Hegemony: Explorations into Consensus, Coercion and Culture

A workshop at the University of Wollongong
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Panel 2
Gender/Masculinity

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‘And still my eyes cannot see’:
Hegemonic Masculinity in Space, Bodies and Motion

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‘And still my eyes cannot see’:
Hegemony in Space, Bodies and Motion

Capitalist hegemony in large part concerns the capability of the ruling class to present their specific class interests as the interests of society over all. In part we consent to their domination of us because, after all, we could be them and they could be us. Believing this, that we are substantially alike; that they have many important things in common with us; that they think and feel just like us; that we share a common world; all this is a part of their power over us. And so we believe this, because it’s easier too, because we believe in common decency, because we are decent people. In the academy that delights in difference, sometimes it seems pre-eminently, we do not find, or seek it, here.

And yet of all the social relations we inhabit, class is one of the most visible. It takes an act of the will not to see class relations as physically manifest, as quite concrete and observable, for they are in fact unmissable. The very rich surround themselves with monuments to their wealth and with lots of exterior and interior space, through which they move, one of them remarked, ‘as if in a bubble’, unperturbed by the travails of ordinary life. Not only are their homes huge, but they have four or five and they move from one globally dispersed property in private aeroplanes, helicopters, boats, limousines.

This visibility is scarcely surprising for a member of the ruling class, comprising between 2–5% of the population, is in Marx’s phrases ‘the personification of capital’ (1976: 254), ‘capital as a person’ (1976: 739), or ‘capital endowed . . . with consciousness and a will’ (1976: 989). In order for the market to function at all, important decisions must be made by individuals about how, where, and in what to invest; about what constitutes a reasonable rate of return; and about how to deal with those people, organisations, or governments who might impede the unceasing movement of profit-making. In making these choices these people, while in some ways being mere cyphers of the market in that the market works through them, are not detached from it, for the principal determination of the class in which they live are the vast productive resources which they own, individually and collectively.

These men are indeed the embodiment of capital, And so, perhaps, it may be possible to see how this system operates ‘inside’ those it benefits. Not surprisingly, ‘personifying capital’ effects and is manifest in and through their actual living (and even their dead) bodies. The ordering of space, then, is a consequential for social organization and vice-versa. How people constitute their lives partly depends on where and in what they live. This, ‘in turn, depends both on the resources they personally command’ and on the way they use, occupy and move through space to create, maintain and display class and

Location and movement are important to the rich, as portraitist Judy Cassab (1995: 60) shows in this incident.

After I finished his portrait, [Warwick Fairfax] took me and the children to show us the dachshund puppy he wants to give us. In his car Johnny asked, ‘Gee, what sort of car is this? I wish we would have a car like you instead of the old Austin.’

We turned into Fairfax Road. ‘Gee,’ Johnny said, ‘is that road named after you?’

And when we got there, ‘Gee, is that a hotel?’

‘No, this is my house.’

‘How many families live here?’ asked my son.

‘Only us’, Warwick answered, but he was quite red by then. There were three cars in the garage.

‘Whose cars are these?’

‘Mine’

In Sydney the very wealthy pay at least two or three times the lifetime earnings of a working-class family to own a home around the glistening harbour and on the leafy ridges of its North Shore, most choosing to live some of the year within a rectangle of about 50 square kilometres centred roughly on Sydney Harbour Bridge. These families are able to choose their homes based on ‘proximity to work; kin, friends and leisure interests; trees and gardens; quiet, pollution-free surroundings; and the choice of schools available for their children’, as well as, of course, on resale value and return on investment. Parents ‘can decide which of a range of private schools they will employ’ for they, too, are concentrated in these same suburbs (Connell et al, 1982: 70, 71).

Sometimes the school, itself, will move closer to the rich. Edgecliff Preparatory School, favoured by the Fairfax family amongst others, was relocated ‘stone by stone’ close to Ascham (named after the tutor of Queen Elizabeth I), which along with Kambala, was the girls’ school in wealthy Woollahra. It is not far from Scots College which is a five minute stroll up Bellevue Hill from Cranbrook. All are only a few kilometres from the exclusive Royal Sydney Golf Club (Fairfax, 1991: 12; Cottle, 1998: 26, 28).

Around the world, such schools are extremely ‘handsome and spacious and very clean’. Gordonstoun, for instance, stands in 300 acres (Connell et al, 1981: 106; James, 1992: 44) as does The King’s School, which is situated close to the geographic centre of Sydney. ‘We run three and a half boys to the acre’, the Headmaster explained, but it is actually 123 acres to the boy, if the school’s Cootamundra farm is included in the acreage count. At the school itself, sports in situ include ornithology and fishing and the thousand boys enjoy
11 cricket fields, 10 rugby fields, 10 tennis courts, 5 basketball courts, 4 soccer fields, an eight-lane, 50 metre pool and a variety of cross-country courses (The King's School, 1999a; 1999c; 1999g: 20).

The rich are also introduced young to the pleasures of luxury travel. Iven Mackay, the Headmaster of Cranbrook in 1933, was ‘astonished’ at the number of boys, most of whom lived close by, who were chauffeured to school. Conrad Black’s parents were often still in bed when he was driven to school a few miles away by Tommy, the chauffeur, and James Fairfax was driven by Hookey in the family Rolls, ‘until we objected and were allowed to walk the short distance’ (Siklos, 1995: 26; Fairfax, 1991: 2). James Packer was helicoptered to primary school in the Southern Highlands of New South Wales from his home in Bellevue Hill (personal communication 18 December 1999).

When they are very young the children of the rich become well-used to extensive travelling, arrivals and departures. Interestingly, Caroline Kennedy’s first words were ‘goodbye’, ‘New Hampshire’, ‘Wisconsin’ and ‘West Virginia’ (Andersen 1996, 207). Thus, by the time they go to secondary school, the boys are well-traveled even though they experience on arriving little that is different to their point of departure. Long before the era of mass travel, Iven Mackay had to send some of his Cranbrook boys home to ‘remove from their attaché cases a show of hotel stickers—Raffles, Shepherds, Galle Face, Savoy, Waldorf-Astoria, Imperial’ (Chapman in Cottle, 1998: 27). Adam Hochschild was ‘always whisked from one familiar place to another behind the rolled-up windows of a taxi or a limousine’. Everywhere on his extensive travels he was ‘met by smiling men who smoothed the way’. Even as an adult, he wrote, ‘I still half expect a smiling man to be there anytime I arrive in a new country’. His family always stayed at the very best hotels at which displays of boxing, dancing and racing were put on to entertain him (Hochschild, 1987: 13, 63, 71, 72).

Once at university, such children continue these perambulations during vacations, sometimes accompanied by servants. While at Oxford University, Rupert Murdoch went with a friend on a motoring holiday in France, in a car his parents had given him. As a matter of course he always chose the restaurant to eat in and the place to stay and, when his fellow traveler demurred, Murdoch told him that since he owned the car, he would make the decisions (Belfield, Hird and Kelly, 1991: 15–16). Similarly, ‘the great experience’ of James Fairfax’s (1991: 50) years at Oxford was ‘discovering northern Italy . . . Germany, Greece, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon’ although ‘Paris was really home, and our summer holidays spent in the south of France continued sporadically for a number of years’.

The children of the very rich quickly become habituated to the amount of space available to them, occupying very large amounts of this often, to others, very short commodity from a very early age. Prince Edward’s nursery consisted of a day room, two bedrooms, a bathroom and kitchen and on a good day at
Sandringham eleven year old Prince Charles alone killed 23 pheasants on the 20,000 acre estate. Balmoral Castle is both the Queen’s and Prince Charles’s favourite residence, tranquil in the midst of about 50,000 acres of private grounds with its own loch suitable for boating. When Prince Edward was at elementary school, the pupils in his class were asked to draw their homes. Not surprisingly, Edward drew a palace (Varney and Marquis, 1989: 83; James, 1992: 17-18, 20, 32). Most of the boys grow up in more than one house simultaneously, with a town house, a country house and a holiday house being the basic properties.

While at university, the young men enjoy five star accommodation both inside and outside the University colleges. Rupert Murdoch, while at Oxford, had one of the best rooms in his college—the De Quincey room. While at Cambridge, Prince Edward was given a balconied room in the modern Chapel Court, known as ‘Millionaire’s Row’, and the exclusive use of a floor that would normally have accommodated four students. Conrad Back, ‘not much of a joiner’, took a flat in the Savoy Hotel (Shawcross, 1992: 67; James, 1992: 66–67; Siklos, 1995: 32) to secure adequate space.

Location is tied to permanence and the sense of tradition alluded to in the previous chapter and although Keith Murdoch named his ninety acre property, about thirty miles south of Toorak, Cruden after the Scottish village of his grandparents, the presence of these men is not just nominally global. When Rupert Murdoch bought The Times he called his wife Anna from London—at home, as she thought, in Australia.

...we had sent our daughter Elisabeth to Geelong Grammar School for a term. I had fixed up the house [at Cavan], putting in a new kitchen, and I remember being there, trying to get the house together and Rupert called to say he had bought the London Times. And I burst into tears, because I knew I was on the wrong side of the world.

She asked him where they would spend most of their life from now on. He thought about it and said, ‘More than half in the northern hemisphere.’ So I thought: Well! that narrows it a little bit’ (Shawcross, 1992: 220).

The properties the rich occupy, then, are substantial and are located in several exclusive enclaves between which their movement is restricted, private and multi-modal. Within the relatively small and very exclusive clusters in which they live, their properties are huge, the houses on them are large and the rooms within them are spacious and many. ‘Conrad needs, I think, to have “big” around him,’ observed a friend of Conrad Black’s (Siklos, 1995: 214). He certainly did not know what ‘small’ was like. As his editor, Max Hastings recounts:

Conrad would enquire with, I think, sincere curiosity: ‘And how is life, Max, at Rose Cottage?’ He found it bizarre that a relatively important figure in his life should be domiciled in, well, former peasant accommodation.
When time came at last for us to part, he expressed his regret that he had never seen inside Rose Cottage. ‘But what would I have done with you there, Conrad? There’s no library and no ballroom . . .’ (Hastings 2002, 256).

Despite ‘having a larger garden than most of our friends, with access to an equally big one adjoining it,’ James Fairfax didn’t think that ‘had much effect on us’ (Fairfax, 1991: 5). Not so Patrick White:

‘Til well into my life, houses, places, landscape meant more to me than people. I was more a cat than a dog . . . As a child at Mount Wilson and Rushcutters Bay, relationships with even cherished friends were inclined to come apart when I was faced with sharing surroundings... (White, 1981: 16).

A sense of being crowded is largely absent from the experience of the rich because the necessity of sharing space is uncommon. Within their homes, space is carefully defined and allocated. As one of his parents’ servants explained to Ronald Fraser, the Manor House in which she worked and in which he grew up was ‘a very closed world, a world to itself’, sharply divided in two, ‘two worlds living under one roof’ (Fraser, 1984: 13–14).

…the old at the rear, a place of small, pleasant rooms with bulging beams and walls thick enough to withstand a siege where servants, nanny and children lived; and the superimposed and imposing new Manor at the front... belonged to the parents. The large Victorian dining and drawing rooms, separated by a dark hall, the smoking room and the sweeping stairs which led to the main bedroom, guest-rooms and the tower were semi-alien territory where I ventured with caution (Fraser, 1984: 4–5).

Those who transgressed these spatial boundaries were soon put back in their place. The idea that personal concepts of space were, in fact, rigid started early as Sir James Hardy’s biographer records in the following incident: [My father] came into the kitchen one day while we were eating and started talking to me about something or other. God knows what it was, but when he left I stood my ground. ‘Why did he have to come in here’ I asked the maid with considerable consternation. ‘This is not his room, it’s our room. He should stay in the grown-up’s room.’ I knew my place in the home so he should know his place (Mundle, 1993: 14).

The servants, of course, were even more prohibited in their movements. Their space was even more rigidly defined:

…she wasn’t allowed to wander round the house or go into the front garden; she wasn’t to speak to the lady of the house unless spoken to, or to little Master Colin; she mustn’t under any circumstances go into the nursery (Fraser, 1984: 146).

The housekeeper at Highgrove, Wendy Berry (1995: 12), was told that only she, the valet and the dresser would have access to the Prince and Princess of
Wales’ bedrooms. The butlers were ordered not to enter the royal rooms, which were the ‘jealously guarded’ domain of the valet.

Sometimes, however, such restrictions were relaxed but this, in itself, was considered to be a special dispensation.

As soon as Charles left Diana returned to Highgrove with William and Harry and their new nanny, Jessie Webb. Again she threw a large barbecue in the royal part of the garden near the Chamomile Walk, for any staff who were around. She loved to see how we enjoyed being allowed into the restricted area. ‘It’s just like school, isn’t it?’ she laughed. ‘Being allowed into the teachers’ area as a special treat’ (Berry, 1995: 129).

A Man’s Castles Are His Homes
The Aga Khan’s grey stone 17th century chateau, an hour’s drive from Paris, sits in a 200 acre enclave.

Through a window into the garden I could see a black marble pool, so designed that the perfectly still surface remains unbroken as a film of water laps soundlessly and incessantly over its edges (Coleridge, 1994: 384–385).

Like other rich men, the Aga Khan has several homes. It is ‘quite common’ for American magnates to own ‘a penthouse in New York, a weekend home in the country, and another house in Florida, Mexico, Hawaii or the Caribbean’. Some additionally retain ‘lavish, fully-staffed residences’ in London or Paris (Davis, 1982: 130).

Although only thirty miles from the Melbourne suburb of Toorak, Cruden, the home in which young Rupert Murdoch spent some of his childhood, had been remade into a spacious American colonial style country home with Georgian porticoes and big open fireplaces. Outside were sunken gardens, stables with English fittings, a tennis court, rockeries and a drive bordered by eucalypts “Home” to the adult Rupert and his wife Anna ranged from a villa in Beverly Hills, U.S.A.; a ski lodge in the mountains of Aspen, Colorado; a flat in London; an apartment in New York; another in Sydney’s Elizabeth Bay; and a farm at Yass near Canberra (Shawcross, 1992: 51; Tuccille, 1989: 259; Chancellor, 1996b: 1).

The huge Beverly Hills residence was sold to them from the estate of Museum of Contemporary Art founder Jules Stein, along with its eighteenth century furniture, some of which Stein had bought from William Randolph Hearst’s famed estate at San Simeon. There Anna designed an English garden as her mother-in-law Dame Elisabeth had done at Cruden. A large helicopter lowered fully grown trees into position to give it, instantaneously, that long-established look). Their New York apartment also contained eighteenth century English furniture—of which some had belonged to Sir Keith—alongside paintings by twentieth century Australian artists, especially by Fred Williams and including a portrait of Dame Elisabeth by Judy Cassab (Shawcross, 1992: 330–331; 539; Tuccille, 1989: 259).
Worth about $5 million in 1996, the Murdoch’s five-bedroom Aspen retreat in Colorado’s Rocky Mountains, was set on one hectare inside Starwood’s gated community. It had been bought in 1983 for $3 million from Texas oil tycoon Tom Thompson and substantially rebuilt in 1987 with heavy timber trusses and rock features. With its cathedral ceiling, the main suite, located above the jacuzzi, is entered over a sculptured masonry bridge which arcs over the 50ft pool (Chancellor, 1996b: 1).

The Murdochs’ London home was an exquisite duplex overlooking St James Park, with a marble staircase and brilliant Australian paintings. Rupert had bought his 6,000 acre Australian home Cavan in 1966 with the help of John McEwen, then Deputy Prime Minister. In 1995, he extended his holdings in Australia’s ‘Golden Triangle’ of prime agricultural land by acquiring the extensive property, Bloomfield, from his neighbour the mother of the now deceased Princess of Wales, Frances Shand Kydd (Cornell, 2003: 28; Fish, 1996: 2; Shawcross, 1992: 2; Belfield, Hird and Kelly, 1991: 19;).

Murdoch’s Sydney apartment is in Elizabeth Bay’s Kincoppal, an apartment building with discrete 24-hour security, whose occupants include Conde Nast’s Bernie Lesser, and at one time, pop superstar David Bowie. It is close to his son Lachlan’s $6.75 million apartment and Warren Anderson’s $16.5m Boomerang, and not far from Kerry Packer’s Elizabeth Bay apartment in the Toft Monks building, with its superior views and its own marina. Handy also is the elegant art deco Del Rio, formerly owned by Lady Primrose Potter, one of whose occupants is John Alexander, the editor-in-chief of the Sydney Morning Herald (Alderson and Blok, 1996: 12; Mychasuk, 1996: 23).

After his marriage to model Sarah O’Hare, Lachlan Murdoch purchased a new home in Point Piper on the other side of the Royal Sydney Golf Course, in addition to his flat in Elizabeth Bay, worth $6.7m. He paid $12 million for the house which has five levels of marble floors, sandstone balconies with cushioned benches to take in the expansive city views, a glass atrium-style lounge with a fireplace, servant’s quarters, a glass lift, a ‘New York style’ bathroom, garden jacuzzi and a boat shed. Murdoch bought the property from mining magnate Robert Friedland who made his fortune in Canadian nickel. Friedland paid $9 million for it in 1996, plus another million to keep the interior design work of Frank Grill, who had refurbished Lady Mary Fairfax’s New York apartment (Mychasuk, 1996: 23; Brown and Byrnes, 1999: 24).

At Point Piper, Lachlan Murdoch is a neighbour of Frank Lowy, Australia’s second or third richest man, banker Malcolm Turnbull, and of Kerry Packer’s friend Ben Tilley. Tilley sold his home for $12 million to buy the house next store, Craig-y-Moor, from Rene Rivkin for $16 million, not long after the house was raided by federal investigators scrutinizing Rivkin for insider trading. ‘An urbane confidante’ to Kerry Packer, Larry Adler and Robert Holmes a Court,
Rivkin had bought the house from union smasher Chris Corrigan of Patrick Corp for $10.7 million in 2001 (Chessell, 2004: 6; Tyndall and Harley, 2004: 3; May, 2002:6).

Rivkin’s son, Jordan, meanwhile had bought into Bellevue Hill, opposite the Royal Sydney Golf Course, not far from Kerry Packer’s main home and the $11.25 million home of his daughter, Gretel. Valued at between $30 and $40 million Packer’s Bellevue estate, Cairnton, comprises five properties bought by Frank Packer and four purchased by his son, Kerry. It contains three mansions, one of which was his son James Packer’s until he purchased his $2.7m apartment in nearby Bondi, which he shared with his wife, model Jodhi Meares. With the departure of Meares and the arrival of model and singer Erica Baxter, the apartment was refashioned by Barbara Turnbull, the mother of one of his good mates and a friend of Maggie Tabberer. The apartment in Campbell Parade was close to a house Packer ‘settled’ to his ex-fiancée model and actress, Kate Fischer and sold in 2000 for $2.8 million. In nearby Bronte, Kerry Packer had bought a house for Jodhi’s mother which was secured as part of the property settlement at the end of her short marriage to James and sold for $3.4 million in 2003 (Blok, 2004: 36; Chancellor, 2004: 5; 2003a: 2; 2003b:80; Lawson, 2004: 3; Sharp, 2003: 56; Martin, 2003b; Reines, 1999: 206; 2003: 134).

In addition to Cairnton, the Bellevue estate, and an apartment in Elizabeth Bay, Kerry Packer also has a holiday home at Palm Beach; a villa in the Hyatt Regency Resort in Coolum, Queensland; a suite for skiing holidays permanently available at the Perisher Valley Hotel, which he owns; and an estate in England (Koch, 1999: 62). Ellerstone, visited by Prince Harry in 2003, is one of five adjoining properties that constitute Packer’s 250,000 hectare holding near Scone in the Hunter Valley north of Sydney. ‘Entire mountains’ were razed for the polo fields, heated ovals, stables and ‘dozens’ of houses for staff and visiting polo players which hosted much of the U.S. polo team when it came to Sydney for the 2000 Olympics. Greg Norman designed an 18 hole ‘brutally tough and very private’ golf course, one of the best three or four in Australia at a cost of $6 million. According to D.D. McNicoll, Kerry Packer has never played on the course, and James is apparently the only regular player. The property also has tennis courts and a clay pigeon shooting range. The house, equipped with a cinema with leather couches, is set in hectares of landscaped gardens which include life-sized bronze statues of animals. At nearby Tomalla, a ruby mine went into operation in 2003, the only one in Australia (McNicoll, 2003, 10; Ramsey, 2003: 68; Robins, 2003; Koch, 1999: 62; Reines, 1999: 206).

As the fifth largest landowner in Australia, Packer owns an estimated 5 million hectares with more than 240,000 head of cattle. Newcastle Waters in the Northern Territory, which covers 10,300 square kilometres and runs 45,000 cattle, is far vaster than Packer’s English estate, Fyning Hill with its 176
hectares of gardens and polo fields. The eight bedroom mansion with five reception rooms was on sale for $27.4m almost equivalent to the $28m that Packer lost in three weeks gambling at the Mayfair Club (Koch, 1999: 62; Robins, 2003).

Valentino Garavani has five homes. His favourite, the rose brick Louis XIII chateau near Paris, sits in 120 acres. Built around 1600, it was the home of the Finance Minister of Louis XIII, and subsequently of a mistress of Louis XIV. Her bedroom had a chapel with mirrored walls and a thirty foot high ceiling. It was converted into a bathroom. In addition, Valentino has a villa in Rome, a town house in London, a chalet in Gstaad, Switzerland, and an apartment in Manhattan (Vanity Fair 2004, 99).

The British Royal family have four main homes: two official residences at Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, and two estates, Sandringham House in Norfolk and Balmoral Castle in Scotland. Life at the 50,000 acre Balmoral and Sandringham estates centres around riding, shooting and fishing. The Royal Family retire to Sandringham during January, visiting the royal studs where the Queen’s racehorses, event horses, carriage horses, polo and other ponies are bred along with show dogs, labradors, corgis and pigeons. ‘The whole atmosphere is one of relaxation’ (Leete-Hodge, 1981: 138) and the family and friends frequently eat a meal in the private room of a pub in one of the six villages which form part of the 20,000 acre estate (Dimbleby, 1994: 30, 46, 47, 48; Varney and Marquis, 1989: 83; James, 1992: 20).

When Charles married Diana they were uniting some of the largest pieces of real-estate in Europe. Prince Charles had inherited the Duchy of Cornwall, measuring over 128,000 acres, and Althorp in Northamptonshire, the ancestral home of Diana’s father, the eighth Earl of Spencer, is surrounded by a 15,000 acre estate. However, the duke owning the most land is thought to be the Duke of Westminster, Gerald Cavendish Grosvenor, whose favourite regiment trains on his vast estates, some of which are farmed by generations of tenant farmers. He cheerfully admits that the huge amount of property he owns in London resembles the Monopoly board with him owning the best squares, including Mayfair, Park Lane and Oxford St. His sister, Jane, married another wealthy nobleman, the Duke of Roxburghe, whose seat, Floors Castle, is set in 80,000 acres. Next to the Duke of Westminster, the largest ducal landowner is the Duke of Buccleuch. He has more than a quarter of a million acres of England and Scotland, together with a number of magnificent homes and one of the finest collections of furniture and paintings in the world (Leete-Hodge, 1981: 62; Davis, 1982: 64, 85, 86, 87–88; Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1999).

The colonials, of course, continued this tradition. The eldest son of William John Turner Clarke, William John Clarke, became the first Australian baronet in 1882, the year in which he began building Rupertswood, reputed by some to be
Australia's most impressive home. His town residence, Cliveden in Melbourne, had a 100-by-50-foot ballroom, numerous reception areas, twenty-eight bedrooms, and seventeen rooms for servants (Davis, 1982: 224).

In the White's Belltrees, one of the most famous country houses in Australia: Light filtered into the gloomier rooms through art-nouveau windows of rambling flowers. Even on days of blazing summer sun, the hall that runs a hundred feet from front door to kitchens lay in a cream and silver twilight. An opulent staircase with cedar columns, screens, urns and balconies, built like the companionway of an ocean liner, leads up to an acre or two of bedrooms (Marr, 1991: 23).

Belltrees sat in 140,000 acres. A school, post office, hall, store and church were built for the 250 people living on it. 'Who made the world?' a parson visiting the school once asked. 'Please sir,' a boy replied, 'Mr. H.L. White' (Marr, 1991: 22).

One interesting result of this love of multiple residences has been the growth of the compound, or multiple estate, containing many large residences for different members of an extended family. The 11,100 square metre three mansion Packer property in Bellvue Hill, has been mentioned already, but the Kennedy compound at Hyannisport, Massachusetts, is the most publicized example of this style of living. The Rockefeller estate at Pocatino Hills, New York—of which it has been said that 'God would have built if he had the money'—is another. Completely surrounded by high stone walls, it has scores of buildings, including a recreation building which holds bowling alleys, a tennis court, swimming pool and squash court. In the year 2000, when the average household in very wealthy Medina used 80,000 gallons of water, Bill Gates' compound used 4.7 million (Conniff 2003, 174; Davis, 1982: 129).

Islands are very attractive to the rich for they are comparatively easy to secure and a number of prominent American families have them off the US coast or in the Pacific and the Caribbean. They rarely change hands. In Europe, Greek millionaires have long shown great fondness for island retreats. When Aristotle Onassis bought Skorpios, he spent $3 million turning it into 'a flower-decked gem with six miles of roads and riding paths through the olive groves, a harbour for his yacht, a villa, a dozen luxurious guest chalets, stables and a telephone exchange'. His rival, Stavros Niarchos, remade Spetsopoula, fifty-three miles from Athens, from 'a barren tract into a personal Arcadia'. His villa is encircled by bungalows for his guests who arrive in his two helicopters which are parked in hangars on the landing field near his own church (Davis, 1982: 129).

Interiors
According to Davis (1982: 131) in The Rich: A Study of the Species:
For today’s wealthy families three or four stunning bathrooms are an absolute must... you should also have a sauna, a jacuzzi, a large swimming pool (out-doors in warm countries, indoors elsewhere), a
squash court and several tennis courts. You will also be much admired if you have a private zoo.

As a young child, Prince Charles spent some time at Windsor Castle on the nursery floor which comprised six rooms, including one for both his personal servants, Helen Lightbody and Mabel Anderson. He developed a fondness for a small chapel between the Grand Corridor and St. George’s Hall, from the pulpit of which he preached to an invisible but attentive congregation (Dimbleby, 1994: 19, 22).

Buckingham Palace is the largest functioning palace in the world and the over two hundred people employed inside it, travel along its one and a half miles of corridor and inhabit its 600 rooms. It is ‘almost a village’, with its own police and fire stations, telephone exchange, post office, petrol station, smithy, maintenance workshops, infirmary and shop (Leete-Hodge, 1981: 141).

Prince Edward chose the 155-foot-long Picture Gallery in which to celebrate his 21st. It occupies the whole central area of the first floor which is reached by the magnificent Grand Staircase and joins the Blue Drawing Room, 68 feet long and originally a ballroom, and the Music Room into which the 600 guests could drift. Since the Picture Gallery has a glass ceiling, which can seem cold at night, Prince Edward decided that it should be draped with a silk canopy borrowed from the Sultan of Brunei, creating an enormous marquee in the centre of the Palace (James, 1992: 127).

In the early 1980s Conrad Black ripped down the old mansion on the eight acre estate in which he had grown up, replacing it with a Georgian manor designed by Thierry Despont, who also planned the restoration of the Statue of Liberty. ‘I felt that I got at least equal time with the world’s most famous monument’, said Black. The piece de resistance of the new home was the drum-shaped, domed library influenced by Renaissance Venetian architect Palladio and the Radcliffe Library at Oxford University. Including the dome, the library is twenty-six feet high and twenty-two feet in diameter and contains fifteen thousand volumes. His detractors claimed it looked like an MX-missile silo set in the grandeur of Toronto’s exclusive Bridal Path neighbourhood. Shortly after Conrad’s marriage to Shirley, the Blacks paid about 3.5 million pounds for a four-storey mansion previously owned by the failed Australian tycoon Alan Bond. On Kensington’s Cottesmore Gardens, the house consists of two large homes joined together by a new grey slate mansard roof—causing some opposition from the local council because it threatened the harmony of the street—and a single front door (Siklos, 1995: 143, 144, 289, 290).

The house featured an environmental chamber, which blows cold or warm winds to simulate virtually any climate. ‘It’s an all-round paradise and you can transport yourself to any part of the world,’ according to the real-estate agent. The redesigned house contained a gymnasium, jacuzzi and pool, eleven
bedrooms, eight bathrooms and two lifts. The environmental chamber, however, did not survive the many revisions the design underwent. 'I was always sceptical it would work properly,' Black said. 'It’s not my style to sit there and try to simulate a South Sea island' (Siklos, 1995: 289, 290).

Coles Myer chief Brian Quinn was of the view that if the chief executive officer required a residence 'where he recovers so that he may well perform for the corporation in the best possible way, any preservation of that property is in the interests of the shareholders' (Gregory, 1997: 3). Covering the equivalent of five suburban blocks, his hilltop house had four bedrooms, three or four bathrooms, a family room, a billiard room and a four-car garage even before its $6 million renovations, which added a tennis court and tennis pavilion, a cricket pitch, swimming pool and spa house, a grand entranceway, several chandeliers, marble in the bathrooms and granite in the kitchens and increased the garage to accommodate eight cars for Quinn's Bentley, Ferrari and Mercedes (Gregory, 1997: 3; The Sydney Morning Herald 1997, 3).

A bridge was installed by a crane over the swimming pool. Travertine marble featured in the tennis pavilion and the exterior latticework was painted six times to provide a mirror finish. Inside, the house had three main chandeliers, silk wallpaper, an entrance hall with a domed ceiling and special lighting effects, and a dining room with a ceiling waxed to resemble the sky, with clouds. The Quinns had four front windows replaced twice, and the rest of the windows changed once, because the design on the glass was not apparent. Dissatisfied with its colour and grain, Mrs. Quinn had the marble replaced on the walls of a guest powder room. Painters stripped all the new paint from the wrought iron balustrades with a grape leaf design, filled every leaf with metal filler, rubbed them back and then repainted them because she was unhappy with the finish. Wall panelling in a lounge bar had 10 to 12 coats of clear finish, each one applied after the previous one had been rubbed back with steel wool (Gregory, 1997: 3).

While building a 43,000-square-foot third or fourth home on the ocean in Palm Beach U.S.A, the owner complained that the walk-in bedroom wardrobe was too small. "It's as big as my living room," the architect said, to which the owner asked, "Why do you live in such a small house?" (Conniff 2003, 197)

Architects

While the rich, apparently the fiercest of competitors in business, have no trouble buying each others properties, they also share architects, builders, designers and decorators. For instance, Guilford Bell was the Melbourne architect who designed houses for the squattocracy, a round house in Point Piper for Mary Hordern and a swimming pool pavilion in Bowral for James Fairfax. Espie Dods, however, seems specially favoured. When Dods was boarding at The King's School he befriended Robert Ashton, a son of one of the four famous polo-playing Ashtons, for whom he designed his first house in
Woollahra in 1980. When Ashton sold it to NSW Premier Neville Wran, he moved into another Dods'-designed home, just up the street. This he later sold to businessman Adrian Burr, who in turn on-sold it in 1988 for about $2.8 million. Ashton then asked Dods to design a palatial house for him in adjoining Paddington (Lawson, 1997: 3).

James Fairfax is another Dod’s friend and client and Sandie Walker, the wife of Richard who trekked the temples of India with James, shared City Gym workouts with the architect. ‘Espie gives you absolute style,’ she said, as indeed he had in three different Walker homes, the most recent purchased for more than $2 million not far from Ben Tilley’s home and ‘a five iron and two putts’ from the Sydney home of his godfather Kerry Packer, for whom Dods designed the homestead with its 20-metre-high steel roof on his cattle station Newcastle Waters.). Antiques collector Ruth Simon says that with Dods the ‘detail is unbelievable’ and he ‘does beautiful work’, including designing for her and husband Peter, a seven-car garage beneath the swimming pool. In 1996, the Simons sold the house for $9.8 million to Nati Stoliar and they now live nearby in the Adler’s old house, which they bought for $12 million. Dods also designed a seven-bedroom house, inspired by colonial architect John Verge’s Elizabeth Bay House, which apart from the lawn tennis court, covers much of its 6,400 square-metre site and comes with a dining table to seat 50, a wine cellar and cinema ((The Sun-Herald, 1997: 27; Lawson, 1997: 3; Chancellor, 1998e).

Dods, for his part, has confided to one of his clients, Caroline Simpson (nee Fairfax), that he was ‘so sick of the very rich’. He was, she explained, ‘a wonderful man. Charming. No, charming is not the right word. A head waiter can be charming’. Perhaps the fees Dods charges help assuage his nausea. Matt and Fiona Handbury spent $11.5 million on their property at Point Piper, rebuilding the palace Altona, and demolishing the house next door to build a tennis court. Dods earned 10 per cent of the cost of the multi-million dollar renovation. He normally charges 14 per cent of the cost of the finished work unless it’s over $1.5 million, twice as much as the usual 7 per cent for an architect. But then the Dods name ‘adds $200,000 to $300,000 to a house’s value’. He ‘doesn’t charge enough’, insists Caroline Simpson (Lawson, 1997: 3).

But the ‘sharing of the best’ tradespeople can prove disappointing. Ros Packer, wife of Kerry, had employed decorator Michael Love, as had Sam and Sue Chisholm. On visiting the Chisholm’s new Sydney home, she is said to have remarked on the similarity of the soft furnishings she thought had been imported especially for her (Lacy, 2003: 27).

**Height**

Size is one thing, height is another. Hill tops have traditionally been the habitat of the wealthy and, in the era of apartment dwelling, penthouses are the
equivalent. In Sydney, the record price for a penthouse by 1998 was $5.5 million. In the Kings Cross skyscraper *The Elan*, the top floor is 18 times the legal minimum size for an apartment, 7.5 times the size of most homes. At 645 square metres, it is about the size of a large suburban housing block. Priced at more than $3m, it was 150 metres above sea level.

Casino boss Lloyd Williams sold his luxury, full-floor, 20th storey Melbourne penthouse for the same price. Transport magnate Lindsay Fox owns an apartment on the entire 18th floor and Sir Roderick Carnegie owns half the 16th floor, while former Liberal Party Industrial Relations Minister, Peter Reith, paid only $385,000 for his apartment in the same building. But even this palls in comparison to Lord Lever’s apartment in London’s stylish Eaton Square, which even he calls ‘My Taj Mahal’, with its marble hall, Louis XIV staircase, ten bedrooms and seven bathrooms (*The Weekend Australian*, 1998: 12; Chancellor, 1998f: 6; Totaro, 1998: 4; Davis, 1982: 113–114).

Sydney has moved from being the tenth most expensive Asia Pacific city in 1996 in which to buy prime apartments to the sixth in 1997. Then, a ‘typical’ Sydney CBD three-bedroom apartment of 130 square metres cost about $762,000. Sydney’s most expensive home units went on sale in 1998 with prices ranging from $3.75 to $6.5 million (Dixon, 1998: 60; Sexton, 1998: 9; Chancellor, 1997e: 2).

The nine-unit *Ritz Cremorne*, located on Cremorne Point between Mosman and Neutral Bay, houses a maximum of eighteen people, although ‘It is unlikely you’ll see anyone in the gym or pool, which is what wealthy people like,’ according to architect-builder Simon Symond. It has views across the harbour of the Botanic Gardens, the Sydney Opera House and the Sydney Harbour Bridge and includes housekeeping services. The recreation area has a twenty metre lap pool and another large pool bordered by two spas and dominated by a fountain and a giant sandstone statue of Zeus. A weights room overlooks a sound-proofed squash court with a separate gym at the other end of the floor. The exercise machines are hooked up to audio systems and television sets. There is a kitchen/cafe area, in which each apartment has a kitchen locker for snacks and drinks with a matching locker for clothes and towels. The toilets, dressing rooms and showers are all soundproofed and equipped with hair dryers. A stretch limousine can turn around in the garage and a walk-in, refrigerated garbage room stops the smell of household waste from pervading the parking area. High-speed remote controlled lifts propel the residents to their units, which have lounge room walls finished in noise-muffling suede and bedroom walls upholstered in silk. The vein lines in the Italian marble match and the cabinet work is of English sycamore, sweet-smelling African ash and Canadian maple (Dixon, 1998: 60; Sexton 1998, 9).

Two of the apartments were available for rent for $6,000 and $4,000 a week. Costing more than a suite at the Ritz Carlton Hotel, the annual bill would pay off
a $200,000 mortgage in less than 12 months. ‘But large companies can write it off in their overheads and outgoings,’ Mr Symond said. This price equals rates in London and Hong Kong, where the best residences costed $5,500 and $7,500 a week respectively in 1998, but do not come near the $US 100,000 a month payed by Donatella Versace for singer Johnny Hallyday’s St Tropez house in which she hosted Chelsea Clinton. The most expensive property in Bellevue Hill, Potts Point, Darling Point, Point Piper, Woollahra and Watsons Bay could be rented for about $3,500 per week. John B. Fairfax charged Bob and Margaret Rose $4,000 a week for his Double Bay waterfront house Elaine. Fairfax chairman, Brian Powers, paid $4,500 a week in Vaucluse and his former Consolidated Press executive colleague, Al ‘Chainsaw’ Dunlap, paid the same to rent a house in Hunters Hill in 1992. The rich can pay $3,000 a week in Melbourne for a mansion in Toorak, South Yarra and Kew. Not surprisingly, Nicole Kidman considered that a few visits to Sydney each year justified buying a $4.2 million Darling Point mansion (Peretz 2004, 123; Chancellor with Lawson, 2000: 24; Sexton, 1998: 9).

Housing Prices

In 1997, 2,700 homes in Sydney were built on land valued at over $1 million. The houses built on the land are worth at least as much again. Almost 1,200 Sydney residential properties sold for more than $1 million in the same year, making up just over 1% of the volume of sales and about 7% of their total value. They averaged $2.25 million each (Chancellor, 1997d: 4.; Sexton, 1998: Business 97).

Homes in Sydney built on land valued at over $1 million

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburb</th>
<th>Median Price 1997</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bellevue Hill</td>
<td>$1,205,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darling Point</td>
<td>$1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point Piper</td>
<td>$3,425,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaucluse</td>
<td>$1,205,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balmoral</td>
<td>$1,350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifton Gardens</td>
<td>$1,265,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longueville</td>
<td>$1,103,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Sydney</td>
<td>$233,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In Longueville, six houses in Mary St alone have sold for more than $1 million between 1993 and 2000 (Dale, 2000: 24). This suburb, in common with all the suburbs listed above, lies within the 50 square kilometre rectangle drawn around the Sydney Harbour Bridge and are less than a hour’s drive to Palm Beach.
The Top 30 House Values in Sydney circa 2004

1. *Carthona*, Darling Point, Anthony Oxley, $40m.
3. *Altona*, Point Piper, Deke Miskin, $28.5m
4. *Cairnton*, Bellevue Hill, Kerry Packer, $25m. (estimate)
5. *Fairwater*, Double Bay, Lady Mary Fairfax, $24m.
6. *Villa De Mare*, Point Piper, Julia Ross, $21.5m.
7. *Boomerang*, Elizabeth Bay, John Schaeffer, $20.7m.
11. *Coolong*, Vaucluse, Coe family, $18.9m.
12. *Elaine*, Double Bay, the late Sir Vincent & John B. Fairfax, $17m.
13. *Craig-y-Moor*, Point Piper, Ben Tilley, $16.15m.
14. *Garden Reach*, Hunters Hill, Gail Collins, $16m.
15. *Craigend*, Darling Point, Bruce Davey, $16m
16. Vaucluse, Harry Triguboff, $16m.
17. Vaucluse, Sir Alexis Albert, $15.5m.
18. *Rivendell*, Mosman, Keith Lambert, $15.5m.
19. *Glanworth*, Darling Point, James Fairfax, $15m.
20. Coolong Rd, Vaucluse, Gillian Walton, $14.7m
21. Vaucluse, Colin & Maree Reynolds, $14m.
22. Vaucluse, Deiter Kahlbetzer, $14m.
23. *Banks House*, Point Piper, Banks family, $14m.
24. *Tabourie*, Mosman, Roy Manassen, $13.9m.
25. *Neidpath*, Darling Point, Kenneth Howison, $13.5m
26. *Shellcove*, Neutral Bay, $13.5m
27. *Redvers*, Point Piper, Brian White, $13.2m.
28. *St Neots*, Vaucluse, Dr Stephen Larkin, $13m.
29. Point Piper, Frank & Shirley Lowy, $12m.

Eight of the houses in this list are in Point Piper which with a median house price of $12 million, is the most expensive suburb in the country. Houses in the area appreciate by about $1million per year (Bell, 2004:12). Point Piper, Elizabeth Bay, Darling Point, Rose Bay and Vaucluse, are all adjacent harbourside suburbs in Sydney. Their exclusivity dates to colonial occupation. For a time, *Lindesay*, built as the residence of the Colonial Treasurer, Campbell Drummond Riddell, was the only house on Darling Point. In 1828, the New South Wales Governor, Sir Ralph Darling, approved the subdivision of Woolloomooloo Hill about a mile from Sydney Town overlooking the harbour, into fifteen 8–10 acre blocks. These became the property of the ‘Exclusives’: a group of rich officials and businessmen. ‘Soon the pleasant slopes overlooking Double Bay were sprinkled with Gothic cottages and Italianate villas’ and, within
50 years, there were 30 grand homes, mostly belonging to important businessmen and politicians.

*Swifts*, the largest remaining privately-owned Darling Point estate, was conceived in 1874 by the Eton-educated Robert Lucas-Tooth, heir of the powerful Tooth brewing family. The property became the official residence of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, including the consecutive cardinals, Gilroy, Freeman and Clancy. Pope Paul VI and the present Pope John Paul II, stayed there when they were cardinals. In 1996, Mr. Spies, a reclusive property investor who enjoyed a Howard Hughes-like reputation, paid $9 million for it (Chancellor, 1996a; Davison, 1994: 102–3).

**On Holiday**
Fashions change, but in the late 20th and early years of the 21st century the rich liked to holiday in the following places:

- St Tropez, France
- Gstaad and St Moritz, Switzerland
- Aspen and Vail, Colorado
- The Cote d’Azur, France
- The Hamptons, New York
- Lyford Cay, Bahamas
- St Barths, Caribbean
- Marbella, Spain
- Acapulco, Mexico
- Geneva, Switzerland
- Palm Beach, USA
- Mayfair, London
- Beverly Hills, Los Angeles
- Montego Bay, Jamaica
- Bermuda, Barbados, Antigua


In recent years, three places in Australia have also become acceptable as holiday destinations for the very rich. The *Sydney Morning Herald’s* Property Editor, Johnathan Chancellor (1997c, 136), says that Palm Beach in Sydney, along with Portsea, south of Melbourne, is now like ‘ultra chic’ East Hampton in the U.S.A. in that it is ‘so trendy... that scores... fly in from Europe and the US, many with their chefs and nannies in tow’.

The area attracted it’s first home-buyer in 1914 and by the 1920s wealthy graziers from the Hunter Valley and central west were bringing their families to holiday by the sea. According to David Edwards, a real estate agent with L.J. Hooker at Palm Beach, 70% of the properties on the Palm Beach peninsula are still weekenders and there will ‘never be any more’ than 1,267 titles worth having (Russell, 1996: 4). In 1997, Lady Sonia McMahon paid $975,000 for her
Palm Beach weekender because Lady Burton-Taylor had decided to downsize and move just around the corner. A proximate weekend home sold for $2.4 million, well under the 1996 peak of $3.74 million. By 2004, the median price was $2.4 million, but the most desirable properties don’t usually come onto the market, but are passed down through the family. (Chancellor, 1997e: 139; 2003: 80; Bourlioufas, 1998: 9; Bishop, 2003: 5; Sloley, 2004: 295).

Sam Chisholm bought the beachfront bungalow, Melaleuka, in Ocean Rd next to his ex-boss Kerry Packer’s salmon-coloured weekender to go with his estate Bundarbo close to Canberra which is near the home of his ex-boss, Rupert Murdoch. He paid $3.1 million for the property and demolished the house. A vacant block tucked between the Packers and the Chisholms sold for $6.3 million in 2002 to developers Bob and Margaret Rose. The Forysth family, the owners of Dymocks are there. Trent Nathan is a neighbour, his place is not far from the Fairfax’s large Tudor-style house, Boanbong which was just along the street from the Hordern family’s Kalua in Ocean Rd. Prime Ministers visited, among them Bob Menzies, a friend of several Palm Beach habitués who included the Whites, the Moses, the Fairfaxes and the Packers (Tyndall, 2003a: 4; Martin, 2003a: 70; Bishop, 2003: 5; Chancellor, 1997e: 35; Fairfax 1991: 15).

Kalua is now owned by businessman Ian Joye who also owns a 5,500 sq metre mansion in Bellevue Hill. Joye rents it out, along with round-the-clock security, for $33,500 per week, the average annual wage in Australia in 2002. Nicole Kidman, the second richest woman in Australia, and Mick Jagger have rented the property. Rupert Murdoch and his wife Wendi Deng have stayed there; as have son Lachlan Murdoch and his wife Sarah O'Hare. Rupert Murdoch told his friends that he was 'hugely impressed with the house and Palm Beach's holiday environment'. Not so happy, however, was style master Tyler Brule founder and creative director of chic interiors magazine Wallpaper*. Brule happily spent the summers of 1998 and 1999 in Palm Beach, but in the Christmas holidays in 2002, Brule and his mother moved out of their $15,000 a week ‘Dr No style beach house' because the furniture was not up to scratch (Sloley, 2004: 395; Browne, 2003: 56; Martin 2003a: 70; Calvert, 2003: 10; Williamson, 2002: 3).

Lady Renouf holidayed in Palm Beach along with television presenter, Jana Wendt. Opera singer, Dame Joan Sutherland, merchant banker, partner to former NSW Premier Neville Wran and son of former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, Nick Whitlam, Rachel Griffiths and her partner Andrew Taylor,, actor Bryan Brown and Rachel Ward, own places there. Billy Connelly, Pamela Stephenson, Cate Blanchett and Julian McMahon have visited (Bishop, 2003: 5; Chancellor, 1996b: 1).

Renouf sold her oceanfront pink palace, Villa Balena, to advertising executive Greg Daniel, who gave it as a surprise Christmas present to his wife Louise, a summer visitor to Palm Beach since childhood. The Pink Palace as it is known, looks like a Tuscan Villa with trompe de l’oeil walls and olive tree bordered paths. Union-buster Chris Corrigan of Patrick’s Corp paid $4.1 million to enjoy
the neighborhood, not far from UBS Warburg’s Mark Chiba who bought a
place for $6.1 million in Florida Rd about the same time as Deutsche Bank’s
Ken Border paid $3 million for his in the same street (Sloley, 2004: 388; Harley,
2003: 18; Chancellor, 1996b: 1).

Palm Beach neighbours can play golf together at the exclusive Elanora or
Terrey Hills Clubs—if they can afford the $40,000 membership fee. However,
no amount of cash can secure membership of the adjacent Pacific Club and the
Cabbage Tree Club next door to the Packers’ holiday house. The Cabbage
Tree Club in 2002 still banned Japanese and Koreans and any one married to
them. Membership to the clubs can be gained by serving seven years in the .
Palm Beach Surf Life Savers’ Club, next door, just across the road from the
main beach. But joining the exclusive Surf Club is not easy. Applicants must
know five members, and half of them are rejected each year. About half the
new members do not last the first year’s instruction and initiation (Sloley, 2004:
388; Harvey, 2003: 24; Cornford, 2002: 3; Chancellor, 1997c: 35).

Palm Beach has been exclusive to the very rich for more than one hundred
years, keeping its beautiful bushland, rainforest and beach relatively intact.
There are very few blocks of flats or highrise developments, little public
transport, no freeways or railway, hotels, motels, caravan parks, camping
grounds or suburban malls. There are few footpaths and even fewer children’s
playgrounds and no bike tracks.

All this is just 40kms from the centre of Sydney. While ‘modern and
adventurous architecture’ is prevalent, nearly all of Australia’s most famous
architects have designed something at Palm Beach and/or Portsea: Peter
Muller, Jim Keepman, Harry Seidler, Alex Popov, Stan Symonds, Philip Cox,
Ken Woolley, Susan Rothwell, Wally Barra, Andre Porebski, Guilford-Bell,
David McGlashan, Wayne Gillespie, Espie Dods, Nicholas Day and Robbie
Robertson. Peter Muller was given ‘an open cheque book’ by Arnold
Richardson in 1955 to plan Kumale in the style of Frank Lloyd Wright. The
rising and falling of the tides were taken into account in the design, for
Richardson wished to commute from Palm Beach by seaplane. Floor to ceiling
glass panels framed in bronze can disappear into cylindrical columns built of
specialy made curved bricks, opening the house up as a series of four sun-
drenched terraces. The swimming pool becomes part of the living area,
extending inside under a glass-covered walkway. Underneath it is a circular
sitting room lit largely by glass prisms in the pool’s floor. The final price is not
known, but the cost of the doors and windows alone would have built 30
ordinary houses (Chancellor, 1997c: 138; Lawson, 1997: 3; Hock, 1999: 59, 60,
63, 64).

Sam Gazal welcomed in 1997 at the Beach Road restaurant with eighty guests.
The year before, his New Year soiree was the best in Palm Beach thanks to
‘copious quantities of French fizz’ and his ‘offspring and their gorgeous friends’.
The guests included multi-millionaire grocery and liquor wholesaler John David, Country Natwest’s Ken Allen, Baillieu’s Neville Miles and BZW’s Simon Mordant. The previous year, Kerry Packer had lost a bet to give up smoking, handing over a new BMW to socialite Di Jagelman and Robert Whyte who had interests in property development with Packer and John Singleton and had plans for more gambling following Packer’s return from the casinos of Los Angeles to ‘balmy Palmy’ (Porter, 1996: 33; Mychasuk, 1996; 1997c: 27). When Packer asked Gazal how much he needed to live on each year, Gazal replied that he could get by on $200,000. ‘I’m the same. I’m a simple bloke’, said Packer. His son James fell over laughing, ‘Try $105 million, like last year’, he said (Business Review Weekly, 1999: 82; Koch, 1999: 62).

In Portsea, a seaside town two hours south of Melbourne in the Mornington Peninsula National Park, prices mirror those of Palm Beach. In 1995, Ilyuka sold for $5.15 million with prices ranging from $50,000 for a Victorian boatshed to $6.25 million for Mileura overlooking Port Phillip Bay. The Baillieus, the Laycocks, the Hortico Blazey family, the Andersons, Sir Robert and Lady Southey and the Keils, among other very wealthy families, have holiday homes there. In 2003, the Ballieu’s nine-bedroom holiday mansion was expected to sell for around $7 million. In the 1920s, the Armytages, one of Melbourne’s best-known society families, built ‘the castle on the hill’, a replica of an ancestral Irish castle set in a five hectare formal garden with tennis courts and a croquet lawn. The furniture is by Dattner and the pictures on the walls are originals from the voyage of the Astrolabe (Tyndall, 2003b: 12; Chancellor, 1997c: 139; Slamet, 1998: 33, 194).

In Australia’s north, Queensland’s Noosa is the trendiest and brightest holiday destination. Green policies have paid off handsomely here. According to Kevin Seymour, who has built apartment towers in Brisbane, ‘developers over the years have been critical of Noosa Council with its green policy, but it is now a fact that the policy has been proved right’. Said Noosa councillor, Noel Playford, developers have ‘made more money because of the limits put on development’. The population of the Shire of Noosa is capped at 56,000, and is currently about 40,000. Much of the value of the properties is ‘in the surroundings’, which include the 477 hectare Noosa National Park and ‘no one will be allowed to put up a high-rise next door to block out their views’. Prices have doubled every five years since 1978 (Tyndall, 2003b: 12; Massey, 1999: 209; Mercer, 1998: 26).

Noosa’s ‘lively cafe and restaurant scene, fabulous shopping, stunning beach and sub-tropical climate’ make it a ‘hedonists’ dream’ (Mercer, 1998: 25). The temperature has an average winter maximum of 22 degrees and an average summer maximum of 29. The restaurants combine alfresco dining and gourmet food, while boutiques are selling clothes that ‘would not look out of place at the Melbourne Cup’. Tourists are welcome if ‘they bring their money
and their manners and know their couscous from their carpaccio’ (Mercer, 1998: 25; Tabakoff, 1996: 5s).

BHP’s managing director paid $1.65 million for an uncompleted house with commanding views of Main Beach and then spent hundreds of thousands completing it. According to realtor, Laurie Prentice:

“You had John Prescott buy No 6 Park Road. Well, all the top CEOs around Australia thought, ‘Well, Prescott’s got a house up there. Maybe we should, too.’ I think that happens. That’s what makes some suburbs more exclusive than others” (Tabakoff, 1996: 5s).

In 1996, the talk of Noosa was *Cintamani*, the just-completed home of the Austrian-born tennis player Thomas Muster who paid $990,000 for the land and spent about $2 million on the house. *Brinbara*, a house on Sunshine Beach where Evonne Goolagong, Australia’s twice Wimbledon champion lives, sold for just under $3 million. A few weeks before another had sold for $2.85 million to a Melbourne businessman. Playwright David Williamson and Test cricketer Shane Warne have bought in there as well. A number of apartments on the beachfront have sold for more than $2 million and a home in Little Cove broke the $4 million barrier in 1999 (Tabakoff, 1996: 5s; Massey, 1999: 209).

Other faces familiar to Noosa are Lady Sonia McMahon, Jerry Hall, and Tom Cruise before his break-up with Nicole Kidman. Television presenter Jana Wendt is frequently seen around, as are Kylie Minogue, Jason Donovan, Elton John’s mum, Mel Gibson (staying at his brother’s place), Madonna, Elle’s sister Mimi Macpherson, and former rock star and Member of Parliament, Peter Garrett. Sean Connery has a house on the coast which he’s ‘keeping a secret’. And it was at discrete Noosa that Packer associate Brad Cooper passed HIH Insurance group’s finance manager, Bill Howard, an envelope of cash as part of a $124,000 cash payoff while he holidayed there with his family (McDonald, 2004: 2; Tabakoff, 1996: 5s; Safe, 1999: 10).

Rich Bodies

Rich men are just as unapologetic, deliberate and competitive in the use of their bodies in the occupation of personal space. A group photograph of a Board of directors:

Demonstrates better than anything [Conrad] Black’s Agnelli-like seizure of the advantage and reluctance to lose it. The directors are formed up in two ranks, in the manner of a school photograph, the more senior pupils afforded the privilege of sitting down on chairs in the front row, while the lower boys stand behind them… Conrad Black, as headmaster and chairman of the school governors, sits majestically in the enter of the front row in a black leather armchair—the only chair with arms—splaying his hands wide on the squishy, padded armrests, looking powerfully fulfilled and substantial as he occupies more than twice the space of both the Lords Hartwell and Camrose behind him (Coleridge, 1994: 335–336).
There is a clear correlation globally between national wealth and body size. Nearly 40% of the inhabitants of the richest country on the planet are obese and, on present trends, three-quarters of Americans will be obese by 2050. But this is not the case within populations. The picture of the archetypal capitalist man as fat and cigar-smoking is now archaic. ‘Look at Lachlan Murdoch and James Packer and compare them to businessmen a generation ago’ said Peter Morrissey, one of only four designers to have their own menswear show at Fashion Week in 1998. ‘They look after their bodies, they’re very healthy, they exercise, eat well and work extremely hard. And they dress well’ (Owens, 1998: 47; Steyn, 1998: 8s).

Rich people by and large enjoy reduced stress, greater social support, and a distinct sense of personal control. They live longer. Rich people have longer, healthier lives than the rest of us and the more money they have, on average, the better their health. The 1990 Longitudinal Study in the United Kingdom found a "continuous gradient" of decreasing mortality from the most deprived areas to the most affluent (Conniff 2003, 45). The wealthy suburbs of eastern and northern Sydney record the lowest incidence of obese and overweight men and the lowest death rates in the New South Wales, and close to 70% of their men are physically fit. And although cigar-smoking corporate raider Robert Holmes a Court smoked 30 or 40 Henry Winterman long panatellas a day, the wealthy suburbs contain the lowest proportion of smokers (Jillett, 2003: 10; Lamont and Clennell, 1998: 6; Edgar, 1999: 20). These men are:

so sure of themselves, and so used to controlling every aspect of their lives, that they tend to take good health very much for granted . . . The possibility that all this may be cut short seldom occurs to them or, if it does, they brush it aside. 'I don’t have ulcers, I give them,' said movie mogul Harry Cohn (Davis, 1982: 168),

But once they or those close to them have confronted death, and survived, they are at pains to make sure that round-the-clock medical support is close by, and that the most up-to-date surgical procedures are available. Should their superior health be impaired, they know that they can have the very best health care. John D. Rockefeller, for instance, funded one of the world's great medical research facilities, Rockefeller University. He also reserved four private rooms in the first sixty-bed hospital exclusively for his family (Conniff 2003, 47)

Sam Chisholm has had a double lung transplant, and Kerry Packer, with one cancerous kidney already removed in the 1980s, was provided with a new one by one of his personal pilots and friend, Nicholas Ross, when his other one went bad in November 2000. Ross, a sixty-year-old veteran of the Royal Navy, had worked for Packer and been his close friend for almost twenty years. Packer
refers to Ross as 'Biggles' and despite the two-year age difference, the pilot liked to address him as "Father." Kidney donors themselves risk a one-in-five-hundred chance of kidney failure. It was "an extraordinary act of kindness and generosity," said Packer's son James, who was not a donor. Three years later Ross received a $3.3 million property as a gift. (Conniff 2003, 138-9; Lacy, 2003:27; Reuters, 2003; Barry, 2002: 274; Chancellor, 2003d: 3).

Having only just survived a massive heart-attack in 1990 and with constant severe heart troubles subsequently, Kerry Packer keeps a small medical team always at hand. Such is Packer's power, that 'an ambulance has only to turn down [his] street for a siren to go off at the stockmarket' (Macken, 2003: 20). Indeed, following a heart operation in 2003, shares in his company, PBL, which owns Australia's biggest television broadcaster, a magazine empire and Melbourne's casino, dropped 2 percent in a flat market (Reuters, 2003). Corporeal health, or the appearance of it, is important for corporate health. When, to the undisguised glee of many trade unionists in Australia and overseas, Chris Corrigan fell ten metres down a cliff while gardening at his $4 million Palm Beach week-ender, his company described what his friends considered a near-fatal incident as a 'gardening accident', and stressed that he ‘did not miss any time at work’, in case the news undermined Patrick Corporation's share price (Mcllveen, 2003: 1).

Sometimes being alive and in certain company is enough. Telecommunications business man Richard Li does not get on with his father, billionaire Li Ka-shing, Hong Kong's most successful tycoon, even though Li's father ventured $125 million to start his son's first company, Star TV, which he soon sold to Rupert Murdoch for $950 million. When his Internet company, Pacific Century Cyberworks, was going under, Li was able to organize lunch with his father in the dining room of the Shangri-La Hotel. According to Fortune magazine, Pacific Century opened on the stock market that day at 5.375 and closed at 5.6875. The fact that the two of them had been seen lunching together was worth about US$671 million (Conniff, 2003: 267).

However, according to Davis (1982: 169), some of the very rich are 'childish' about their health.

The idle rich are often dreadful hypochondriacs—they have so much time on their hands that they tend to be obsessively concerned with self. Every minor ailment—even a common cold—is treated as a disaster which requires maximum attention from everyone around.

One of the best known hypochondriacs, Paul Getty, said that the biggest liability of being rich was that 'One feels one is a target'. One of architect Espie Dods’ attractions is that ‘he makes his houses look secure’. Kerry Packer's Bellevue estate has ‘the best security in town’ and 24 hour medical staff. Homes can be protected by security systems which may include jemmy-proof, pick-resistant locks, bullet-resistant glass, armour-plated doors, internal
movement detectors, high-intensity floodlights, alarms, video and back-to-base security, a security entrance, remote control gates and a ‘safe room’ with emergency lights, a metal reinforced door, food, medical and perhaps even oxygen supplies, and of course, gated communities with private and highly armed police (Koch, 2002: 146; Davis, 1982: 176, 177; Parsons, 1997: 12; Rowlands, 1998: 12; Lawson, 1997: 3).

As well as ensuring the safety of their persons, the rich can ensure the health of their bodies by taking advantage of personal or private and exclusive gyms, but those who lack the motivation to exercise on their own or who dislike gymnasia, can hire a personal trainer, at a cost of $80,000 to $400,000 a year, so that health and fitness become another ‘appointment’ in their working day. Rupert Murdoch’s personal trainer has easier access to him than his wife and children or world leaders, and accompanies him on his travels. Travis Bell, a former champion swimmer and ironman, offers a complete service involving health, fitness and nutritional advice and has more than 30 clients. Also available for hire are boxer Jeff Fenech, footballer Todd Viney, runner Darren Clark, heptathlete Jane Flemming and kayaker Shelley Oates (Hooton, 2004: 120; Macken, 2003: 20; Murphy, 1996: 94, 95–6).

According to Joanie Bronfman (1987: 349), being overweight is ridiculed by the rich as a sign of lack of self-discipline and control. ‘Working class people are fat and people who are dumb are fat and people who don’t have will power are fat’, she was told. James Packer’s loss of 25 kilograms in three months is attributed to his girlfriend Erica Baxter, a daily workout with a personal trainer and the guidance of weight-loss company SureSlim (Horney with Dasey, 2003: 20).

For those who want to be in shape without stress, at Les Thermes Marins which has connecting corridors to Monaco’s most famous hotels, The Hermitage and Hotel de Paris, Dr Yves Treguer flushes out the toxins, tightens the stomachs and aids the circulation of the rich who can be restored without forgoing comfort, exquisite food and beautiful surroundings. At the Chedi in Bali, the Mandara Spa, surrounded by tranquil gardens and lotus ponds, has two private pavilions, in each of which two therapists provide treatment which combines shiatsu, Hawaiian Lomi Lomi, Thai and traditional Balinese massage techniques. At the Legian Hotel is the Suite Indulgence, which contains a spa, a sunken bath filled with lavender essence and fresh petals, massage tables set up on the palatial balcony overlooking the waves breaking on the beach; and as ‘the sky turns from pink to purple, we are tantalized by a candle-lit dinner, created by chef Zainal Hussan’ (Barwell, 1998: 246; Meppem, 1998: 252, 254).

If this is too far away, there are other options. Mike Canizales, a former Microsoft executive who came to Australia to establish Channel 9’s Internet network, has opened a ‘day spa’, Spa Chakra, in Potts Point and the 30% of his clients who are men enjoy a massage, a body polish, facials, acupuncture, manicure and pedicure. Canizales explains that:
When you’re putting in a 60 hour week, you don’t think too much about spending $100 on your health and well-being. It’s different if you work 40 hours a week, when body maintenance becomes a luxury. If you work 60, it’s a necessity.

Valet parking takes the stress out of arrival and overworked executives can have a whole day of pampering—the ‘Apollo package’ (Owens, 1998: 47). If all this is too slow and too inefficient, a million Americans a year were using cosmetic surgery in the early 1980s. At least one in ten was a man, although many surgeons say that they make up between 15–30% of their patients and that the ratio is rising (Davis, 1982: 170).

Rich men wear suits, of course, for flamboyant clothes are regarded as evidence that their wearer cannot be taken seriously. The suit has hardly changed in 200 years. ‘It’s man’s protection and camouflage,’ according to English fashion historian Colin McDowell. It ‘allows him to bond with other men’ and to ‘attack other men [who] turn into denizens of the jungle’. The rich are not generally fashion leaders and tend to dress conservatively in public while keeping up with trends, for men’s suits date through the changing widths of lapels, width of trouser and turn-up ((Davis 1982, 150; (Cosic, 1998: 5; James, 1992: 186). ‘For one of the troops, any old shopping-mall suit will do. But if you are a leader of business or government, you need superior quality’ runs an advertisement in the Melbourne Age (B3, 14 November, 1996) entitled ‘How can you tell a $1,500 suit?’

The most expensive British and US tailors made Jack Kennedy’s suits. He wore three every day. Prince Edward, described by fashion experts as ‘the young fogey of the Royal Family’, has most of his suits made by Hawes and Curtis Ltd., who also make clothes for Prince Charles and Prince Andrew. Their tailors also make evening jackets and ‘dresswear’ and will have Turnbull and Asser shirts made to co-ordinate with the suits. Some of Edward’s shoes are made by John Lobb Ltd. of St. James—who makes the Duke of Edinburgh’s. ‘One of the reasons I am going so well,’ he told Lobb when he congratulated the Duke on his fiftieth birthday, ‘is that I have always been so well shod’. The Duke’s socks sport an old pattern called the ‘Tenova’; a pattern also worn by Prince Charles and the managing director of Austin Reed, whose subsidiary, Stephens Brothers, makes them along with Prince Philip’s shirts (Andersen 1996, 265; James, 1992: 186; Heald, 1991: 240).

Then there is the "smell of money". In his novel Turn of the Century, the rather wealthy Kurt Andersen described a media magnate as smelling of "the daily haircut plus fresh flowers plus cashmere plus BMW leather plus the executive-jet oxygen mix plus a dash of citrus: That is, [he] smells luscious. He smells rich." (Conniff 2003, 131). Men spend about $80 million on fragrance each year and the men of France, the USA, Britain and Australia are the four-largest per capita consumers. The Duke’s aftershave is from the company first started by William
Henry Penhaligon, barber to the court of Queen Victoria. His Admiral's uniform is made by Gieves & Hawkes, the tailors to Lord Nelson who are preferred by the officers of Her Majesty's armed forces. His suits come from John Kent. He appears, according to his biographer, in 'the kit of an English gentleman' (Heald, 1991: 240; Owens, 1998: 47). Apparently, this is a good thing to do. Mistakes are possible to the uneducated—media magnate Lord Rothermere 'looked like an English duke setting off for Sunday church, except that the salt and pepper silk tie was a shade too prosperous for the English countryside. It was the classic tycoon tie' (Coleridge, 1994: 273).

**Conveying the Body**

Quite naturally, such holy and beautifully presented bodies need attractive framing and appropriate conveyance. By the 1920s, the Rolls Royce had established itself as 'the classic tycoon' car, although, as the table below indicates, there are several challengers. The super-rich ordered Rollers with some of the features of the private railway carriage of the time, such as the opulent motorized drawing room built in 1927 with upholstery by Aubusson and a ceiling painted with rococo cupids (Davis, 1982: 142).

Exclusivity is the hallmark of the cars of the rich, with the Australian market being allocated only 300 of the Mercedes Benz SLK in 1997 ($98,500), when 600 were ordered and 1,000 could have been sold. All nine Ferrari 550s ($451,897) allocated to Australia and New Zealand in 1997 were sold by the time of the vehicle’s launch (McKay, 1997: 3; McDonald, 1997: 17; Kable, 1997: 1–2). Between 1914 and 1997, fewer than 14,000 Aston Martins were built, mostly to order for an exclusive clientele including Prince Charles (Corne, 1998: 3) and in 2004, Porsche expects to sell 800 of its Cayenne in Australia (below) (Ross 2003, 184)

**Luxury Car Prices, 2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Car Model</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Porsche 4WD Cayenne Turbo</td>
<td>$225,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMW 760Li</td>
<td>$332,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aston Martin DB7</td>
<td>$351,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferrari Maranello</td>
<td>$577,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentley Continental</td>
<td>$765,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ross, 2003: 184

The median house price in Sydney in 2003 was $470,000 (Casella, 2003:11).

The Mercedes Benz Cabriolet CLK designed by Giorgio Armani – 'It had to be the ultimate in luxury', he said – costs less than the Mercedes Benz Maybach, which sells for $1million. Mercedes has calculated that there were enough customers with incomes of $30 million per year or with wealth of at least $40 million, to make it profitable to build 1000 each year. One potential buyer in Australia 'sniffed that $40 million amounted to his private art collection'.
Maybach buyers most of all want exclusivity, and no two cars will be the same for there are two million options for the buyer to consider on the car, including individualised champagne flutes and a system that holds them and the Champagne bottle in place at speed. The rear seats can recline to almost horizontal in the 6.2 metre car without touching the back of the chauffeur's seat. An armoured version is available. Kerry Packer was said to be a likely customer (Bita, 2003: 4; Hanscombe and Ashby, 2003: 214; Dowling, 2002: 6).

Cars, perhaps even more than yachts and aeroplanes, are about luxury, ostentation, power, success and vigour. ‘Success is a long, hard road. Enjoy the drive... You've earned it, now enjoy it,’ urged the Holden Calais Advertisement in 1996. When driving the Alfa Romeo Spider:

you're aware that not only is everyone looking at you (surely the compelling purchase reason for some), but that you are scarcely aware of the effort of driving. There’s no ‘effort’... instead, there is [the] engine purring like a fuel injected pussy cat... ; seamless gear changes; graceful gliding between lanes and a succession of sexless six cylinder sedans striving to rectify the indignity of your strolling past them (Pottinger, 1998: 45).

When out at his property near Scone, Kerry Packer drives a Hummer, a very large, very serious, all-weather, all-country, four-wheel drive military vehicle as seen on the TV news during the USA’s Desert Storm, and as driven by Arnold Swartzenegger. According to local accounts, Packer bought it after a regular four-wheel-drive vehicle 'showed an unforgivable weakness by stalling in a creek with the owner at the wheel' (McKay, 1996: 53).

The use of very large private cars on ordinary public roads, however, is not without its problems. After their wedding reception, Jack and Jackie Kennedy headed off to the airport whence their private plane was to fly them to New York. Hardly were they out of the driveway and into Ocean Drive when they were 'stuck in a colossal traffic jam caused by several hundred out-of-town chauffeurs drunk on French champagne' (Andersen, 1996: 12). Kerry Packer provided limousines for all of the 750 guests at his son James' wedding, causing ‘traffic chaos’ in the exclusive suburb of Bellevue Hill. Several stretch limousines couldn't turn the corners in the street leading to the Packer compound. The traffic soon backed up 4 kilometres causing the police to intervene (Milohanic and Blake, 1999: 4; Koch, 1999: 1; Koch and Reines, 1999: 2).

While size and exclusivity are important issues in regard to transport, so is choice. Lachlan Murdoch must choose whether to drive his $25,000 Bimota motor bike, his Harley-Davidson, his $34,000 Ducati 916 SP, or his silver BMW sedan. The Royal family have twenty cars available to them, all specially fitted with bullet-proof glass  but oil magnate Pat Burke maintained 27 motorcycles and 29 cars and at his Espie Dods' designed house on Sydney's Upper North

Choice between transport modes, and the regular use of two or more sequentially to achieve a single destination, is a normal feature of the life of the wealthy. Rupert Murdoch flew into the Hamptons, an exclusive and expensive beach resort on Long Island, New York to pick up one businessman with whom he flew to an estate in Pennsylvania to discuss a deal over lunch with another. They finalized the details at Sunnylands, a 273 acre property in Palm Springs, California (Belfield, Hird and Kelly, 1991: 203).

From Toronto to Montreal for dinner and back home by eleven p.m. is not difficult for Conrad Black with a jet to connect two limousines. When Valentino travels by private jet, he needs three buses to deliver him to and to meet him at the airport; one for himself, friends and staff, one for his luggage and one for his six dogs, Margot, Maude, Milton, Molly and Monty. Kerry Packer flew internationally and back in a day for a meeting with Rupert Murdoch, who travels overseas most weeks. His chartered jet landed at Northland Airport whence he was helicoptered directly to Morning Glory, Murdoch’s $30 million Italian-designed luxury ketch anchored in New Zealand’s Bay of Islands Son James crossed the Tasman and returned by private jet, a Falcon 200. He flew to New Plymouth and thence traveled by helicopter to visit his friend Tom Cruise on set in New Zealand (Vanity Fair 2004, 99; O’Rourke 2003; New Zealand Herald 2003; Siklos, 1995: 312; Coleridge 1994, 479; Mychasuk 1996; Davies and Kidman 1997).

Jodee Rich could fly his $10 million Cessna Citation seven-seater jet from Sydney to an airport in the Whitsundays and then travel by his $2 million six-seater Eurocopter Squirrel helicopter to his $4 million property. There he could play with his several motorbikes and AWD buggies and his off-shore racing boat Plus One driven by three MerCruiser V8s which Jodee had installed to make it go faster. A journalist took it for a spin to test it for a boating magazine.

‘On more than one occasion the boat was totally clear of the water, soaring across the valleys between the crests, before cleaving back amidst a welter of spray and foam’. He also had a Riviera 4000 worth about $450,000, more than $10,000 per foot. It was similar to Plus One but came equipped with a double bed, cocktail cabinet, leather trim and teak decks. The sales literature explained why it was important for a man like Jodee to own it. ‘Achievement has always been your goal. Now, with the Riviera 4000 you truly have a performance cruiser that reflects your need to outperform those who choose to compete with you at work and at play. . . . The Riviera 4000 offers your whole family the opportunity to share the privilege of achievement and the respect of your friends and associates’. He also had a 9 metre Scarb Thunder worth $200,000 (Barry, 2002: 145-146, 322)
Tim Heald (1991: 153) wrote of a ‘brief visit’ to Glasgow, Edinburgh and Coventry with the Duke of Edinburgh using train, helicopter and Rolls-Royce ‘which creamed through London to Euston at breakneck speed with traffic parting before us like the Red Sea before the Israelites’.

Prince Charles used the Royal Train more often than other members of the Royal family. He ‘enjoyed the isolation,’ he said, and the train ensured that he could reach ‘faraway destinations on time’. It gave him ‘precious hours’ in which to:

- read documents, write letters and prepare speeches before retiring for the night to the accompaniment of Mozart, while he was trundled gently to the following day’s official function (Dimbleby, 1994: 510).

These days the Royal Train no longer exists as such, replaced instead by special carriages containing sleeping cabins ‘enormous by usual railway standards’; a bathroom; a saloon with a two-seat sofa with its back to the engine and one armchair opposite raised on the Duke’s instructions so that the occupant can see out the window better; and telephones with 28 lines (James, 1992: 184, Heald, 1991: 154, 159).

Tim Heald, who travelled with Prince Philip on the train, comments:

Incidentally someone has made the point that there is no such thing as the ‘Royal Train’, just royal railway coaches. Fair enough. The only thing I could see in this train which marked it out as the Duke’s was an enlarged copy of his senior citizen’s rail pass in a frame by the door (Heald, 1991: 154).

Heald recorded his impressions at some length.

Inside [the Duke] held the door [of the salon] open for me and asked, genially, ‘Like a drink?’ There was a bottle of Famous Grouse and another of Malvern water on a side table. I said yes please and he poured me a stiff one, with water, another for himself and a beer for the Brig. Then we sat down. The Brigadier was in the armchair facing the engine, the Duke by the window, me on his left. On the low table in front of us a plate of miniature sausage rolls and sandwiches and nuts. ‘Have something to eat,’ said the Duke. ‘Keep the wolf from the door,’ and seconds later we pulled out of Euston with me sipping nervously at my Scotch… And so to bed. The steward came in and asked about breakfast orders. The Duke went for haddock. ‘Kippers,’ I said. ‘Kippers would be great.’ ‘Kippers!’ said the Duke, with his look, quizzical, amused, insisting that you explain yourself properly.

‘Oh, all right, kipper. A kipper would be wonderful.’ We laughed. Next morning my kipper, beautifully filleted, was served with a style I don’t normally associate with British Rail.

‘Have some cream with them,’ said the Duke.

‘Cream?’
‘They can be terribly dry otherwise,’ he said, and so I poured a trickle of cream over them. They were extremely good. Next night I said I’d like the Dover sole. My father, who had traveled on the Royal Train some twenty-five years before, had been surprised to see the Duke having sole for breakfast. I ordered the sole for him. An absurd act of remembrance. ‘Have some scrambled egg with them,’ said the Duke. ‘Scrambled egg with sole! You’re joking.’ ‘Not at all. It’s very good.’ ‘Are you sure?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Well if you say so.’ And so I breakfasted off Dover sole with scrambled egg. Unorthodox, but very good. Worth a try (Heald, 1991: 153, 154).

Meanwhile the Duke perused ‘all the [morning] newspapers’, the tabloids first, which had somehow found their way on board as ‘we slid in between the grubby commuter trains with their passengers’ heads suddenly jerking up in surprise’ (Heald, 1991: 154, 155).

The 14-seat Challenger jet [Giancarlo Giammetti] will take to Paris idles on the tarmac. Giammetti is a nervous flyer, so standing around airports is disagreeable for him. Along with a chef, a major-domo, a valet, two butlers, and a maid, he is waiting for one of Italy’s most famous men: Valentino Garavani . . . After takeoff Maude [a dog] is released by a butler. She runs forward and jumps up on Valentino’s lap, but before she can settle in, another staff member appears with a light-blue linen cloth, which he unfurls and places under the dog to minimize the effects of shedding (Vanity Fair 2004, 96, 99).

A private plane is the ‘real equivalent of the golden coach or the private railroad car, though some people will tell you that a yacht is even better’ (Davis, 1982: 143). The men in this book, of course, usually have both, and sometimes more than one of each. Rupert Murdoch has a Gulfstream IV-SP jet—mentioned in the seven-page December 1996 issue feature on jet-set etiquette in Vanity Fair (Chancellor, 1996c: 1). Frank’s son, David Lowy, the chief executive of the Westfield Shopping Centre group, likes to fly an A-37 Cessna Dragon Fly. Used by the Americans in the Vietnam War, it’s the only one of its kind and can accelerate from zero to 200 kilometres in four or five seconds. He admits it’s ‘the ultimate toy’ (Mychasuk, 1996). Joe Kennedy bought a ten passenger DC-3 for his son Jack, prior to his presidency. Called Caroline, ‘it was luxuriously appointed with sofas, reclining chairs, a curtained-off sleeping area, a dining area... a galley’ and a flight attendant, Janet Des Rosiers, ‘whose other responsibilities included massaging Jack’s neck and combing his hair’ (Andersen, 1996: 202, 222). Its contemporary equivalent, the Boeing Business Jet 737, which costs $64 million unfurnished and $74 million furnished, has an 800 square foot cabin with room for a lounge, private suite, conference facilities, emergency medical facility, satellite communications centre and an exercise suite. It costs about $9.6 million to run for 100 hours, and 28 have been sold
since 1996. Kerry Packer enjoyed a commercial-sized 727. Henry Fok, the Hong Kong mogul, likes to travel in a private 747 with a second private 747 following behind with his staff. King Khalid of Saudi Arabia’s 747 is equipped with a gyratory prayer room forever oriented toward Mecca. The upper deck has been converted into an intensive-care cardiac unit with state of the art medical equipment (Conniff 2003, 130, 135; Sunday Times, 2003; Chancellor with Lawson, 2000: 24).

Priced at the bottom from between US$950,000 and US$1.7 million, private helicopters are ‘seldom seen’ in Australia, according to the Financial Review’s Mark Lawson. Dick Smith is thought to have a Huey (Bell UH1) while Kerry Packer has a Bell and a S76 Sikorsky, valued at $14 million. Seating 8-12, it is one of the few in private hands. The British Royals have the Queen’s Flight available to them, comprising three Andovers and two Westland Wessex helicopters. ‘When looking at the cabin of the Queen’s Flight aircraft, there is the Duke’s seat, dark blue, adjustable, and there right opposite is the Queen’s identical one’. When the Royals are forced to travel by commercial jet, a section of the first class passenger compartment is reserved for them (Lawson, 2002; Heald, 1991: 232; James, 1992: 184, 185). The Kennedys, however, booked an entire airliner for a trip to Paris for Dr ‘Feelgood’ Jacobsen and his wife Nina so that the supply and administration of their ‘magic elixir’ (speed plus vitamins) would continue to be available while they were overseas and suspicion would not be aroused in the press. It was ‘the strangest flight I ever made’, said Jacobsen. ‘We were the only passengers on the plane’ (Andersen, 1996: 292, 293).

But even for those reduced to ‘normal’ first class travel, the difference is very substantial. At a cost of about four times the economy fare, the seats are big with a lot of space between them. The footrest rises and the back reclines making the seat as ‘flat and wide as a bed’. Breakfast on the Sydney to London flight one morning was ‘slabs of salmon on chunks of warm bread’, for an entree, followed by a fruit salad of pear-shaped green guava, mango, papaya and pineapple, followed by eggs and ham steak with whole tomato. The major meals have four or five courses and a choice of two entrees and three mains from menus designed by renowned Chef Neil Perry of Rockpool and Wokpool fame. ‘Most memorable was the warm lobster [which] had sloughed its shell—even from its claws—nestled in a potato and cepe salad’ (Lenthen, 1998: 5T).

In cars and houses, so in boats. Size does matter. Things have come a long way since Sir Frank Packer built Australia’s first America’s cup challenger, Gretel. Costing $4 million and featuring hand-rubbed teak woodwork in a satin finish, five toilets, an onboard garbage container, refrigerator, freezer and cooled vegetable locker, Lachlan Murdoch’s 80 foot Yacht Ipix Una [Ipuxana] impressed the members of Sydney’s Cruising Yacht Club, conveniently located just down the hill from his home. It is almost double the size of the yacht he
sailed in 1997 in the Sydney to Hobart yacht race. But it is nowhere near the size of the Sultan of Brunei’s brother Jefri’s 181-foot yacht "Tits," equipped with speedboats named "Nipple One" and "Nipple Two". At 74 metres Frank Lowy’s motor cruiser Ilona IV is four times longer than the average house. Named after the Westfield magnate’s mother, the $110 million yacht is the 32nd biggest in the world and contains 18 guest cabins, a massage room, a 14 seat cinema and a helipad with helicopter. Teak swimming decks hydraulically extend over the water, and the landing deck for the $2.5 million five-seater Eurocopter Squirrel retracts below decks. It has 28 crew, including a helicopter pilot, housed in 13 cabins and costs about $10 million a year to run, including berthing costs in Sydney of about $7,000 a day (Conniff 2003, 235; Hornery with Malkin 2004, 20; Brown 2003, 10; Mychasuk, 1997d: 27; Johnson, 2004a: 14; English, 2004).

Charles Curran, who has large holdings in and sits on the boards of QBE Insurance and Perpetual Trustees, owns the $1 million-plus yacht Sydney which has acquitted itself well in the annual Sydney–Hobart yacht race. At 20 metres, Sydney is generally considered pretty large, but is five times smaller than Howard Hughes’ motor yacht which accommodated a crew of thirty and was the world’s seventh largest ocean-going vessel in private hands. He paid about $US15 million for it in 1990s currency and hired the Irish captain Carl (‘Jock’) Flynn to sail it from Scotland across the Atlantic to Newport where it was:

- elaborately refitted, with sumptuous furnishings of white and gold, and solid gold taps and fixtures in the bathrooms [with] a master stateroom with a vast double bed covered in wolf skins in which the owner could enjoy the company of his various companions.

But Russian billionaire Roman Abramovich’s 355-foot Grand Bleu has its own dry-cleaning plant, while Greg Norman’s 69.5 metre Aussie Rules carries enough fuel to sail directly from the South to the North Pole without stopping. The largest privately-owned aluminium motorised yacht in the world cost $70 million, and Norman must pay $2 million simply to paint it. The yacht contains a game fishing boat and more than 200 fishing rods, a watercraft and four jet skis. In addition to his $US100 million Tatoosh, Microsoft’s Paul Allen has the 127 metre Octopus with room for a million litres of fuel, a basketball court, two helicopters, and a garage for several cars (Higham, 1993: 65–66; Holder et al, 2003; Lloyd-McDonald 2003; Peretz, 2004: 116-118; Johnson, 2004b: 15)

Cowes Week, the annual yachting regatta off the north coast of England’s Isle of Wight and one place where the big yachts regularly lurk, has had royal patronage almost from its beginning and, until the Royal Yacht’s recent decommission, members of Royal Family always stayed on the Britannia at the start of their annual summer holiday (James, 1992: 39). One year, the Queen took the family on a leisurely cruise to Norway, where they joined King Olav on his yacht Norge and sailed along the Norwegian coast to Andalsnes, Molde and
into Trondheim Fjord (James, 1992: 28). Britannia was rather a large vessel to be styled a yacht. Judy Casab was ‘amazed’ to find herself dining on it with fifty-six guests including Sir James Rowland, the Chief Justice, two archbishops and the architect, Harry Seidler (Cassab, 1995: 418).

At 87 metres Kerry Packer’s ‘floating resort’ is much longer than a large suburban block. The $40 million blue-hulled Arctic P, took one year to refit after its purchase in 1994. It emerged with grand dining rooms, a cinema with reclining couches, a wine room, swimming pool, helipad and spa baths in each cabin. There is room on the bow for at least 10 people to sit allowing a half metre space between them. Unfortunately, the boat is too big to berth at some of the a la mode Mediterranean harbours (Mychasuk, 1996) but to cope with this dilemma there is a $360,000 speedboat (Walsh, 1997: 25). The boat is maintained by a permanent staff of 14, who were on hand when James entertained his ex-wife Jodhi as one of their first ‘official dates’. He had already flown her around the world to join the vessel, which is usually moored in the Caribbean, although it sometimes appears in the Mediterranean in the European summer. It was the venue for a $1 million millennium party in Sydney Harbour, attended it is said by Bill Gates, Harry Adler and a ‘middle-eastern royal with connections to the horse racing industry’ amongst others (Sweetman and Luff, 1999). In July 1996 James Packer cruised the Greek islands with Jodee and Maxine Rich, Liberal Party power broker Michael Kroger, Nick Falloon, the chief executive of the Packer’s public company, PBL, and James’ executives and friends. According to Rich, ‘the service was magnificent, the boat amazing [but] it seemed to him like a Roman court, with his fellow passengers . . . all vying for the emperor’s favour’ (Barry, 2002: 119).

The Aga Khan, however, can leave even Arctic P far behind in his jet-propelled Shergar (named after his missing horse), which is one of the three fastest boats in the world. The crew of seven can focus on the essentials like preparing and serving lunch, for they can simply dial in the destination and the satellite-linked navigation system clicks on to automatic. But if he should arrive at St Tropez he can be expected to pay $US 100,000 a week berthing costs and to make a contribution to the upkeep of the harbour master himself (Peretz 2004, 118; Coleridge, 1994: 395).

Number four on the Forbes 400 rich list, spotted number three’s yacht close by. He ordered his captain to boost his yacht’s three engines up to top speed and overtook number three’s yacht at forty miles an hour, creating an enormous wake that sent the man and his guests flying. "It was an adolescent prank," he told The Washington Post afterwards. "I highly recommend it." (Conniff 2003, 78). Meanwhile, the Neiman Marcus catalogue is offering a $20 million private submarine which can stay submerged for up to twenty days (Conniff 2003, 174) Those who wish to combine real-estate with sailing, along with exclusivity, isolation and security, can buy a two bedroom, two bathroom apartment with a starting price of US$2.25 million on board the 45,000 tonne cruise ship
ResidenSea where they can join the 320 residents and 320 staff and follow the sun (Ross, 2003: 184).

**Conclusion**
In ways such as these, space and motion are experienced and constructed differently by the very wealthy. Their world is both homogenous and spatially dispersed; far-flung and yet familiar; simultaneously global and seamless. Their fabulously swift, extremely comfortable and intensely private multi-modal means of travel compress space. The locations they move between, the buildings in which they live, are very large, and one rich man occupies easily one thousand times more space than most people do. Their properties have been passed down both through the generations and between families, maintaining and enhancing their value while ensuring the social isolation and internal cohesion of those who own them. They are their own property market and price is a most effective way of restricting access to their neighbourhoods. Within the relatively small and very restricted clusters in which they live, their properties are large, the houses on them are splendid and the rooms within them are spacious and many.

The children of the very rich quickly become accustomed to large amounts of personal space. Feeling crowded is largely absent from these men’s understanding. So much so that they find the infrequent sharing of space discomforting. Not surprisingly, others sense them as beings who are ‘large’ and spatially imposing. Consequently they seldom experience human closeness, rarely having their personal space intruded upon. Thus are they remorseless, intentional and belligerent in filling space with the bodies which others look after for them. Tasty and nutritious food is constantly and instantly available to them and their time regimes allow for exercise in their clubs and resorts and for body-maintenance in health clinics and private hospitals.

These bodies are well-habituated to motion, arrivals and departures in luxuriously appointed cars, yachts and planes which are driven and maintained by their servants. Travel is not only about their purposeful movement but also concerns magnitude, extravagance, display, potency and achievement. It also involves choice within and between transport modes, and the regular use of two or more private forms of travel consecutively is a commonplace feature of the lives of the wealthy, connecting quickly, comfortably and effortlessly their globally dispersed but culturally consonant possessions.

You can’t take it with you, but the Packer family vault is the largest in Sydney’s South Head Cemetery (Maynard, 2003).
Hegemony: Explorations into Consensus, Coercion and Culture

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The Ethico-Political and Postmarxism

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The Ethico-Political and Postmarxism

Introduction

It is impossible to escape the impression that people commonly use false standards of measurement – that they seek power, success and wealth for themselves and admire them in others, and that they underestimate what is of true value in life. And yet, in making any general judgement of this sort, we are in danger of forgetting how variegated the human world and its mental life are.

(Freud 1973: 1)

In Freud’s opening paragraph to *Civilisation and its Discontents* (1973), he makes two points about the nature of people and social life that illustrate the thematic of this paper. The first is that there is inevitability or in other words, a commonsense in the Occident that society is constructed and organised around systems that produce homogeneity and order. The second is that this commonsense will, *inter alia*, ensure a taken-for-grantedness about social universality and its potential to obfuscate the reality of socio-political particularity. Of course, Freud went on to discuss the problematic of religion as one such system, amongst others, and the ‘oceanic’ feeling it is said to give to its adherents. This ‘oceanic’ feeling or notion of a universal consciousness has also been central to left social critique since Marx articulated the importance of a collective consciousness that sought to universalise desire and action so as to achieve progression, emancipation and social justice.

Marx’s brilliant synthesis of anthropology, sociology and history showed that collective consciousness is superstructural and emergent from the epochal movements in the economic and productive base of life. Further, that in the current epoch, understood through the base of capitalist politico-economics, universality sustains an inherent oppression. However, in Marxism, the epistemology of oppression universalises social ontology through the experiences of the worker. The point of departure for this paper is
that in the contemporary Occident, at least, this position is no longer sustainable. In the post-World War period and certainly, in the post-Cold War period a proliferation of 'particularistic' political identities have emerged, none of which seek to ground its legitimacy and its actions in a project pre-determined by 'universal history' (Laclau 1994: 1). The aim of this paper then, is to develop conceptually an approach that addresses what is called here the problematic of universality. In other words, to bring back the importance of universality to socio-political action in a way that does not negate the particularity that marks the contemporary Occident. It will begin with analysis of Gramsci’s theory of hegemony and specifically, the dialectic operation of consensus and coercion to show how a hegemonic situation becomes ethico-political. It will then link the ethico-political nature of hegemony to a postmarxist project and show how a reconciliation of the problematic of universality may occur in a contemporary context.

From dialectic to ethico-political in the theory of hegemony
Consensus and coercion have become axioms of contemporary understandings of hegemony (see Showstack Sassoon 2000: 70, Laclau 2000: 48, Fontana 2002: 28-29). Yet, how these two aspects play themselves out within hegemony at both the conceptual and practical level, remains difficult to pin down. However, to begin to understand their operation the concept of dialectic is crucial. As Bobbio (cited in Finocchiaro 1988: 148) argues, the dialectic represents a central theme of the whole structure of the Prison Notebooks. So much so that it unifies the collection of thoughts that form the theory of hegemony. Bobbio goes on to argue though, that so far, the dialectic has not received the attention its importance demands.

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1 This unsustainability is expressed through the demands of such socio-political identities as women, racially and ethnically marginalised people, sexually marginalised people, aged and disabled people, single parents all of whom may be workers yet whose demands cannot be determined by the experiences of the traditional worker that is, white, eurocentered, educated, males.

2 I have used the term problematic of universality rather than following Laclau (1994) the ‘crisis of universalism’. I emphasise problematic rather than crisis to suggest difference in degrees. So that rather than see universalism as a system of thought that no longer has legitimacy and is breaking down that is, in crisis, the nature of universality remains legitimate but has shifted and its efficacy to sustain social justice must be opened up and questioned.
In the Prison Notebooks Gramsci’s articulation of the dialectic is based on its appropriation from the Hegelian thesis-antithesis-synthesis model. However, unlike Hegel who left it as pure philosophy, Gramsci, following Marx, emphasised the importance of applying it to the concrete and historical reality of life. So from the ontological nature of the Gramscian dialectic it is possible to construct a scenario that emphasises consensus and coercion in hegemony as involving amongst other things, a moral and intellectual leadership (Showstack Sassoon 2000: 70) capable of producing alliances in which a ‘preeminent’ social group takes control and gives direction throughout civil society (Fontana 2002: 29) but this opens up the possibility for crisis and the always already struggle by oppressed groups to ensure that their particular interests will be addressed (Laclau 2000: 48). What is evident even in this simple scenario is that consensus and coercion do not operate in a straightforward dialectic to produce a sustainable synthetic hegemonic universality. Rather, the universality of hegemony, believed to be the outcome of alliance arrangements is a contingent phenomenon and always dependent on the shifting balance between consensus and coercion within a historical situation. Nevertheless, it is possible to simplify this balance in line with the above scenario, understood through two key essays; Gramsci’s ‘Some Aspects of the Southern Question’ (1978: 441-463) and ‘Relations between Structure and Superstructures’ (1996: 177-188), to say that where coercion prevails hegemony will move inexorably to a dominative situation marked by crisis, oppression, a proliferation of particularity, and at best conjunctural, restorative struggle. Where consensus prevails coordinated by moral and intellectual leadership then hegemony will express aspiration and will be marked by ‘unstable equilibria’ and ‘organic’ change.

The ontological and contingent nature of the Gramscian dialectic also emphasises a rejection of ‘speculation’. In other words, that knowledge whether practiced by the philosopher or the social group in ‘speculative’ form is always simply an explanatory mechanism. To be active and progressive it must be organic and therefore, it must not just understand and explain contradiction but actually become an ‘element’ of the contradiction (Gramsci 1973: 370). In other words, the dialectic as hegemonic can never contain some exogenously imposed truth but must always be formed through the
articulation of elements that are within and part of socio-political relations. Mike Donaldson articulately explicated this critique of ‘apriorism’\(^3\) in his paper ‘What is Hegemonic Masculinity’, albeit, from within the context of the hegemony of masculinity.

A culturally idealised form, it is both personal and a collective project, and is the common sense about breadwinning and manhood. It is exclusive, anxiety-provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated, brutal and violent. It is pseudo-natural, tough, contradictory, crisis-prone, rich and socially sustained. While centrally connected with the institutions of male dominance, not all men practice it, though most benefit from it. Although cross-class, it often excludes working-class, gay and black-men. It is a lived experience, and an economic and cultural force, and dependent on social arrangements. It is constructed through difficult negotiation over a life-time. Fragile it may be, but it constructs the most dangerous things we live with. Resilient, it incorporates its own critiques, but it is, nonetheless, “unravelling”. [my emphasis]

(Donaldson 1993: 645-646)

Therefore, the crucial aspiration of the dialectic emerges as the desire to free elements from articulating a one-sided and fanatical speculative ideology and also, to destroy the domative efficacy of all exogenously imposed and dogmatically one-sided concepts. This dialectic aspiration is often easily missed when analysing the theory of hegemony because it is most evident not in the Prison Notebooks but rather, in a letter written to Tatiana Schucht on 30 May 1932. Here Gramsci shows his interest in trying to grasp the influence that Ricardo’s economic theory played in the dialectic of historical materialism. In conveying this desire, Gramsci (1988: 219-220) points out that his own endeavours must go beyond the specificity of Ricardo’s theory of value so as to identify its

\(^3\) I have used apriorism following Laclau and Mouffe (1985) where it may be understood as a system that imposes principles upon the hegemony exogenously or in a deterministic way. In other words, apriorism implies existence and influence outside of the social relations that define hegemony.
contribution as ‘synthetic (that is, bound up with the intuition of the world and the manner of thinking) and not merely analytical (in relation to a particular doctrine, however fundamental)’. This suggests that in the first instance, Gramsci’s dialectic epistemology identifies the synthetic as the mass-intellectual nexus and therefore, there can be no moment when politics is privileged over economics and further, no moment where either or both are privileged over the social, or moral and intellectual reality. This is precisely the moment when dialectic becomes ethico-political within hegemony.

So a key objective of hegemonic logic is to arrive at a moral and intellectual bloc referred to by Gramsci (1973: 334) as the ‘dialectic between the intellectuals and mass’. Further, to synthetically, rather than analytically, incorporate this predominantly socio-cultural bloc with the traditional economic and political blocs to produce the ‘historical bloc’. In this way, the historical bloc allows Gramsci to synergise and then explicate the structural (that is, economic and political) with the superstructural (that is, moral and intellectual) aspects of hegemony (Adamson 1980: 176). This new ethico-political historical bloc extended the Marxist notion of class-for-itself, which was based on the people’s consciousness of their position solely in the context of the economic base or mode of production, by giving consciousness a broader social and cultural point of departure. But it also, enabled Gramsci (1985: 206-212) to set a new ‘popular’ and ‘national’ character-imperative to the Marxist idea of ‘collective will’. The idea of ‘popular’ is perhaps the key here because through it, Gramsci seeks to emphasise the need to eschew the knowledge and ethics of any one dominant identity, speculative philosophy or politico-social bloc as the aprioristic determiners of a hegemonic collective will. Instead, hegemonic knowledge and ethics must be drawn from the culture and people of a community in its broadest sense (Gramsci 1971: 125-133).

To imagine the elaboration of consensus and coercion into an ethico-political historical bloc, Gramsci had to first displace three foundational Marxist tenets. First, Gramsci set aside the idea that the superstructure is simply contingent on the base and then gave emphasis to the broad material nature of ideology. This led to the second displacement, which was to reject the epiphenomenalistic nature of ideology. The third and key
displacement involved the setting aside of all reductionistic and deterministic interpretations of ideology (Mouffe 1979: 185-195). The consequence of these radical displacements is that it produced what Laclau and Mouffe (see 1985: 111) following Freud (1974) and Althusser (1977) would later call ‘overdetermination’. In other words, that hegemony as ethico-political produces a collective will that, in the final analysis, rejects all narrow corporate interests and most crucially, those of the leading group where they are imposed exogenously of the socio-political relations through which hegemony is played out. To do otherwise is to produce hegemony that does not achieve unstable equilibria and is always deterministic. Thus, overdetermination produces a situation where neither absolute fixity nor absolute non-fixity of identities is imposed. So, the construction of identities within hegemony as ethico-political can be understood as beginning with ‘elements’ that through ‘articulation’ within a hegemonic logic become ‘moments’ of a collective will (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 105).

Gramsci (1973: 448) began to articulate this transformation of identity from element to moment when he argued in his essay on the Southern Question that the hegemony of the proletariat must recognise particularity but move to universalise it under a common knowledge and aim. In this way moments do not need to appeal to some essentialised property or pre-given social position to be understood as real and legitimate.

So, ethico-political hegemonic logic can now be interpreted as promoting the aspiration for a reconciliation of particularity (diversity within the mass) with universality (moral and intellectual leadership). However, any reconciliation must not privilege a universality that simply recognises the particularity of interests already in existence and overlook those

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4 Following Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 105) moments will refer to differential positions articulated within a discourse. By contrast, element will refer to any difference that is not discursively articulated given that articulation refers to any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result. In this context, discourse will refer to the structured totality of all articulatory practices. There should be no concern about the application of these post-foundationalist concepts to understanding hegemony because they effectively represent praxis, or the synergy of theory-practice.

5 However, in the hegemony of masculinity understood as a dominative form of hegemony (see Howson forthcoming 2005), this articulation is often obfuscated by essentialism so as to produce a situation in which certain masculine properties are taken-for-granted as central to all men’s being, for example, toughness, non-emotiveness and rationality. These in turn aprioristically universalise masculinity so that their expression in practice is what determines men’s receipt of the ‘patriarchal dividend’ (see Connell 1995).
continuously being activated from within civil society. To do so, would impose a crisis that in the final analysis can only be overcome by imposing regression through a restorative cycle (Gramsci 1971: 181-182). This in turn, can only result in the entrenching of a ‘dominative hegemony’ (Howson forthcoming 2005). Thus, the promotion of hegemony with an ethico-political nature represents an articulatory environment that is never ossified and in which there is the potential through moral and intellectual leadership for each particularity to be given voice and brought together with other particularities in unstable equilibria. This situation can be understood as ‘aspirational hegemony’ (Howson forthcoming 2005) and is precisely, what Gramsci (1996: 179-180) referred to as the highest synthesis in the political relations of force.

**Ethico-political hegemony and the postmarxist project**

Postmarxism\(^6\) represents a theoretical reconfiguration of Marxism rather than a wholesale rejection of it, even though two writers in particular, Geras (1987) and Noonan (1999) read such reconfiguration as anathema to the Marxist project. As, Norman Geras (1987: 43-44) puts it, postmarxism rejects ‘standard Marxist positions’ such as, that structural class position is the historical determiner of social and political identities, that the base has explanatory primacy, that politics and ideology are secondary and most important, that there are structural tendencies towards the unification of the working class and that this class has a privileged connection with the struggle for socialism. This is not the place to examine in detail Geras’ critique,\(^7\) though it is important to point out that implicit in this critique is support for an aprioristic approach to the problematic of universality. This is something that as has already been

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\(^6\) While Laclau and Mouffe (1985: ix) do not refer to their work as postmarxist they ‘accept’ the label if it is used in the sense of ‘reappropriation’ and ‘going beyond it’. This is because as they state, postmarxism ‘cannot be conceived just as an internal history of Marxism. Many social antagonisms, many issues which are crucial to the understanding of contemporary societies, belong to fields of discursivity [and thus practices] that are external to Marxist categories – given, especially, that their very presence is what puts Marxism as a closed theoretical system into question, and leads to the postulation of new starting points for social analysis’.

\(^7\) I have not attempted to discuss in any detail Geras’ or Noonan’s critique of postmarxism. In many ways, though I must stress not all, their concerns are relevant. Instead, I have focused on bringing out points of Geras’ critique in particular, that have relevance to the discussion of ethico-political in hegemony and its nexus to the postmarxist project.
shown, is not just undermined in the postmarxism of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) but also, has its point of departure in the theory of hegemony through the ethico-political.

In Laclau and Mouffe’s 1985 version of postmarxism and also, in its later developments through the work of Laclau (1996, 2000) the ethico-political and its central position of overdetermination promotes a situation in which the dialectic of consensus and coercion ensures the relationality of possibility and impossibility, fixity and non-fixity marks all socio-political relations. In this context, consensus and coercion are not completely negated but neither are they dichotomised. Rather, they are reconfigured so that coercion is articulated as antagonism of particularity in such a way that enables the possibility for consensus to be expressed through particularity as moments of equivalence. This has the effect of lessening the possibility of a dominative hegemony or ossified universality taking hold but also, it sits at odds with conventional pluralism, which also maintains an elitist, essentialist and restricted form of identity politics (Wenman’s 2003, pp. 57-58).\(^8\) This is precisely, the situation that the postmarxism of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and later Laclau (1996, 2000) seeks to redress.

Postmarxism elaborates the ethico-political aspect of hegemony by challenging the oppression of democracy and its concomitant negation of particularity by arguing that it is not enough to simply recognize the existence, or even alliance, of excluded particularity as an always already aspect of some politico-economic universality. What is crucial at this point is to articulate particularity – in its multifarious manifestations – through a logic capable of reconfiguring its identity and thus, the nature of its antagonism. In other words, to give the antagonism of each particularity ‘equivalential’ status that in turn, elaborates consensus and coercion into a new ethico-political dialectic where particular antagonisms are able to assume an equivalential or collective and collaborative nature but remain identified as clearly ‘anti-system’ (Laclau in Butler

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\(^8\) Second-wave feminism while one of the most important particular antagonisms to develop in the post-war period also represents a particularly problematic identity politics. A significant critique of second-wave feminism is that it expressed an elitist (white and anglo) and essentialist (female and feminine) identity politics that in the final analysis, struggled to develop a progressive equivalence with other particular antagonisms.
et al. 2000: 302). The process through which this operates is what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) refer to as the ‘chaining of equivalences’.

The process of chaining equivalences and as we will see later the concept of ‘general equivalent’ shows postmarxism as reconfiguring rather than rejecting Marxism. Central to this reconfiguration is the idea put forward by Laclau (1996: 26-27), which rejects the contemporary pluralist identity politics. In effect, if pluralism maintains an essentialised and autonomous identity politics, understood as ‘pure particularism’, this will produce a ‘self-defeating’ project. There are two reasons for this; first, we know that the postmarxist approach understands a particular identity as a contingent construction emerging from the relationality of particularity and not from the isolationism produced by a transcendent property. In all complex societies this relationality is regulated by discursively constructed principles that transcend any and all particularism, for example, the right to self-determination. So for example, there can be no particularity that does not make some appeal to the discourse and principles of self-determination in the construction of its identity. This claim emphasizes the fact that when difference is expressed in hegemony there is necessarily implied the existence of an equivalential and thereby, universalising logic. Second, if it is possible to imagine a situation where, in the first instance, particular antagonisms emerge and interact agonistically, then the implication is that there is, only, recognition of the differential and relational aspect of each particularity, which in turn simply reproduces the status quo (Laclau 1996: 27). What is overlooked in this initial moment is that difference in a relation is always based on power and by projecting particularity as ‘mere particularity’ the nature and operation of power is ignored. In much the same way as power and the oppressive potential is over-looked in the differential relationality between wife and husband in familial contexts.

So, for equivalential logic to effectively chain particularity it must produce more than simply a system of alliances between differentially related identities. In the relation between wife and husband for example, while this relation may represent subordination of the former it remains prima facie a positive differentiation and therefore, does not
produce oppression and antagonism – certainly this is the position of the structural functionalists. In fact, it is this form of relationality that imposes reciprocity and is therefore argued to negate antagonism of the subordinate identity (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 153-154). Most crucially, the positivity of this situation will remain so long as there is not a discourse whose articulated principles transcend both the dominant and subordinate moments in this gender relation. In contemporary families across the Occident second-wave feminism has drawn on values and principles from progressive works to develop new ways of understanding the subject positions and identities of wife and other female identities across the masculine hegemony. So it is by appeal to this knowledge framed within the discourse of feminism that all gender particularities can share equivalential status. Most importantly, where these principles are ignored the positive subordinate differentiation in gendered subject positions for example, can be understood as subverted, exposing an oppressive system. Discourse then becomes central to the chaining of equivalences that begins with the articulation of elements into moments of antagonism. However, discourse is not purely a symbolic phenomenon but rather a mechanism that enables the synergetic construction of the symbolic with the practical to produce a structured totality (Laclau and Mouffe 1987: 82-84). Thus, antagonism produced through a discursive subversion does not develop simply on the basis of knowledge but rather, always through its application to the unequal operation of power in concrete practices (Laclau and Mouffe 1987: 82). So it is impossible for particularity to acquire meaning, coherence and legitimacy from some point outside of the structured totality of a discursive space. Discourse becomes an ineluctable part of the overdeterminative, contingent and constitutive nature of ethico-political hegemony.

The rise of the ‘general equivalent’
The equivalential logic required to produce a chaining of equivalence capable of incorporating a notion of universality that promotes the particularity of antagonism

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9 It is perhaps important to point out at this time that Geras’ interpretation of discourse in Laclau and Mouffe’s work represents one instance of error in his critique. Geras for his own reasons, applies a purely poststructuralist understanding of discourse that is, as only symbolic rather than recognising the symbolic-practice or praxis basis of discourse in Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (for a discussion of this see Laclau and Mouffe 1987).
cannot be based on some transcendent property or set of principles operating essentialistically and aprioristically. Rather, equivalential logic is always underpinned by discourse that can only emanate from particularity but always implies a universalising aspect. This conceptual development is crucial for understanding the reconciliation of the problematic of universality.

Following Laclau’s (in Butler et al. 2000: 302-304) logic we see its point of departure in the particular demands made against an oppressive system that seeks to maintain its dominance through a regressive dominative hegemony. These demands have the potential to represent a universal ‘anti-system’ moment but in this context, they will be split between the essentialist and elitist particularity from which they emerged and the universal dimension of the principles they seek to promote. Now it is the universality of discourse that has the potential to inspire the emergence of other particular struggles but in so doing, these new identities will ineluctably be constituted through this universality. For example, a crucial discourse in the history of Western socio-politics emerged around the ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen’. The concomitant set of principles (see Finer 1979: 267-271) in turn, enabled the emergence in the contemporary context of new demands to operate beside traditional demands in challenging the system for example, patriarchy, worker exploitation, racism, ethnocentrism and more recently, environmentalism and globalisation. In many ways, the universality of this discourse continues to symbolize the equivalential potential among diverse particularities. However, the proliferation of particularity this discourse enables leads to the most crucial phase of the postmarxist project certainly, in terms of reconciling the problematic of universality. This phase is the emergence and development of the ‘general equivalent’ (Laclau in Butler et al. 2000: 302) from the chain of equivalence. For postmarxism this remains a conceptual work-in-progress and the following discussion will show its current position.

The nature of the chain of equivalences is most clearly articulated at the ‘frontier’ (Laclau in Butler et al. 2000: 302). The frontier is a space that exists between the demands of the dominative ‘system’ and those of the aspirational ‘anti-system’ chain.
The conceptual importance of the frontier is that without it operating as a delineative marker between opposing demands there is always the possibility that anti-system particularity will be drawn inexorably towards and unevenly imbricated upon the principles of the system. This results in the blurring of anti-system demands with the system and leads to the constraining of the articulation of particularity with universality because here the ‘logic of difference’ operates for the system and is able to undermine equivalential logic (Laclau in Butler et al. 2000: 304-305). The precarious position of democracy with the neo-liberalist conception of the ‘right’ (see Bobbio 1987) and the ambivalent alliances complicit masculinities and ambivalent femininities have with hegemonic masculinity are examples of this blurring of the frontier. However, in situations where the frontier becomes more obvious, making the aprioristic nature of the system’s principles better understood, the number of anti-system particularities will increase and extend the chain as a whole. Crucially though, because the internal logic of equivalence demands the expression of both particularity and universality the chain of equivalences cannot display its presence simply through the incidental substitutability of each particularity, it must produce a ‘general equivalent’ that can ‘crystallise symbolically’ the universality of anti-system identities and represent the chain as a whole in the face of system demands (Laclau in Butler et al. 2000: 304). Such an equivalent can only emerge from the chain of equivalent particularities and its logic of equivalence. Therefore, it cannot be imposed upon the chain as an essentialistic and aprioristic logos. This idea of a general equivalent has a resonance with Marx’s articulation of the position the Communists need to hold in the proletarian struggle.

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement. The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: (1) In the national struggles of the proletarians ... they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. (2) In the various stages of
development, which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

(Marx 1950: 44)

So just as the Communists in Marx’s vision would become the general equivalent as the proletarian chain of equivalence increased and developed in complexity, so too, Laclau envisages that as the chain of equivalence extends, the attachment of the general equivalent to its own particularistic meaning is reduced until it becomes the ‘empty signifier’ of an increasingly extended chain of equivalences between anti-system particularities (Laclau in Butler et.al. 2000: 304). This development significantly challenges the contemporary pluralist identity politics but also, it represents the most problematic aspiration for the postmarxist project. This is because the operationalisation of the chain of equivalences as a political phenomenon requires that all particularities in the chain are aware that their identification shares with all other particularities an incomplete determination. In effect, that they together, represent the set of differences that constitute the structural features of the domain of political sociality. Thus, if any particularity seeks to universalize its own identity without recognizing that it is structurally equivalent to other identities then the result will be alliance without the equivalential logic necessary to produce the chaining effect (Butler in Butler et.al. 2000, pp. 30-31). This will lead back to the regressive cycle and dominative hegemony.

Thus, to overcome the contemporary problematic of universality the universal nature of ethico-political hegemony requires the mass-intellectual nexus to be symbolically and practically represented through the general equivalent. However, this equivalent must not be held up as a pre-existing, transcendent something, either in essence or in form, to which people accede but rather, as the fragile, shifting and always incomplete achievement of political action (Zerilli 1998: 15). Further, this type of universality because it is premised on the logic of equivalence dissolves the hierarchicisation of particularities and emphasises the potential of all particular antagonisms to be equivalent symbols of an indivisible struggle (Mouffe 1993, p. 77). In this way, the
universalisation of anti-system activity can never be completely subsumed into and then negated by the general equivalent because this would undermine the very nature of its existence, that is, universality through plurality. However, while plurality opens the possibility for conflict, given that it would be a mistake to expect the various different interests and demands to coexist without clashing, the inevitable struggle will not be one between enemies but among adversaries. In other words, since all participants will recognise the position and operation of the other in the polity as a legitimate one, hegemony moves from the constraints of a regressive logic to one that is ethico-political and aspirational.

Concluding Discussion
This paper has shown that the ethico-political nature of hegemony demands a moral and intellectual leadership that recognises the substantive operation of the mass-intellectual dialectic. In this situation universality is not negated but understood to operate as a balancing of consensus and coercion within unstable equilibria. By extension to the postmarxism of Laclau and Mouffe and particularly, in Laclau’s later work, universality or the idea of conceiving contemporary society as an intelligible whole is not negated. However, drawing from the ethico-political nature of hegemony and elaborating it in contemporary context, universality no longer can/will be driven solely by the world historical proletariat or any other social agent, group or movement. The proliferation of particularity not just in the contemporary Occident but world, suggests that these particularities need to coexist with each other and it is through the chain of equivalences based on universal discourses and its principles and values that a new universality will be able to engage all particularities. Crucially though, just as Marx recognised and explicated the nature of contradiction and struggle, and Gramsci stressed the unstable nature of ethico-political hegemony so too, postmarxism recognises the ineradicable nature of antagonism. For the postmarxist project antagonism is the starting point because without it there can be no equivalential logic only obfuscation and domination. It is antagonism that produces unstable equilibria that leads to equivalence and the reconciliation of the problematic of universality in hegemony.
References


