seal	1989–1994	R. Tavener [Chief Executive] (personal communication, April 15, 1994) W. J. Hobson [Chief Executive] (personal communication, April 26, 1989)

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176.	Towong Shire Council logo	2008–2008	Towong Shire Council. (n.d.). Lakeside Loop Touring Card. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.towong.vic.gov.au/Files/Lakeside_Loop_Touring_Card.pdf
177.	Shire of Walpeup seal	1994–1994	C. Mansell [Manager, Marketing] (personal communication, September 10, 2009)
178.	Rural City of Wangaratta logo	1996–1996	Rural City of Wangaratta. (1996). Corporate Plan, 1.
179.	City of Warrnambool seal	1988–1988	V. G. Robson [Town Clerk] (personal communication, April 26, 1988)
180.	Warrnambool City Council logo	2003–2003	Warrnambool City Council. (2003). Annual Report 2002-2003. Retrieved August 7, 2008 from http://www.warrnambool.vic.gov.au/Files/Annual_Report_2002-2003.pdf

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181.	City of Waverley coat of arms	1979–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 220 Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/waverley.htm
182.	City of Waverley logo	1986–1986	Cruise, W. (1986). City of Waverley Corporate Design Manual. Melbourne: City of Waverley. p. 1.
183.	Wellington Shire Council logo	2008–2008	Wellington Shire Council. (2008). Invest in Wellington. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.wellington.vic.gov.au/Files/Invest_in_Wellington.pdf
184.	Shire of Werribee seal	1982–1988	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 260 T. Avens [Purchasing Officer] (personal communication, September 8, 1988)
185.	City of Werribee seal	1989–1989	City of Werribee. (1989, December). Civic Contact: The City of Werribee community newsletter, 1.

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186.	Whitehorse City Council logo	1994–2007	Whitehorse City Council. (2007). Annual Report. Retrieved June 15, 2008 from http://www.whitehorse. vic.gov.au/Page/Download. asp?name=AnnualReport. pdf&size=4675858&link=../Files/ AnnualReport.pdf City of Whitehorse. (1994). City of Whitehorse Annual Report, 1.
187.	City of Whittlesea seal	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 178
188.	Whittlesea City Council logo	2008–2008	Whittlesea City Council. (2008). Sustainable Living Awards 2008 Entry Form. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.whittlesea.vic.gov.au/ files/2110_Homes%20Entry%20Form. pdf BW Generated
189.	City of Whittlesea coat of arms	1993–1993	Dennis Towner. (n.d.). Heraldry of the World. Retrieved January 29, 2010 from http://www.ngw.nl/int/aus/whittles.htm
190.	City of Williamstown seal	1987–1987	R. A. McClean [Chief Executive Officer] (personal communication, April 2, 1987)

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191.	City of Williamstown coat of arms	1982–1982	Harvey, A. (1982). The Melbourne Book (First ed.). Melbourne: Hutchinson Group. p. 240
192.	Shire of Wimmera seal	–?	Shire of Wimmera. (n.d.). Badge, Foyer, Horsham Rural City Council Offices [photograph taken March 23, 2009].
193.	Rural City of Wodonga seal	1994–1994	R. I. O'Toole [Chief Executive Officer] (personal communication, April 15, 1994)
194.	Wodonga Rural City Council logo	–	
195.	Shire of Wycheproof seal	1990–1990	T. Hooper (personal communication, October 12, 2009)

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196.	Wyndham City Council logo	1998–2004	Wyndham City Council. (2004) Wyndham News Summer, 39: Summer, 1. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.wyndham.vic.gov.au/freestyler/gui/files/WyndhamNews%2339.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1998, September) Local Government Focus, 14:9, 5.
197.	City of Yarra logo	2001–2001	City of Yarra. (2001). Annual Report 2000-2001. Retrieved August 28, 2008, from http://www.yarracity.vic.gov.au/publications/annual%20report/pdf/p1sec1.pdf
198.	Yarra Ranges Shire Council logo	1998–2004	Yarra Ranges Shire Council. (2004). Shire of Yarra Ranges Annual Report 2003-2004. Retrieved August 7, 2008, from http://www.yarraranges.vic.gov.au/Files/Annual_Report_2003_04_final.pdf Eryl Morgan Publications Pty Ltd. (1998, December) Local Government Focus, 14:11, 5.