# "Good, Upright Young Citizens"?

# Lived Experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia



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# ABSTRACT

The Boy Scout and Girl Guide movement in Australia has received very limited scholarly attention, despite its status as a prominent youth organisation since the early twentieth century. This thesis juxtaposes the oral history testimonies of twenty-two current and past Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia with the official model of Scouting and Guiding devised by the founder, Sir Robert Baden-Powell. The research engages with broad social themes, including gender, class, and primacy of the outdoors. Close analysis is provided of one of the most debated elements of the movement: the use of middle-class adolescents' leisure time to build good future citizens or soldiers. The thesis provides an account of the religious and cultural context of the contemporary movement in Australia, particularly its 'white' Christian origins. Findings indicate the ambiguous and contested nature of Baden-Powell's 'official model', and reveal the intricate, manifold experiences of participants in the movement. Those who took part in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have been significantly influenced by their involvement, and the movement has played a memorable role in their lives.

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# Acknowledgments

# INTRODUCTION

Some years ago, I came across a bundle of old photographs, previously belonging to my grandmother. Although to some viewers the pictures may have been difficult to decipher, I immediately knew what they were. One particular black and white image portrays a group of six women in the foreground, standing side by side in a semicircle formation looking towards the camera. They are situated in the outdoors, framed by what appears to be a cliff face on the left of the photograph, and sharply sloping hills far in the background. The women are wearing identical overcoats, rain hats and neckties, suggesting that they are dressed in a uniform. But where, precisely, are they located? Why are the women wearing matching clothing, and what are they doing in the outdoors - hiking perhaps?

The image (as shown on the front page) belongs to my grandmother's personal photograph collection, and depicts her as a Girl Guide in 1937, when she was travelling through Europe with several other Australian Guides. My grandmother began Girl Guiding in the 1920s and it remained an important part of her life for several decades. She went on the overseas trip to Europe with other Guides in the 1930s, married a man who was deeply involved in Scouting, remained lifelong friends with other Guides, and encouraged her children and grandchildren to join the movement. I myself was involved at two different stages throughout my youth: as a Brownie when I was about eight years old and as a Venturer when I was fifteen. I only remained in the movement for comparatively short periods of two years and six months respectively. I have two brothers, both of whom participated in Scouting during their youth. As a result, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organisations have never been strange or unfamiliar to me, nor to my immediate family.

However, my grandmother has always been a very private woman, and to my knowledge has not revealed extensive detail about her personal life, particularly her life as a young woman, to her descendants. For this reason her photographs, which gave a glimpse of her life as a woman near my own age now, made me particularly curious. Her photographs, however, have not been labelled or dated, making it difficult to determine their specific contextual details.

The curiosity aroused in me when I first discovered the photographs prompted me to think more carefully about the movement and why it played such a strong role in our family. Unfortunately, the memories of my grandmother's specific experiences are now inaccessible, so this thesis extends beyond a biographical account of her life, to the experiences of other participants in the movement. I wondered who else had been attracted to join the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. What role did it play in the lives of participants, what memories did they have of their experiences, and in what ways had the movement developed in Australia since its inception? Had the movement been as familiar to other families as it had been to mine?

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## The Boys Scouts begin...

Robert Baden-Powell established the Boy Scouts in England in 1908. At the time, he was perceived as a national 'hero' due to his military role during the Siege of Mafeking in the Boer War (1899-1902). Mafeking was a small town, situated between the Cape Colony and Rhodesia, in which a British garrison and its commander, Baden-Powell, were ambushed and trapped for 217 days. The siege began in October 1899 and lasted until May 1900. The British had not fared well in the war up to that point, and there was rising concern among the public that they might be defeated.[1]

Robert MacDonald, in his study of the Boy Scout movement and frontier mythology, argues that the first year of the war had been a 'shock to the national psyche', with disaster followed by disaster, and a seemingly endless list of defeats.[2] The Mafeking siege gradually drew the attention of the popular press, and subsequently the British public, who saw a glimmer of hope in an otherwise difficult war. As public interest grew, more background about Baden-Powell and his 'colourful' life emerged in the print media. As MacDonald observes, by the second month of the siege, Baden-Powell appeared in the press. He had 'lived a varied and colourful life: he was good copy'. By February 1900, the newspapers were discussing an end to the siege, and by the following Spring, 'Baden-Powell and his defenders were the centre of public attention'.[3]

During the siege, in 1899, Baden-Powell had written a book, *Aids to Scouting*, which outlined how an officer could become a superior military scout, by going ahead of the main army cohort to discreetly obtain information about the enemy. The scout would use specialised techniques, such as tracking and deductive observation, to abstract information about the location and movements of the opposing armed forces.[4] Baden-Powell wanted scouting to earn the respect of his colleagues, so his book focused on the 'high order skills' required of a scout, including intelligence, resourcefulness and self-reliance.[5] The topic of military scouting provoked considerable debate in newspapers, particularly concerning its effectiveness as a military strategy. Meanwhile, amidst the debates in adult newspapers, adventurous scouting 'heroes' were increasingly represented in boys' magazines. MacDonald argues that in the USA, 'the scout became a colourful figure in popular culture'.[6] While the imperial army had been using scouts as a 'forward fighting force' since the 1840s, it became more widespread as a military practice in the late nineteenth century, when 'military units all over the Empire began calling themselves scouts'.[7] While Baden-Powell had written *Aids to Scouting* primarily with a military

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[1] Robert MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, pp.86-90
[2] *ibid* p.90
[3] *ibid* p.93
[4] *ibid* pp.69-71
[5] *ibid* p.85
[6] *ibid* p.74
[7] *ibid* p.75, pp.86-87

audience in mind, the fact that it was published during the Siege of Mafeking resulted in a wider than expected audience, including segments of the British public back home.[8]

By the time the siege lifted in 1900, Baden-Powell's popularity with the British public had been established. He was portrayed as resourceful and ever cheerful, with an immaculate uniform and exemplary behaviour. The papers included stories of his many talents, along with his tales of adventure, his sketches and jokes.[9]

Upon returning to England in 1903 Baden-Powell was alarmed by what he perceived as the deteriorating physical and moral state of the nation's young men. He was 'dismayed to see the extent of the trade depression and unemployment that had followed the Boer War...and, in particular, the apathy of so many young people - "thousands of boys and young men pale, narrow-chested, hunched-up, miserable specimens, smoking endless cigarettes"'.[10] Fears about increasing numbers of young people living in an 'unhealthy' urban, industrial society exacerbated anxieties that young men would not be physically fit to defend the Empire were it to come under attack. Prior to World War One, 'the expansion of German naval power was widely viewed as a serious threat' to Britain.[11] It was within this environment of anxiety about the social and military stability of the Empire that Baden-Powell decided to adapt his book, *Aids to Scouting,* to re-focus on young male citizens, instead of military personnel.[12]

Baden-Powell's disquiet about the wellbeing of adolescent males, and his attempt to provide a scheme for their betterment, were not entirely unique. Macleod argues that Boy Scouting 'was the latest in a series of experiments - reaching back into the 1870s - [including]...activities intended to improve and strengthen boys...[and] to build character'.[13] The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was formed in 1844, when George Williams set up the group for white-collar Christian men in London, to maintain their faith under the perceived negative influences of the corrupting city environment. The Association spread to major cities in the USA and Canada throughout the 1850s, but it was not until the 1870s that separate groups were formed for boys under sixteen. Adult members of the YMCA initially opened Sunday Schools or home rooms with games and activities to attract 'deprived' boys, and later opened gymnasiums for organised physical activity, which were popular among young males. The YMCA based its youth development scheme on a fourfold plan of mental, social and religious discipline.[14]

[8] *ibid* p.86, p.93

[9] *ibid* pp.95-101

[10] Mary Drewery, *Baden-Powell: The Man who Lived Twice*, Ottawa: National Council Boy Scouts of Canada, 1975, p.91

[11] John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940*, London: Croom Helm, 1977, p.14

[12] Drewery, *op cit* p.94; Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *English Historical Review*, 101(399), p.397

[13] David Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920*, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983, p.xi

[14] *ibid* pp.72-3

The YMCA was followed by the Boys' Brigade in 1883, then the Anglican Church Lads' Brigade (1891), Jewish Lads' Brigade (1895), the Catholic Boys' Brigade (1896), and Boys' Life Brigade (1899).[15] The Boys' Brigade was formed in Glasgow by a Sunday School teacher, William A. Smith, who wanted to increase the interest (and discipline) of his young male students. Using the primary method of military drill to instill discipline, the Brigade's main objective was to advance Christ's Kingdom among boys and inculcate 'Christian manliness' in them. The non-denominational scheme included uniforms, summer camping and drill demonstrations.[16] In 1903, Baden-Powell attended a parade held by the Boys' Brigade and was apparently 'impressed' by what he saw.[17]

The Anglican Church Lad's Brigade followed a similar program to the Boys' Brigade, but included more intensive military drill activities. The Anglican Brigade was formed in London after Smith rejected a proposal to have an Anglican unit within the Boys' Brigade. Because of its strongly militaristic flavour, the scheme's membership declined dramatically after World War One.[18] The Jewish Lad's Brigade, founded by Colonel

A.E. Goldsmid, was also based on the Boys' Brigade scheme, but encompassed more complex social goals, which included the integration of Jewish boys into British society, by aiming to produce 'admirable representatives' of the Jewish community. The Brigade mainly targeted immigrant Jews of the East End, and included military drill as a key activity.[19]

Unlike many of the earlier schemes for boys, the Boys' Life Brigade avoided overtly military activities. Instead of military drill, the founder - Reverend John Paton - used life-saving drills as a basis for the group's activities. This included practicing saving people from fire, drowning and other accidents.[20]

It was within this social milieu of schemes to improve the discipline and moral wellbeing of adolescent boys, that Baden-Powell first commenced work on his own program. He produced two pamphlets in 1906: *Boy Scouts, A Suggestion*, and *Boy Scouts, Summary of a Scheme*.[21] He decided to test this scheme to see how effective it was in practice and, in 1907, Baden-Powell held a ten-day camp with twenty-two boys, aged between thirteen and sixteen. According to MacDonald, the boys were separated into four patrols. Baden-Powell presented lectures on Empire, patriotism and chivalry, and he woke them in the morning with a kudu horn. The boys were taught a Zulu marching chant and played

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[15] Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, pp.231-5
[16] *ibid*
[17] Drewery, *op cit* p.91
[18] Rosenthal, *op cit* p.234
[19] *ibid* pp.234-5
[20] *ibid* p.236
[21] *ibid*

'whale hunting'.[22] Deeming the trial camp a successful event, Baden-Powell proceeded to write the complete book, *Scouting for Boys*. It was released in six fortnightly editions in 1908.

Boys who purchased the publication began to form groups sporadically throughout the country, using the handbook as a manual upon which to base their activities. They 'read [the] book and...formed themselves into groups and called themselves "Patrols" as [Baden-Powell] had described...They began to call themselves "Boy Scouts"...and that was how the Scout Association was formed'.[23]

In this same year, Scouting began in Australia in a similar fashion, with boys spontaneously forming groups and using instructions in the book.[24] Scouting in Australia was initially administered separately in each State, until 1922, when the States formed a Federal Council. The Federal Council functioned as a Branch of the British Boy Scout Association until 1958, when the Australian Boy Scouts Association was incorporated.[25] Scouting spread to New Zealand and Canada in 1908, then India in 1909. It was also quickly adopted in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and the USA in 1910, followed by China in 1913.[26] Scouting had 'exploded into a world-wide movement' within five years.[27]

## The Girl Guides follow

In 1909, one year after the release of *Scouting for Boys*, Baden-Powell organised the first Scout rally, held at the Crystal Palace for 11,000 boys.[28] However it was not only boys who attended the event. A group of girls arrived, 'wearing Scout hats and scarves', proclaiming themselves to be Girl Scouts and expressing interest in joining.[29]

Baden-Powell had no intention of allowing girls into the movement, believing that 'most Edwardian parents would be horrified to find their daughters carrying out the activities in *Scouting for Boys*...reducing their chances of finding desirable husbands'.[30] He was also concerned that including girls in the Boy Scout scheme would dilute its primary purpose of cultivating 'masculinity'.[31] Instead, Baden-Powell decided to establish a separate movement with his sister Agnes, to train girls for entry into the voluntary nursing service.

[22] *op cit* p.118

[23] Olave Baden-Powell, *Window on my Heart: The autobiography of Olave, Lady Baden-Powell G.B.E. as told to Mary Drewery*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973, p.88

[24] Drewery, *op cit* p.96; MacDonald, *op cit* pp.11-13

[25] Scouts Australia, 'Scouting Comes to Australia', http://www.scouts.com.au/history/inaustralia.html (8 February 2003)

[26] MacDonald, *op cit* pp.7, 10, 118

[27] Olave Baden-Powell, *op cit* p.69

[28] Margaret Coleman, and Honor Darling, *From a Flicker to a Flame: The Story of The Girl Guides in Australia*, Sydney: Girl Guides Association of Australia Incorporated, 1989, p.1

[29] Drewery, *op cit* p.104

[30] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* p.1

[31] Macleod, *op cit* p.3

The program for girls was to include 'activities more suited to young ladies'.[32] Making boys' activities more suitable for girls was a common catch-cry during the period. According to Macleod, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) only allowed athletics and outdoor studies from 1909, tempered by literary studies and domestic activities. Meanwhile, in 1912, the Camp Fire Girls in the USA declared girls must be taught to be 'womanly', and the group used a 'domestic' fire as its symbol.[33]

In 1909, Baden-Powell and his sister jointly wrote a pamphlet, titled *Girl Guides: A Suggestion for Character Training for Girls*, and one year later, the Girl Guides headquarters was inaugurated in London.[34] To tailor the organisation's program more specifically to adolescent girls, Agnes Baden-Powell rewrote *Scouting for Boys* in 1912 for a young female audience. She called the revised publication, *How Girls Can Help Build the Empire*. Information about the Guide movement reached Australia via an English magazine named *Home Notes*, in which President Agnes Baden-Powell wrote a two-page article each week.[35]

Several of the boys' groups in Britain already had counterparts for girls, prior to the entry of the Girl Guides. For example, in 1901, the Church Red Cross Brigade was formed as the female accompaniment to the Anglican Church Lads' Brigade, while the Girls' Guildry was formed as the girls' equivalent of the Boys' Brigade.[36]

The history of Girl Guiding in Australia has been documented by Margaret Coleman and Honor Darling, sponsored by the Girl Guides of Australia Incorporated.[37] Despite its lack of detailed referencing and largely uncritical stance, their publication, *From a Flicker to a Flame*, provides a comprehensive overview of the movement's development in Australia. In the ten years following 1912, several existing girls groups in Australia joined the Guiding scheme, including the Australian League of Girls Aids and the Red Cross Girls Aids. Each of the States gradually developed their own cohort of Girl Guides, with separate policies, uniforms, and methods of practice. Baden-Powell had initially shown little interest in the development of the Girl Guides Association, and its administration was largely fragmented and poorly coordinated. He became the Chair of a new committee in 1915 to redirect the organisation, and three years later he wrote the *Girl Guide Handbook*.[38] It was during the 1920s that Guiding in Australia really began to

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[32] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* p.2

[33] *op cit* p.50

[34] Allen Warren, '"Mothers for the Empire"? The Girl Guides Association in Britain, 1909-1939', in J.A. Mangan, (ed), *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, p.100

[35] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* pp.3-4

[36] Anne Summers, *Angels and Citizens: British Women as Military Nurses 1854-1914*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988, p.279

[37] *op cit*

[38] Warren, *op cit* pp.100-103

take hold. The first national Australian Guides conference was held in 1923 and the Federal Council was established in 1926.[39]

In 1912, Baden-Powell married a woman named Olave Soames. She was aged twenty-three, while he was a fifty-five year old.[40] Olave became increasingly interested in the movement, and dedicated herself to expanding the Girl Guides. In 1930, after obtaining several leading positions within the organisation, she was selected as Chief Guide of the World, and the movement developed under the guidance of a husband and wife partnership.[41] During the 1930s, the Girl Guides in Britain caught up to the Scouts, with each organisation recording around 500,000 members.[42]

Robert Baden-Powell died in 1941, whilst Olave died in 1977, resulting in their continuous presence in the movement for almost seven decades.[43]

## Current structure and membership figures

In 2001, Scouts Australia and Guides Australia estimated their membership to be around 66,000 and 40,000 respectively.[44] Guiding claims to have over 10 million members in 140 countries, while Scouts claims to have 28 million participants in 216 countries.[45]

Following the formation of Scouts and Guides for teenagers, both organisations expanded to cater to additional age groups. In 1916 a younger section of the movement was developed, known as Wolf Cubs, for eight to eleven year olds. This was followed at the end of the First World War by a section for young men over seventeen.[46] Similarly, in 1915, the Brownies were formed for young girls, followed by the Senior Guides in 1918.[47]

This general format is still followed by Scouts Australia, with members divided into five groups: Joeys for 6-8 year olds, Cubs (8-11 year olds), Scouts (12-15 year olds), Venturers (16-18 year olds), and Rovers (18-26 year olds). The Guides organisation, however, has recently taken a different path. The previous age-divisions, known as Gumnuts, Brownies, Guides, Ranger Guides, and Rangers, have been collapsed into one group. Guide units currently include female youth members of various ages, and

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[39] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* p.18

[40] Drewery, *op cit* p.109

[41] *ibid* p.119

[42] Warren, *op cit* p.107

[43] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* p.216

[44] Girl Guides Association (New South Wales), 'Annual Report', Sydney, 2002; Scouts Australia, The Association of, 'Scouts Australia: Membership Census Report and Participation % Trends 2002', Sydney 2002

[45] Guides Australia, http://www.guidesaus.org.au (8 February 2004)
   World Scout Bureau, http://www.scout.org (8 February 2004)

[46] Drewery, *op cit* p.113

[47] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* p.22

regardless of age, participants are now simply known as 'Guides'. Furthermore, both the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts organisations in Australia have officially dropped the respective terms of 'girl' and 'boy' from their titles, and the national associations are currently referred to as Scouts Australia and Guides Australia.

Local Scout and Guide meetings are typically held once weekly, while camping and other adventurous activities are held at various times throughout the year, usually on weekends and during school holidays. Based on anecdotal evidence, it appears that the strongest decades for the movement in terms of membership, were the 1970s.[48] The Scouts Association of Australia has not collated membership figures for participation prior to the 1970s, but Margaret Williams, archivist for Guides Australia, suggests that peak figures for the Guides were in the 1970s, when numbers reached between 80,000 and 90,000. According to the archivist, there has been a steady decline during the 1990s. It is noteworthy that the decline of Scouting and Guiding in Australia coincided with 'decline of Empire' from the 1970s onwards, when many of Australia's remaining links with Britain were severed, including the cessation of 'Empire Day' celebrations.[49]

## Key aims of the movement

While the original model of Scouting devised by Baden-Powell has evolved and changed over time, many of the key principles remain evident in the movement today. This is largely because the Scouts and Guides organisations continue to base their schemes on the 'promise' and 'laws' drafted by Baden-Powell at the beginning of the twentieth century. The ten original (1912) Girl Guide laws are remarkably similar to those currently used by the Australian Guides Association. The Association continues to stipulate in its 'law' that girls and young women should be helpful, trustworthy, considerate, obedient, cheerful under difficult circumstances, kind to animals, and a 'sister' to all Guides. The only (slight) changes to the original laws are that instead of being 'pure in thought, word and deed', contemporary Guides are to be 'self-controlled' in all that they 'think, say and do', and in place of being 'thrifty' in the 1912 law, Australian Guides are now expected to 'take care of their own possessions and those of other people'.[50]

The original (1908) Boy Scout Law also resonates strongly with the contemporary version used by the Australian association. Boy Scouts are still required to state their commitment to being trustworthy, loyal, helpful, considerate and cheerful. Whilst some of the laws have been altered slightly (in essence) their message remains the same. For instance, instead of 'smiling and whistling under all circumstances', a contemporary Scout is simply asked to be 'courageous'.[51]

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[48] Interview with Business Manager of Guides NSW, 2002

[49] Neville Meaney, 'British and Australian Identity: the problem of nationalism in Australian history and historiography', *Australian Historical Studies*, April 2001, 116: pp.77-79

[50] See Appendix C for the full Guide Law and Guide Promise, and the full Scout Law and Scout Promise.

[51] See Appendix C for the full Scout Law and full Scout Promise.

Young people wishing to join the Scouts or Guides are required to recite by memory these laws and a 'promise' before being officially 'invested' into their local group. The promise used by the Australian Scouts and Guides associations are almost identical, requesting members to 'promise to do their best' to serve the Queen, their country, their God, and to help other people.

These fundamental principles can be divided broadly into five categories, which will form the basis for discussion in the following five chapters of this thesis. The key aims of the movement included the production of 'good' young citizens, who were willing to serve the Empire and their country. Secondly, while the Scouts aimed to instill a responsible and independent sense of masculinity in young men, Guides hoped to encourage a helpful, self-controlled sense of femininity in young women. Both organisations aimed at improving the personal health of young people through outdoor physical pursuits, and wanted to enhance their spiritual development. Lastly, Baden-Powell hoped that his movement would facilitate a worldwide 'brotherhood' and 'sisterhood', including Boy Scouts and Girl Guides from different countries and cultural backgrounds.

It is important to reiterate that in the initial stages, young women were specifically advised not to follow the exact Scouting model because its aim was to cultivate 'manliness'.[52] Robert MacDonald contends that *Scouting for Boys* was:

> Addressed in the first place to a generation of mostly urban boys and their middle-class scoutmasters... [It] expressed the middle-class values of the public school code and the Protestant work ethic. Its ideology was conservative and defensive...Its orientation was aggressively masculine...[aiming] to save boys from the sapping habits of domestic and urban life'.[53]

The rationale for establishing the Girl Guides was quite different to the model for young men. While options were widening for women at the start of the twentieth century in terms of education, employment, and public life, they were still restricted by expectations about domestic and family life, and concepts of femininity.[54] Agnes Baden-Powell explained that the objective of Girl Guiding was 'to take up the young girls of the poorer and working classes...to teach them something useful in their leisure hours, such as cooking, sewing [and] first aid'.[55] It was argued that better home management would be achieved by training future wives and mothers. However, in anticipation of life on the Imperial frontier, the Guide handbook included sections on woodcraft, camping, exploration, self-defence, observation, and signalling, along with a section on 'Home

[52] Macleod, *op cit* pp.46-51
[53] *op cit* p.8
[54] Allen Warren, 'Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40', in John Mackenzie, (ed), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, pp.244-245
[55] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* p.4

Life'. As Allen Warren asserts, the original Girl Guide scheme exhibited a 'set of contradictions'.[56]

## Oral History & Lived Experiences

While several scholars have been especially interested in the intentions of Baden-Powell (and his collaborators) when they established the Scout movement, few have considered the point of view of 'ordinary' participants in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.

I, on the other hand, am particularly interested in the experiences of those who participated in the Australian movement, and how the movement has developed since its formation. John Springhall concedes that, 'more work still remains to be done...on the "view from below" - the meaning and experience of being in a youth movement to its participants - before the historian can come anywhere near estimating the social and cultural importance of youth movements'.[57] Anne Summers confirms this view, suggesting that:

> If the impact of the movement on its keen young members is to be properly evaluated, then the spotlight of historical inquiry must be directed away from the theories of Baden-Powell and towards the grass-roots activities of the Scouts and Guides.[58]

Likewise, Jay Mechling argues that the experience of 'being a Boy Scout' is not represented by the national Boy Scouts office. His recent research is shaped around a Boy Scout troop in California and the experience of their annual summer camp in the mountains. He argues that to understand the meaning of Scouting for the average Boy Scout, one must closely examine the everyday details of that experience.[59] Furthermore, David Macleod considers how character building 'worked out in practice', and emphasises the importance of the boys' ambitions, in addition to their relations with adult leaders, and their willingness to persist or eagerness to leave the movement.[60] It is within this sphere - of exploring how Scouts and Guides 'worked out in practice' - that my research is situated, albeit with an Australian outlook.

Considering that Scouting and Guiding is actually implemented or practiced at the local level, it is in many ways essential to understand the first-hand experiences of people who have been involved in the movement. My central research question, therefore, is 'to what extent do the lived experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia conform to the original model devised by the founder, Sir Robert Baden-Powell?'

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[56] *op cit* pp.96, 101
[57] *op cit* p.11
[58] Anne Summers, 'Scouts, Guides and VADs: a note in reply to Allen Warren', *English Historical Review*, 1987, 102(405): p.947
[59] Mechling, Jay, *On My Honor: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001, p. xviii
[60] *op cit* p.xiii

According to the current Business Manager of Guides New South Wales:

> *The influence of Baden-Powell as a man permeated Scouting [and Guiding] right through... We have a book called 'In the Footsteps of the Founder' and another one called 'BP's Outlooks', with all quotes from him. So the philosophy of Baden-Powell has hung on and permeated.*

In a similar fashion, the Preamble to the *2002 Scouts Australia Policy and Rules* booklet, asserts that 'the Scout Association of Australia operates...in accordance with the purpose, practices and method conceived by the Founder, Lord Baden-Powell'.[61] Despite such statements by the Scouts and Guides associations, it is plausible that the local practices are not in accordance with Baden-Powell's 'purpose' for the movement. As Roberts, White and Parker suggest, young people are not merely passive agents who accept the identities bestowed upon them by others.[62] For this reason, I have chosen to explore the various ways in which participants have both accepted and rejected the official rules and ideals devised by Baden-Powell, as administered through the Scout and Guide bureaucracies. The complexities and intricacies of the Scouting and Guiding schemes, as experienced by those involved in the movement, are of primary importance to this study.

Twenty-two oral history interviews were conducted with past and current participants in Scouts and Guides in Australia. This involved collecting spoken memories and personal commentaries through recorded interviews, often lasting well over one hour per interview.[63] The interviews were conducted in 2002 and 2003.

Agreeing with Alessandro Portelli's observation, that 'oral history...is told from a multitude of points of view', I included a diverse range of interview participants - males and females, young and old, from different levels of the hierarchy, and involved for varying lengths of time.[64] Female interviewees ranged in age from approximately twenty-two to eighty-four years, while males were aged twenty-five to eighty-four years. This covered decades from the 1930s to the present. Included among the participants were four bureaucrats - the Business Manager of Guides NSW, the Multicultural Liaison Officer of Guides NSW, the former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia, and the Communications Development Manager of Scouts NSW. Of the twenty-two interviewees, ten held (or continue to hold) positions as Adult Leaders of local groups. Furthermore, two married couples were interviewed. They had met through the movement as youth participants, and later married. Some interviewees were related

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[61] The Association of Scouts Australia, *Policy & Rules of Scouts Australia 2002*, http://www.scouts.com.au (8 October 2002)
[62] Kenneth Roberts, Graham White, and Howard Parker, *The Character-Training Industry: Adventure-Training Schemes in Britain*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974, p.156
[63] Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995, p.1
[64] Portelli, Alessandro, 'What makes oral history different', in Robert Perks, and Alistair Thomson, (eds), *The Oral History Reader*, London: Routledge, 1998, p.73

(parents and children), providing insight into the Scouting and Guiding practices for family members across different generations.

Qualitative interviewing was selected as a methodology for three main reasons. Firstly, the absence of scholarly material examining the movement in Australia meant that I had access only to academic publications produced on the Scouts and Guides in North America and the United Kingdom. Whilst this information has been invaluable in helping me to identify the key aims of the movement and its origins, it has shed very little light on the Australian context. Secondly, as previously mentioned, scholarly work to date has focused only minimally on the lived experiences of participants in the movement. Thirdly, research conducted by Roberts *et al* into the British character training industry found substantial contrast between claims made in publicity materials of organisations, and the statements made by organisers when interviewed.[65] This suggested the need to move beyond marketing publications produced by the Scouts and Guides organisations, to discover the 'raw' or unpolished thoughts of the people involved. As Janet McCalman argues, 'we need to feel life's dreadful unpredictability, its untidiness, its ordinariness, its splendours'. Oral histories provide a way to access the complexity of people's lives.[66] Indeed, Portelli points out that oral sources 'always cast new light on unexplored areas of daily life'.[67]

Asking people to reflect on their experiences in Scouts and Guides brings to the fore matters relating to memory and remembering. In particular, there are problematic issues surrounding interviews with adults about their childhood, and their past, and asking them to recall events that occurred years, or decades, ago. How might interviewees recall their experiences differently now than when they were actually involved in the movement? What, in particular, are people inclined to remember about their time in the movement, and what is not discussed or remembered? McCalman suggests, 'history is but our reconstructions, is but an artefact of the mind'. She asserts 'our inner histories of ourselves - private history - constitute our ever-evolving senses of identity...But in constructing histories...we are torn between what we would like the story to be and what the evidence insists that it really is'.[68]

Yet 'the memories of direct participants are sources far too rich for historical researchers to ignore', according to Donald Ritchie.[69] While acknowledging the potential difficulties associated with the use of oral testimony, I sought to understand how people interpret their past and its relationship to their present, and how they perceive their time in Scouts

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[65] *op cit* p.77
[66] Janet McCalman, *Journeyings: The Biography of a Middle-Class Generation, 1920-1990*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993, p.viii
[67] *op cit* p.67
[68] *op cit* p.viii
[69] Ritchie, *op cit* p.14

or Guides. Oral sources 'tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did'.[70]

One of the more beneficial aspects of interviewing adults about their childhood, was that they were now able to articulate feelings and experiences more clearly than they might have done as children. Sometimes, the time passed has enabled people to make greater sense out of past events.[71] Furthermore, it would be hasty to assume that all interviewees are unable to access or discuss attitudes that they once held, even if they no longer hold those views today.[72]

However, the participants' opinions were often complex, and at times, they appeared to hold inconsistent views. As Robert Bogdan and Steven Taylor observe:

> Just as different people may interpret the same things differently, so too may the same person interpret things differently at different times. [People] appear inconsistent in their statements and behavior.[73]

Accordingly, I have attempted to highlight the intricacy of the participants' memories, and the difficulties involved in categorising and interpreting their subjective experiences.

A further layer of complexity is added in the sense that by selecting the interview excerpts to include, I have also become an active participant in shaping a history, in telling a story about Scouting and Guiding in Australia. The narratives that are presented throughout this thesis, therefore, have been jointly created by the memories and experiences expressed by interviewees, interposed with my interpretation and ordering of those experiences.

## Why study Scouts and Guides?

Despite its status as a prominent youth organisation since the early twentieth century, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organisations in Australia have received very limited scholarly attention. There are approximately 100,000 youth currently involved in Scouts and Guides combined, and Guides Australia estimates that over one million women have been or still are in the organisation.[74] These are substantial figures and indicate the potential influence the movement has had on young people in this country for almost a century. This alone provides a solid rationale for studying the movement, a rationale which is further reinforced by McCalman's observation that scholars have tended to avoid

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[70] Portelli, *op cit* p.67

[71] Ritchie, *op cit* p.13

[72] Portelli, *op cit* p.69

[73] Robert Bogdan and Steven Taylor, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Phenomenological Approach to the Social Sciences*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, p.11

[74] Guides Australia, http://www.guidesaus.org.au (8 February 2004)

studying and writing about the Australian middle-class, 'especially...its history during the twentieth century'.[75]

Moreover, studying youth organisations in general demonstrates the values that organisers deem worthy to be carried on by future generations. John Mackenzie contends that 'most societies reveal both their moral norms and their political ideologies through their efforts to acculturate the young'.[76] Researching organisations such as the Scouts and Guides can demonstrate the social, cultural, and political ideals that adults seek to perpetuate or carry forward. This is exemplified in a statement made by the Duke of Edinburgh in 1945 in regards to Scouting. He asserts, 'we all know that in youth ideas are readily absorbed. Therefore we must ensure that the right principles and ideas are taught and established in [them]'.[77]

This study of Guides and Scouts 'may contribute to a wider understanding of how, and under what circumstances, institutions can change people'.[78] In particular, institutions in Australia that have origins in the British imperial system deserve scrutiny, particularly when many of these imperial influences prevail in contemporary Australian society.

## Limitations

There are two main areas of limitation in this study. The first concerns the coverage of the interview data, and the second relates to the ambiguous and changing nature of the original model of Scouting and Guiding.

The coverage of interview data is limited in the sense that most interviewees in this study were from the city (Sydney) rather than rural areas, and the majority of interview subjects came from a 'white', English-speaking perspective. While Scouting and Guiding in Australia has historically been a predominantly 'white' experience, this has recently started to shift. Jewish and Ukrainian interviewees have been included in this study, and I have conducted extensive discussions with Guide and Scout bureaucrats about ethnic diversity in the movement. However, this section of the research is by no means comprehensive, and could justifiably be extended in future research. A further limitation in terms of the coverage of data concerns the information regarding membership figures. Information about the early development of Scouts and Guides in Australia is both minimal and scattered, while histories and other publications produced within the organisations are often uncritical.

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[75] *op cit* p.vii

[76] John Mackenzie in Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996, p.vii

[77] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Scout Leaders Needed, Says Duke', 21 May 1945, p.4

[78] Roberts, *op cit* p.21

Interviewees were located using a snowballing technique, beginning 'with...a few people and [spreading] out on the basis of links to the initial cases'.[79] This tended to result in interviews with a series of strongly involved participants who were largely supportive of the movement. Those strongly involved participants tended to know other committed members, resulting in difficulty locating 'dissidents' (that is, people who had been in the movement for a very short time, and people who did not reflect fondly on their experiences). This was a relatively minor issue, however, because it became apparent as the interviews progressed, that even strongly committed participants held at least some doubts about and criticisms of certain aspects of Scouting and Guiding.

The other main limitation of this study relates to the original model or purpose of Scouting and Guiding. Roberts *et al* point out that organisations often have ambiguous or problematic aims, and rarely have an easily defined set of objectives.[80] Baden-Powell expressed both 'publicly broadcast' objectives, in addition to intentions communicated only in private, confidential correspondence.[81] These complexities have been taken into account, and throughout this thesis I plan to draw attention to the contested and fluid nature of Baden-Powell's official Scouting and Guiding 'model', rather than accepting it as a steadfast, unchanging entity.

The conclusions drawn in this study are limited primarily to Scouting and Guiding as experienced by twenty-two people, not the entire movement. Nevertheless, this sample demonstrates common themes (and divergences) which provide a solid basis for the direction of future research on the movement in Australia.

The following five chapters will each explore in detail a theme (or set of themes) in relation to the interview responses of past and current Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. The first chapter focuses on a debate between three prominent historians over the main objectives of the Scouting movement when it was first established. This chapter introduces several key ideological underpinnings of the movement, including militarism, citizenship, class and character. This is followed by analysis of gender and sexuality in Chapter Two. The construction of masculinity and femininity are compared, highlighting the different approaches taken by the respective Scout and Guide associations in their attempt to mould ideal citizens. Chapter Three focuses on the camping and outdoors activities of interview participants, and explores the use of indigenous peoples' practices in the movement. The final two chapters frame the religious and cultural context of the movement in Australia, outlining the traditionally 'white', Christian circumstances out of which the movement emerged. This will be followed by an evaluation of the extent to which the Scout and Guide associations have adapted to a multi-religious, multicultural society.

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[79] Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, third edition, Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon, 1997, p.207

[80] *op cit* p.23

[81] *ibid* p.77

The themes are drawn together in the conclusion to provide a final evaluation of the connection between Baden-Powell's original Scouting and Guiding framework, and the lived experiences of participants in the movement. It is found that, in many ways, the lived experiences of interviewees do not correspond closely to the ideals embedded in the official Scouting and Guiding framework. It is also argued that the Scout Association of Australia has tended to diverge further from the original model devised by Baden-Powell than the Girl Guides Association.
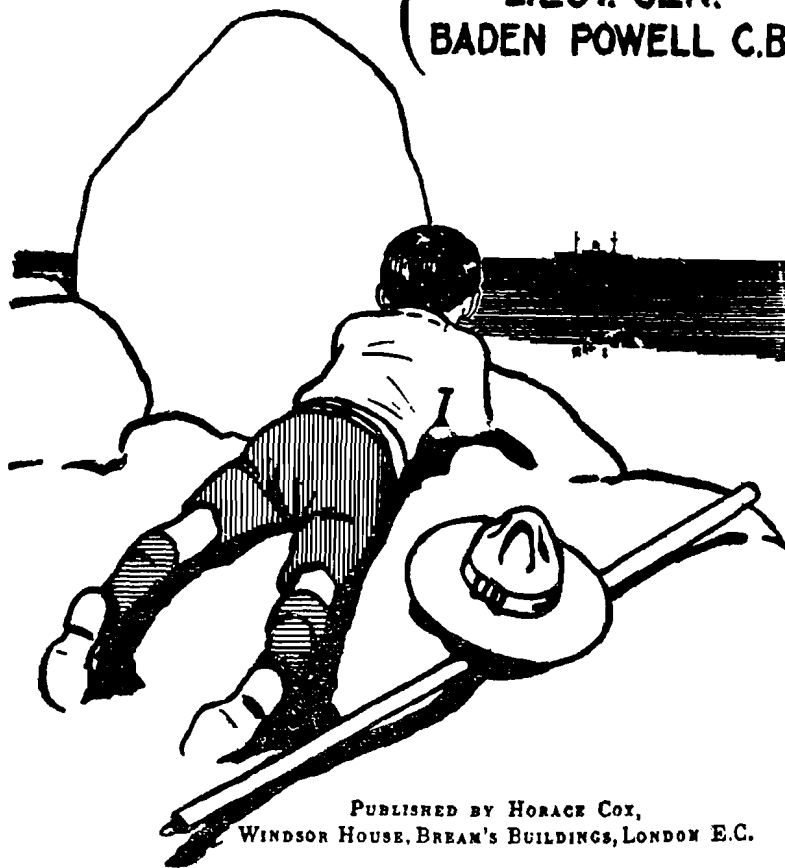
# CHAPTER ONE

## *Soldiers or Citizens?*

Part I.                                    Price 4d. net

# SCOUTING FOR BOYS BY B-P

( LIEUT. GEN.
BADEN POWELL C.B.

The original cover of *Scouting For Boys*, by John Hassall

The front cover of *Scouting for Boys* depicts a sketch of a young boy lying flat on his stomach, peering from behind a large rock towards the distant seashore, where a group of people has landed. He is hidden by the rock and has placed his Scout hat on the ground beside him, as he becomes intensely absorbed in the activities of the people on the shore. Their figures are small and silhouetted, making their features indeterminable, while even further in the distance a ship can be observed on the horizon. Mary Drewery speculates about the meaning of the picture:

> A boy lies behind a rock overlooking the seashore. Away at the water's edge is a small boat from which a party is landing. Smugglers? Enemy invaders? Further out at sea is a ship. British warship to the rescue?[1]

The hidden position of the boy implies that he is cautious or uncertain about the intentions of the beach gatherers. This picture (as shown on the previous page) was drawn by Baden-Powell, at a time when the British were especially wary of German invasion of the Empire, fuelling a public atmosphere of suspicion and vulnerability. According to MacDonald, Baden-Powell was convinced that an invasion of Britain would occur at the least expected moment. He felt that the best defence for the imminent attack was to be prepared in advance, and he set about preparing young people to respond.[2]

However, the kind of 'response' Baden-Powell hoped to achieve has been the topic of some contention. Three prominent historians - Allen Warren, John Springhall and Anne Summers - engaged in a lively debate in the *English Historical Review* in 1987, over Baden-Powell's intentions for the Scout Movement.[3] Did he aim to train young men (and women) to respond as good citizens or future soldiers? Up until the 1980s, most historians maintained that Baden-Powell had established the Boy Scouts with the primary purpose of preparing the next generation of soldiers to defend the Empire.[4] John Springhall reasserts this argument, claiming that Baden-Powell's personal correspondence papers indicate his militaristic intentions for the movement. Similarly, Anne Summers argues that the movement was strongly influenced by the military culture of the period, and suggests that the Girl Guide scheme was closely modelled on the Voluntary Aid Detachments Scheme, a military nursing program. The first part of this chapter will examine the arguments put forward by Springhall and Summers, that the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides had strong militaristic objectives. These claims will be contrasted with interviewee perspectives, which typically indicated that Scouts and Guides in Australia were not experienced as militaristic organisations.

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[1] *op cit* p.97

[2] *op cit* p.19

[3] John Springhall, Anne Summers and Allen Warren, *English Historical Review*, 102(405), 1987, pp.935-950

[4] Richard Voeltz, 'Reflections on Baden-Powell, the British Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Racism, Militarism, and Feminism', *Weber Studies*, Volume 41.2, 1997 http://weberstudies.weber.edu/archive/Vol.%2014.2/14.2Voeltz.htm (28 October 2002)

The latter part of this chapter will consider the argument presented by Allen Warren, in strong opposition to Springhall and Summers, that Baden-Powell's main objective was to create 'better' future citizens, *not* future soldiers. Warren contends that Scouting was a pluralistic organisation, which encompassed some militaristic aspects, along with a plethora of other aspirations, including the religious and educational. He firmly sustains the argument that peaceful citizenship and character training remained at the core of the movement.[5] The concept of 'citizenship' will be considered at length, especially in regards to socioeconomic status and Australian middle-class constructions of citizenship. Critical analysis will also be applied to the related concept of 'character', a term frequently promulgated by Baden-Powell and the Scouting movement.

This chapter, then, explores several key ideological underpinnings of the movement at the time of its inception - namely, militarism, citizenship, class and character - themes that were also present in the wider British colonial project.

## A militaristic movement?

Springhall argues that 'private correspondence is far more revealing than official statements about the real intentions behind a movement like Scouting'.[6] Through analysis of much of Baden-Powell's private correspondence papers, Springhall identifies the main ways in which Scouting incorporated militaristic aims and practices, particularly in the movement's initial stages. Firstly, the Boy Scout bureaucracy was littered with military and ex-military members. For instance, the Boy Scout Governing Council recruited many supporters of the National Service League, while many early Scout Commissioners held military rank, and a large proportion of ex-army officers were among the first Scout troop leaders.[7] Secondly, local Scout groups were organised according to a hierarchical structure typical of the military, and, thirdly, the Scouts practiced signalling, drill, and rifle shooting.[8] According to Baden-Powell, upon completing Boy Scout training, a boy would have 'made himself strong and active by games, [knowing] how to drill and shoot, and therefore [becoming] useful as a soldier or volunteer'.[9]

In addition, Springhall argues that the first Scout Commissioner for London in 1909 fell out of favour with Baden-Powell, partly over the alleged militarism of Scouting, and threatened to take the entire London membership with him.[10] Pre-war statements made by the leadership of the Boy Scout Association often presented Scouting as a

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[5] Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *English Historical Review*, 1986, 101(399), 376-398, and 'Baden-Powell: a final comment', *English Historical Review*, 102(405), pp.948-950

[6] Springhall 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?' p.936

[7] *ibid* pp.935, 939

[8] *ibid* p.939

[9] Robert Baden-Powell cited in Springhall, *ibid*

[10] *ibid* p.935

complementary scheme to the already established Cadets and Territorials, which were military training groups for adolescent boys. According to Springhall, Baden-Powell did not initially consider these groups to be a direct threat to the viability of Scouts, because he saw them as schemes that were headed in the same direction. He hoped that Scout training could prepare younger adolescent boys before they became Cadets.[11]

Despite the militaristic objectives of the movement, Baden-Powell was careful not to publicly promote Scouting as a military training scheme, assuring parents that the Boy Scouts Association was not focused on soldier training. At the same time, however, he told the military lobby that Scouting produced the best possible recruits for the Army.[12] According to Springhall, many of Baden-Powell's pronouncements reflect 'fears of invasion, racial deterioration, imperial decline and the consequent need for military preparedness', but he did not strongly publicise his militaristic aims (in this way attempting to pacify the critics of Scouting and increase its appeal to a wider membership base).[13] In the 1920s and 1930s, as public opinion swayed against militarism, Baden-Powell modified his pre-war position, and scoutmasters were increasingly drawn from within the movement instead of from the army.[14] Springhall acknowledges this shift away from the military culture by Scouting during these decades, but argues that militarism and imperialism were nevertheless the 'fundamental instigators' behind the launch of the Scout movement. While citizen training became an important feature of Scouting, Springhall concludes that in the beginning, it was peripheral to the central concern of military preparation.[15]

Anne Summers concurs with Springhall, arguing that citizenship was a secondary issue for Baden-Powell, and that the movement 'lent itself quite readily to militaristic purposes'.[16] Summers has explored the connection between the Scout and Guide movement and militarism in both this *English Historical Review* article, and the more comprehensive publication, *Angels and Citizens*, which studies British women as military nurses between 1854 and 1914.[17] Her work encompasses substantial research into the Voluntary Aid Detachment scheme (VADs), which was inaugurated by the War Office in 1909 to provide auxiliary military nursing staff. Between 1909 and 1914, fifty thousand women joined the VADs, indicating their desire to play a vital role as military nurses in the affairs of the army and Empire - a desire that 'penetrated their consciousness and shaped their ambitions'.[18]

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[11] *ibid* pp.936-937
[12] *ibid* p.940
[13] *ibid* p.938
[14] *ibid* p.940
[15] *ibid* p.941
[16] Summers, *op cit* p.944
[17] *op cit*
[18] *ibid* pp.1, 5, 7-8

According to Summers, the Girl Guides scheme was closely modelled on the VADs, where the anticipated needs of the wounded soldier structured the recreation and educational activities.[19] The VADs had separate male and female units, designating men responsible for transport and conversion of buildings, while the women undertook nursing and cooking duties in hospitals, ambulance stations, and in the field.[20] Training involved putting on bandages and splints, neatness drills, laundry work and other domestic functions. The women also spent weeks under canvass, putting up tents, digging trenches, and making camp fires and outdoor matresses.[21] Summers claims that the VADs co-opted local youth organisations to assist them in their work. Boy Scouts often acted as 'wounded soldiers', upon which the VADs trainees practiced their bandage and stretcher skills. Furthermore, VADs field days often involved their Boy Scout auxiliaries in 'proper adult war games'.[22]

Meanwhile, the Girl Guides were also playing war games. One group of girls, in their enthusiasm, conducted a raid on a Boy Scouts camp at midnight, creating some concern amongst male observers and the then President, Agnes Baden-Powell.[23] According to Rose Kerr, author of *The Story of the Girl Guides* in 1932, 'it is undeniable that many who joined the Girl Scouts and Girl Guides did dream of being used in time of war, and were attracted to the idea of tracking out the wounded, and of carrying messages between the lines'.[24]

Summers argues that the 'practical activities' of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in pre-1914 Britain indicates their early links with militarism. In fact, when the Girl Guide scheme was first conceived, Baden-Powell suggested that the girls' groups could possibly become a cadet branch, or 'feeder to the Territorial Organisation or Voluntary Aid'.[25] Summers contends that girls (like the boys) were also encouraged to act in the face of imminent 'national peril'.[26] She draws attention to a Girl Guide pamphlet published around 1910, which reads:

> Girls! Imagine that a battle has taken place in and around your town or village...what are you going to do? Are you going to sit down, and wring your hands and cry, or are you going to be plucky, and go out and do something to help your fathers and brothers?[27]

Summers concludes that the Girl Guide and Boy Scout schemes were heavily influenced by the acute anxiety within government and military circles and the 'wider popular

[19] *ibid*, p.282
[20] *op cit* p.944
[21] *op cit* pp.256-258
[22] *loc cit* p.944
[23] *op cit* p.282
[24] *op cit* pp.946-947
[25] *ibid* p.946
[26] *ibid*
[27] *ibid*

milieu', over the military vulnerability of the Empire.[28] Like Springhall, Summers argues that Boy Scouts and Girl Guides were 'being prepared to respond in an uncritical, and even in an enthusiastic manner, to the outbreak of war in 1914'.[29]

After the outbreak of World War One, the Boy Scouts took an active role in defending the country. According to Olave Baden-Powell:

> Even before the actual declaration of war, Scouts were guarding bridges and telegraph lines against possible sabotage. As soon as hostilities began, they acted as hospital orderlies, messengers in Government Departments, and...[conducted] day and night patrol of the coast...'Men of the Second Line', my husband called them - boys doing a man-size job even in the worst possible weather.[30]

The role of the Girl Guides was to support the war effort, but their position appears to have been less 'hands-on' than the Boy Scouts. They didn't guard bridges or deliver messages for Government Departments, but provided support that was more domesticated. In Australia, for instance, Girl Guides assisted in the kitchen of the Red Cross café, made rabbit-skin jackets for soldiers and felt-slippers for hospitals, while a group of Girl Guides in Western Australia made 'fly veils' for horses used in the war.[31] Kerr suggests that many girls were bitterly disappointed to be allowed only to 'knit socks and collect waste paper' during the period, having previously imagined they would take on a more exciting role in warfare.[32]

Despite the thorough and convincing arguments put forward by Springhall and Summers, that the original model of Scouting and Guiding as devised by Baden-Powell contained clear militaristic objectives, the lived experiences of interview participants do not strongly conform to this perspective. In fact, two different patterns arose during the interview process, in response to the theme of militarism. On the one hand, the vast majority of interviewees (thirteen out of fifteen who were asked to discuss this topic) directly stated that they did not perceive Scouting and Guiding to be militaristic. Only two interviewees held contrasting opinions to the majority. However, throughout the duration of the interviews, participants often identified aspects that *could* be perceived as military-like, particularly by outsiders to the movement, although they did not describe the movement as being 'militaristic' themselves. These aspects fall into four main categories, which will be explored below, including: authoritarian leaders, compulsory uniforms, drill and marching practices, and the hierarchical structure of the movement.

Several interviewees mentioned that they had come across 'authoritarian' leaders during their involvement. Interviewee E, a male in his late twenties, had a long-term

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[28] *ibid* p.943
[29] *ibid* p.947
[30] *op cit* p.100
[31] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* p.75
[32] Rose Kerr, *The Story of the Girl Guides*, London, 1932, cited in Summers, *op cit* p.947

involvement in the Scouts, joining when he was eight and leaving at age twenty-four. He had progressed through every single stage available to youth members: Cubs, Scouts, Venturers and Rovers. When explaining what he liked least about the movement during his involvement (in the 1980s-1990s), Interviewee E states:

> *Some leaders acted like "this [Scout group] is my patch and I'm going to rule it, and there were certainly some group leaders that I came across like that. 'This is my hall, this is my Cubs and Scouts and Venturers and I rule the roost'. Authoritative and they had a big ego.*

Interviewee I held a similar view. Currently aged in her early twenties, she had been in the movement for ten years, leaving at age eighteen. She recalls:

> *Some people have actually had a bad experience with really bossy or controlling leaders who take that position so they can boss people around.*

Furthermore, Interviewee P recalls having learnt a set of 'whistle codes' while she was a Girl Guide in the 1950s. The whistle codes denoted commands such as 'come here' or 'freeze', and were used by the troop leader, or by girls in senior positions, to discipline the remaining members. Roberts *et al* suggest that disciplining measures are not unusual in character-training schemes, and organisers 'claim that learning to respond to authoritative and expert leadership is one of the benefits schemes confer'.[33] Indeed, Drewery points out that Baden-Powell included in the original ten Scout Laws that 'a Scout obeys orders from his parents, Patrol Leader or Scoutmaster without question'. She argues that 'he recognised the need for a clear chain of command and the importance of leadership'.[34] While the organisers may perceive this authoritative discipline to be a 'benefit' of the Scouting and Guiding schemes, the interviewees tended to recoil from the authoritative leaders and recalled unpleasant encounters with such adults.

The second and most common aspect that interviewees thought could be perceived as militaristic was the compulsory uniform. Until 2003, the Scouts wore a khaki coloured uniform, which was very similar in appearance to the uniform worn by armed forces, while the Girl Guides wore a navy blue uniform. Macleod argues that 'above all, the uniform - which closely resembled the army's - identified the Boy Scouts with national service'.[35] Three female interviewees mentioned having experienced uniform inspections during their involvement, a practice common in the military, while Interviewee F, a Girl Guide in the 1930s, explained that she strongly disliked having to polish her shoes before weekly meetings. Similarly, when recalling her experiences as a Brownie in the 1980s, Interviewee D felt that it was 'ridiculous' to have undergone underwear 'checks' by the adult leader to ensure that they were brown.

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[33] *op cit* p.16
[34] *op cit* p.100
[35] *op cit* p.178

With regards to the third point, the drills and marching performed during their participation was mentioned by several older interviewees in relation to militarism. They recalled marching in public parades on Anzac Day, and practicing drill routines. Interviewee C, states:

*I did a lot more marching [in Guides] than my girls did. But when I was doing tennis I used to march onto the tennis court, so I think that's just part of the way things were done. And we used to march into school. When I was in Guides, a large part was the marching and the patrol checks, and that your nails weren't too long and your hair was off the collar.*

It is interesting that Interviewee C considers 'marching' and 'drills' to have been common in other Australian institutions (outside of the Girl Guides) in the 1960s. According to MacDonald, drills, exercises and competitions were seen to 'make good behaviour second nature'.[36] David Kirk and Karen Twigg have investigated Australia's first and last scheme of national compulsory military training for young males, which operated partly through the school system from 1911 until 1931. The scheme required all Australian males aged between twelve and twenty-six to participate in a set number of hours of drilling and exercising.[37] Training for the junior branch - twelve to fourteen year-olds - operated as part of the school curriculum. The Education Department insisted that girls were also catered for within the scheme, and so it was treated not as a military training program, but as a broader system of physical training, funded by the Department of Defence, in cooperation with the State Education Departments.[38] While the program ended in 1931, perhaps some remnants, including marching into school, endured for some time afterwards.

Lastly, several interviewees suggested that the hierarchical structure of Scouts and Guides was similar to the military. Interviewee C suggests that at times it was difficult to motivate herself to attend Guide meetings, because it felt like a burdensome duty, especially for a teenager. But having attained a certain rank within the movement, she felt a sense of obligation to fulfill the duties expected of her. She asserts:

*There's quite a hierarchy. As soon as you join Brownies you're put into a 'six' with a 'Sixer' and a 'Seconder' in charge of you...What I liked least in the end was having to show up once a week when I really didn't feel like it. I hated the thought of having to go. There was duty to go, when you became a patrol leader and had certain duties to fulfill. It's been instilled in you that you just don't go to Guides once a month, you've got to go every single week. It became annoying.*

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[36] *op cit* pp.23-24

[37] David Kirk, and Karen Twigg, 'The militarization of school physical training in Australia: the rise and demise of the Junior Cadet Training Scheme, 1911-31', *History of Education*, 1993, 22(4), p.391

[38] *ibid* pp.396, 404

Macleod suggests that 'enthusiasm was hard to sustain week after week, and formalism often took over'.[39] Furthermore, Roberts *et al* argue that the character training movement makes a clear division between leaders and led, and that 'there is no participant democracy or self-government'.[40] This can obviously become tiresome for some young participants, and was mentioned as one of the less enjoyable aspects of the movement by a handful of interviewees.

Two interviewees were especially critical of what they perceived as the militaristic and hierarchical nature of Scouts and Guides. They had each achieved their Queen's Guide and Queen's Scout awards - generally considered the highest ranked awards - but had since become somewhat disillusioned with the movement. Interviewee P joined the Guide movement in the 1950s at eight years of age, following encouragement from her father who was a State Member for Parliament. She remained in the organisation for approximately eight years. Interviewee P still has a 'yellowed cutting from the front page of the *Sunday Telegraph'*, depicting her Queen's Guide award ceremony. She remembers being 'on her knees before the world, displaying orthodontically corrected teeth and the Queen's signature'. According to Interviewee P:

> *I would have had no idea what it would have meant to make any critique of the Guides' rules and praxis. We were peace, not war. Defence was holy. Hitler was militaristic. Stalin was militaristic. We were defending the Empire of goodness...I love the idea of community organisations that offer a huge variety of out-of-school adventures, from music-camps to abseiling and bush-regeneration, if only there could be some way of doing that without imposing the language, iconography, hierarchy, self-congratulatory tunnel-vision and top-down discipline of armies.*

Interviewee O had commenced involvement in the Scouts during the 1960s, a decade later than Interviewee P. His personal experience of the movement was not overshadowed by militarism. In fact, he suggests that when he was a Senior Scout, his troop had no regular adult leader and was run informally by the teenage participants, in a fashion that was not strict or hierarchical. Interviewee O, however, became increasingly involved in political activism and anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in his early twenties, and indicated that this did not sit comfortably with his Scouting involvement. As Springhall argues, 'it was never the intention of the Boy Scouts to turn out citizens who might become pacifists or conscientious objectors'.[41] He explains that when he progressed from Senior Scouts to the Rovers:

> *It was the time of the Vietnam War in the 60s. I left that crew because one particular member who'd been over to Vietnam and served a tour of duty, came back with some very strange attitudes and wanted to spend every meeting talking*

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[39] *op cit* p.248
[40] *op cit* p.15
[41] *op cit* p.942

*about it. By then other interests were coming in. I started university, the whole anti-war thing was going on and I was involved in that. So I just left.*

He also argues that Scouting was 'founded in a militaristic style, and certainly as some of us experienced it, run quite rigidly in that way as a kind of paramilitary thing'.

The discipline involved, including uniform inspections, hierarchical structure, and 'authoritarian leaders', strongly suggest that militaristic elements were a part of the Guides and Scouts, particularly in earlier decades, even though the movement in Australia has never formed any official attachment to the military. Richard Voeltz has recently produced a commentary on the Scout movement in the United Kingdom, and suggests that there remains something 'paramilitary' about the movement, especially in terms of the troops, patrols, saluting, marching and uniforms.[42] In a similar vein, the contemporary Australian movement designates certain youth members as leaders and vice-leaders, and continues to use terminology like 'Commissioner' to explain positions of leadership and status. The Scouts and Guides remain hierarchically structured, both within the local groups and in terms of the local, state, national, and world organisational system. The majority of interviewees, however, felt that Scouting and Guiding had not been militaristic, although they were aware that Baden-Powell came from a 'military background', and that the origins of the movement had partly been inspired by his military training. The question that now arises is *why* they did not describe the movement as one that was 'militaristic'.

Several possible reasons can be identified. For instance, it is possible that Baden-Powell established the movement with the aim of training future soldiers, but it was not *experienced* as such by participants because they extracted other elements from their involvement, like the fun of camping in the bush. Warren suggests that 'localities, groups and individuals picked out what they found attractive in the writings of Baden-Powell, making thereby their own distinctive patterns of social and communal activity'.[43] Perhaps Baden-Powell's military objective was not realised at the grassroots level simply because participants did not attribute significant meaning to this aspect of their involvement. As Roberts *et al* argue, 'participants may bring their own aims into the organisation'.[44]

Alternatively, it is possible to conclude that the movement was strongly militaristic, but participants have chosen not to remember it that way because they don't feel comfortable believing that they were being trained as soldiers. Interviewee J was one of the oldest male interviewees. He first joined the Cub Scouts in the early 1930s, and remained involved intermittently in the movement until he was forty-six. He claims that the movement was not militaristic because he was 'not a soldier'. He repeats that, 'I would've

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[42] *op cit*
[43] *op cit* p.949
[44] *op cit* p.22

resisted Scouts [if it was militaristic] because I'm not a soldier'. Instead, he describes his time in the Scouts as 'wonderful', as the 'best years' of his life.

A further possible conclusion is that the Scouts and Guides were militaristic mainly in their early years, but this emphasis has waned. Interviewees in this study commenced their involvement from the 1930s onwards, and Springhall argues that after the 1920s, the militaristic emphasis declined.[45] In fact, the contemporary Scouts and Guides associations in Australia have become aware of their 'old-fashioned' and militaristic image, and have recently altered their uniform requirements, allowing youth members to wear more 'casual' attire. According to a recent *Sydney Morning Herald* report:

> Khaki was turning the kids away so the Scouts have gone all colourful, dropping their bland, buttoned uniforms for a bright blend of yellow, green, maroon and tan.[46]

Lastly, it is possible from considering all of these factors to conclude that militarism was present in some ways in Scouting and Guiding, but was not the core purpose or at the top of the agenda. Perhaps Baden-Powell had another objective for his Boy Scout and Girl Guide schemes.

## Middle-class Citizenship

Allen Warren argues that Baden-Powell's papers and the official *Scout Headquarters Gazette* 'vigorously maintain an opposition to military training'.[47] Warren produced an article for the *English Historical Review* in 1986, which became the catalyst for the ensuing debate with Springhall and Summers the following year. In both articles, Warren focuses on the Scout movement and citizen training in Great Britain from 1900 to 1920, arguing that Baden-Powell's main objective was the making of better future citizens. He notes that several historians have placed Scouting 'firmly within the context of military and imperial values associated with social control', but he feels that other readings or interpretive angles can be drawn from the historical records.[48]

According to Warren, much of the early writing on Scouting conveys an 'enthusiastic and emancipationist tone', which directly challenges the more commonly asserted view by historians that the movement reflected an 'anxious and insecure Edwardian upper and middle-class trying to reassert its authority over the young'.[49] Combined with this emancipationist tone was a pronounced internationalism, even *before* 1914, not only from

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[45] *op cit* p.940

[46] Peter Munro, 'Cacky khaki is out as scouts show their true colours', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 2003, p.12

[47] 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the scout movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *op cit* p.376

[48] *ibid*

[49] *ibid* p.377

the 1920s onwards as Springhall has claimed.[50] Warren implies that this internationalist stance demonstrates that the Scout movement was not as strongly influenced by defensive, insular anxieties about invasion of Britain as has often been assumed. He contends that Springhall and Summers have a 'greater commitment' than he does to the idea that Edwardian society was comprehensively militaristic.[51]

Warren also stresses that Baden-Powell never allowed the movement to become affiliated with any military body, even when faced with substantial pressure from the cadet lobby during the First World War. He notes that by November 1911, the Scouts Executive Committee had forbidden members to take part in military parades.[52] Moreover, Warren claims that after 1918, the Scouts Association distanced itself even further from the military, and that this did not result in a corresponding decline in membership numbers, indicating that militarism was unlikely to have been the biggest attraction for young participants. With respect to the Girl Guides, Warren draws attention to a minute of the Girl Guides Executive committee in 1912, which outlines their response to an approach from the Red Cross. The committee declined a closer working relationship with the Red Cross because their 'somewhat military aspects might deter mothers from allowing their daughters to join the Girl Guides should these form Cadet Corps for the Red Cross'.[53]

Warren openly concedes that the Scout movement was not completely free from military elements, and that some Scoutmasters hoped Scouting would become a temporary alternative to compulsory military training for all boys.[54] Warren also acknowledges that the origins of *Scouting for Boys* were rooted in Baden-Powell's ideas about cavalry training. However, he argues that the response to the 1908 publication encompassed more than military aspirations. The responses were plural, and included educational, religious, and recreational ambitions. Warren concludes that Scouting was placed 'firmly within an educational ideology of character training for citizens for peace or war'.[55]

The contemporary Scout and Guide associations in Australia do not mention the military in their promotional materials, nor do they emphasise militaristic training as part of their activity program. Both organisations do, however, embrace the key ideals of (middle-class) citizenship. The concept of citizenship has an historical connection with middle-class norms of independence and responsibility. As Michael Ignatieff argues, in late eighteenth century England the 'myth of citizenship' was an 'exclusionary category, justifying the coercive rule of the included over the excluded'. Citizenship primarily

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[50] Warren, *op cit* p.948
[51] *ibid*
[52] *op cit* pp.377, 391
[53] *op cit* p.949
[54] *ibid* p.948
[55] *ibid*

included adult male property owners with material, social and intellectual independence.[56]

The Business Manager of Guides NSW claims that 'our objective as a movement is really to try and build good citizens'. Similarly, the Mission Statement of the Scouts Association asserts that young people must 'play a constructive role in society as responsible citizens'. According to Michael Cathcart:

> The concept of 'the citizen' is more than a legal technicality or the mere consequence of an individual's place of birth. It is an indication that an individual is recognized at large as a legitimate and enfranchised member of society. In Australia, the notion of citizenship has...tended to signify attributes of co-operation, loyalty and civic service rather than an enthusiasm for social criticism, reform and independence.[57]

Throughout the *2002 Scouts Australia Policy and Rules* booklet, the term 'responsbility' is repeated constantly. Youth participants are encouraged to 'better themselves', to aim for 'leadership', and prioritise their 'loyalty to country'. Under the subject heading of 'Earning your way', members are prompted to develop a 'positive attitude' towards gainful employment, which contributes 'to the sense of dignity and self worth of the individual'. This message, of responsible citizenship, has clearly not been lost on at least some of the participants in the movement. Interviewee A, who was a Boy Scout in the 1960s, suggests that:

> *Scouting was unique in the way it was organised, what you did while you were there. It was very different from going and having a game of soccer or cricket because you were taught skills. You went for badges. It was almost a good citizenship course or something along those lines.*

When Baden-Powell organised the first (trial) Scout camp in 1907, he decided that 'the boys should be chosen from varying social backgrounds; he felt that sons of wealthy parents needed the training of a scout quite as much as the poor'.[58] However, if class-mixture was Baden-Powell's aim for the Scouting and Guiding schemes, he largely failed on this front. There appears to be scholarly consensus on the predominantly middle-class nature of character training schemes. For instance, Roberts *et al* contend that character training schemes in Britain are 'run mainly by men from middle-class, often public school backgrounds'.[59] Similarly, Macleod argues that character-building agencies 'most faithfully expressed middle-class values and concerns', while MacDonald suggests that 'Baden-Powell was essentially a middle-class hero'.[60]

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[56] Ignatieff, Michael, 'The Myth of Citizenship' in Ronald Beiner, (ed), *Theorizing Citizenship*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. pp.56-58

[57] Michael Cathcart, *Defending the National Tuckshop: Australia's secret army intrigue of 1931*; Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1988, p.127

[58] Drewery, *op cit* p.94

[59] *op cit* p.15

[60] MacDonald, *op cit* p.103; Macleod, *op cit* p.xv

Anne Summers asserts that the British women involved in 'voluntary social work' were also typically from the middle classes. They were 'leisured women who did not have to earn their own living or do their own housework'.[61] The wives of State Governors in Australia played a central role in establishing the Girl Guides in this country. In 1911, the Tasmanian Governor and his wife (Sir Harry and Lady Barron) decided to form a state Guide Association, while Lady Stradbroke, the wife of the State Governor of Victoria, became the first Victorian State Commissioner.[62] Olave Baden-Powell recalls that 'the wives of the Governors of almost every British dominion were either actively engaged in the Girl Guide movement, or had at some time been interested in it'.[63] The Guides NSW Business Manager confirms the middle-class origins of Guiding in Australia:

> Guiding probably had its origins much more in the well-to-do lady type person, someone who had the time. So its origins came from that part of society.

When asked about the class demographic of their local Guide or Scout troops, the majority of interviewees (twelve out of sixteen who were asked this question) stated that the Scouts and Guides were predominantly 'middle-class'. Three respondents suggested that there were 'some exceptions'. Interviewee B, a Cub Scout leader in the 1940s, typically recalls that the class demographic was:

> Very even. Middle-class. [There weren't any participants who were] what they used to call blue-collar workers. Average middle-class.

In 2001, Scouts Australia commissioned a market research company, Pacific Micro Marketing, to conduct 'member profiling' of the organisation. Based on analysis of the Scouts member databases from each Australian state, Pacific Micro Marketing concluded that there was an over-representation of members from the 'Champagne and Chardonnay' category in the movement, compared to their representation in the general Australian population. This category is described as housing 'wealthy business oriented families', with the highest proportion of high income, the highest proportion of managers, administrators and professionals, and the highest proportion of outright home ownership, when compared to other categories included in the research. Furthermore, the researchers found that the Scouts Association of Australia has 'the highest level of penetration in the outer suburban areas in the wealth belt areas of each capital city'.[64]

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[61] op cit p.3

[62] Coleman & Darling, op cit pp.7-8

[63] Sydney Morning Herald, 'Chief Guide. Interview with Lady Baden-Powell', 18 March 1931, p.13

[64] Toohey, Steve, 'The Scout Association of Australia: Member Profiling', North Sydney: Pacific Micro Marketing, February 2001

While the majority of interviewees agreed that Scouts and Guides were middle-class, several participants appeared to be uncomfortable about expressing this view too strongly. Perhaps they felt uncomfortable about describing the movement as middle-class because they would be claiming to belong to a 'privileged' or 'elite' group, conflicting with their understanding of the movement's underpinning ethos of inclusiveness and acceptance of all people. Or, perhaps some interviewees simply felt confused about the term 'class' and were unsure of what criteria to use when assessing the status of Scouts or Guides. Several interviewees used similar phrases to those used by Interviewee G, when describing the class demographic. She asserts that the movement was:

> Pretty much mainly middle-class. Everyone's pretty much the same. Everyone felt on equal ground.

Other interviewees also used the terms 'equal' and 'sameness' to describe the socioeconomic background of other group members. Implied in such statements seemed to be the notion that although the movement was middle-class, participants did not consider themselves to be 'better' than or superior to other people in the troop. A further variation arose when Interviewee J was asked about the class strata of the movement. He responded that 'it never came up', once again implying that class was an unimportant feature that was not openly discussed or acknowledged. Perhaps the class status of other participants was not addressed or went largely unnoticed because it was taken-for-granted that everyone came from the same background. Michael Cathcart argues that:

> In Australian ruling class ideology, the question of class is a little delicate. References to
> it are either considered to be in bad taste - or to be an ideological affront: a challenge to
> the social proposition that Australia is a one-class liner in which anyone can earn a chair
> on the promenade deck.[65]

The recognition by one interviewee, that not everyone can 'earn a chair on the promenade deck' demonstrated how recollections from the position of adulthood can challenge assumptions that were maintained during childhood. Interviewee C, a Girl Guide in the 1960s, recalls:

> That's the one thing I loved about Girl Guides. I'd gone to a selective high school
> and I loved mixing at Guides with the kids who were just in the ordinary state
> schools and I felt that it was a cross-social thing and kids from all different
> backgrounds could join. Perhaps I was a little bit idealistic though, because
> when I think about it, it was mainly middle-class kids.

The idea that members of the Scouts and/or Guides were all 'the same' or 'equal' is interesting to consider in relation to the compulsory uniform worn by youth participants.

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[65] op cit p.109

Some interviewees acknowledged that the financial cost of the uniform resulted in some young people being excluded from the movement. When asked if he thought the movement was inclusive, Interviewee E, a Scout in the 1980s, asserts:

> *The exclusive part comes if you join [and] you've got to buy a uniform. For some people it's costly, expensive...I mean, certainly when you're nine years old, you go through a uniform every year and parents can't afford to fork out eighty dollars for a new uniform every eighteen months. So that was a bit of an exclusive thing.*

According to MacDonald, Scouting in Britain recruited mainly from the lower middle-class and upper-working-class because 'lower-working-class lads could not afford the uniform'.[66] He suggests that lower-working-class boys 'often found its middle-class morality patronising...[identifying] Scouts [as] 'stuck up' and jeered at Scouts troops in the street'.[67] Likewise, Macleod argues that 'many lower class boys found the programs costly and culturally alien'.[68]

From the perspective of one interviewee, those 'lower class' boys who did join the Scout movement in Australia were given the 'chance' to mix with boys of higher-class status. Interviewee Q, a Scout during the 1960s, suggests:

> *I think that probably was always part of the [Scouting] ideology, that it was a social leveller. It wasn't spoken about openly, but it certainly gave an opportunity for some of the lower status people to mix with some of the higher status people.*

Implied in this statement is the idea that Scouting 'belonged' to the middle-class, but enabled lower-class boys the privilege of mixing with those 'above' them. Unlike the majority of interview participants, Interviewee Q felt the movement was very inclusive and was a 'melting pot of different socioeconomic groups'. Ideally this is what Baden-Powell set out to do, but the movement has remained predominantly middle-class in Australia since its inception. It is plausible that Interviewee Q has come across a larger proportion of participants from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds during his contact with the Scouting movement than other interviewees, and therefore deduced that the movement was a 'melting pot'. This, however, was not the conclusion reached by most interviewees.

Perhaps a further indicator of the middle-class ideology of the Scouts and Guides was their continual emphasis on maintaining a 'neat' personal appearance. Janet McCalman has conducted a comprehensive analysis of a 'middle-class generation', following their development from the time they commenced private schooling in Australia in 1934.[69] One of her interviewees recalls that 'part of being respectable was always looking clean,

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[66] *op cit* p.11
[67] *ibid*
[68] *op cit* p.212
[69] *op cit* p.22

looking nice'.[70] This idea arose also during some of the interviews with Scouts and Guides participants. Interviewee B, for example, argues that one of the positive aspects of the movement is that:

*[Members] have to clean their shoes and be neatly dressed to go to meetings.*

Similarly, Interviewee A recalls that in the 1960s:

*Scouts taught you about personal hygiene. I remember things in the manual about how to cut your toenails and things like that. I suppose looking back you could call it a personal development type course.*

McCalman contends that for middle-class Australian school children, 'order without suggested order within. Tidiness of uniform and neatness of work attained the potency of a cult'.[71] In fact, the *2002 Scouts Association Policy and Rules* booklet includes a section titled 'Personal Standards'. This section stipulates that members are to 'demonstrate high personal standards and refrain from swearing and using profane, indecent, rude, insulting or abusive language'. These rules implicitly attempt to 'set apart' members of the Scouts from 'ordinary' young men to make them 'respectable'. According to McCalman, the Australian middle-class have often considered themselves to be 'the backbone of the nation', perceiving themselves as a 'deserving middle-class, who had got where they had got, not by silver spoons, but by hard work and good character'.[72] In addition, she argues that 'in the making of middle-class people, schools did much to equip them with the intellectual skills, the language, the style and the confidence for them to exact deference to their gentility'.[73] Social rising was not merely about acquiring material goods and exhibiting financial wealth, but involved more subtle changes to habits and ideas, speech and deportment.[74]

## Building Character

The term 'character' features strongly in the work of scholars interested in the Scout movement. Some of the more prominent examples include Michael Rosenthal's publication, *The Character Factory*, and David Macleod's *Building Character in the American Boy*. A further publication produced by Jay Mechling, *On My Honor*, omits the term 'character' but encapsulates a similar idea relating to personal integrity, a moral attitude, and respectability.[75] Roberts *et al*, in their 1970s study of the character-training industry in Britain, contend that schemes for character-building commonly use phrases

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[70] *ibid* p.28
[71] *ibid* p.95
[72] *ibid* p.136
[73] *ibid* p.113
[74] *ibid* p.75
[75] Rosenthal, *op cit*; Macleod, *op cit*; Mechling, *op cit*

like 'self-discovery' and 'education through adventure' in their promotional materials. They ultimately aim to make participants 'develop and appreciate' their own abilities, usually by completing a series of challenging tasks.[76]

Baden-Powell was keen to draw out the 'character' of young men and women, which he felt could be facilitated (but not enforced) by the Scout and Guide programs. He explains:

> We get results, and among them is discipline, but a discipline which comes from within, from a sense of honour instead of the imitation of discipline imposed from without.[77]

Michel Foucault suggests that this sense of 'discipline from within' may be considered a 'technology of the self', whereby individuals effect a certain number of operations on their own bodies, thoughts, and conduct, in order to transform themselves to attain a certain state of happiness, purity or perfection.[78] While Baden-Powell encouraged the development of 'character' in young Scouts and Guides, through a training program consisting of practical skills and the inculcation of 'respectable' attitudes, he nevertheless wanted young participants to embrace the Scouting and Guiding ideals for themselves. He presumably saw the values of the program continuing long after boys and girls left the scheme and entered their adult lives. According to Roberts et al, 'the manufacture of the young middle-class person concentrated both on their inner self and the outer presentation'.[79]

The concept of 'building character' had become firmly established in the ethos of the British public schools, which flourished in the decades following the 1850s. This ethos encompassed manliness, courage and compassion.[80] Bullying was frowned upon, and adolescent boys were encouraged to become well-rounded gentleman through a varied educational program including athletics, Greek and Latin classics, and team sports.[81] Cathcart argues that the British public school ethos spread to Australia, and was shaped around a stereotypical image of a 'fundamentally decent schoolboy' who accepted his birthright of leader with cheerfulness and humanity.[82] Cathcart suggests that the sons of the most powerful families learnt that social authority and responsibility were their destiny.[83] Similarly, Macleod argues that organisers of youth training schemes widely

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[76] op cit p.16

[77] Baden-Powell, Lieutenant-General Lord, 'Scouting. Aims and Ideals. Education of Youth', Sydney Morning Herald, 5 January 1935, p.16

[78] Foucault, Michel, 'Technologies of the Self' in Luther Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick Hutton, (eds), Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault, London: Tavistock, 1988. P.18

[79] ibid p.137

[80] Harlow, Barbara, and Mia Carter, (eds), Imperialism & Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook, Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1999, p.352

[81] ibid p.353

[82] op cit p.102

[83] ibid

held that virtue and character were essential ingredients to instill in middle-class adolescents (especially in young men) if they were to maintain their social position.[84]

In the early stages of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia, 'British character' became a sought after attribute, and was readily endorsed by the Australian movement. For instance, in 1935, the Governor of New South Wales addressed a Sydney Rotary Club. In his address, titled the 'Value of British Character', the Governor (Sir Alexander Hore-Ruthven) asserts:

> The sound and sane British character must be the keystone of future international stability. With the rest of the world relying on Britain for guidance, it is important that the British character should be preserved, and, if possible, improved.[85]

While the underlying ideologies of British institutions had a particularly strong influence on the development of their Australian counterparts, Roberts *et al* argue that 'character training schemes are by no means a peculiarly British institution'. They assert that Outward Bound schemes are also located in Europe and North America, and that local versions of character training schemes are found in many countries.[86]

Despite the diverse geographical location of character training programs, Roberts *et al* identify five main factors which are common to most schemes. These factors include an emphasis on personal development, leadership qualities, profitable uses of leisure time, a commitment to community service, and an attempt to influence participants 'in ways that will enhance social harmony'.[87] One of these themes - personal development - arose consistently during the interviews with past and present Scouts and Guides in Australia, particularly in relation to the badge system.

The badge system is a method of rewarding participants upon the successful completion of set tasks. The tasks can usually be undertaken at will by individual youth members, who choose from an enormous range of activities (music, writing, cooking, physical pursuits etc). The task is evaluated by a designated 'examiner', often from outside the movement (an ex-Guide or ex-Scoutmaster, for example) and, if deemed satisfactory, the youth member is awarded a badge which is sewn on to the uniform and publicly displayed to other troop members.

The badge system was recalled in a positive light by several interviewees, who described a feeling of satisfaction and achievement when receiving badges. Interviewee O explains:

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[84] *op cit* p.xvi
[85] *Sydney Morning Herald,* 'Scout Week. Governor's Address. Value of British Character', 25 September 1935, p.14
[86] *op cit* p.15
[87] *ibid* pp.64-65

*Probably a lot of my own sense or my own positive feelings towards the Scouts were that it felt good to be able to tie a knot or whatever... I tried and tried and I went for the badge about three times and finally got it...So the Scout badges and their award system and the way that you are positively reinforced for getting things right was certainly part of my enjoyment of the whole thing.*

Interviewee Q says:

*I remember feeling pleased at the promotional system within Scouts because I got to be a Seconder and then a Patrol Leader and felt the pride of getting those stripes and the excitement of getting to stand where the important people in the patrol stand. It was a structured set of promotions that made me feel important.*

According to Macleod, 'for certain boys Scout awards posed an exhilarating challenge ...A good many obviously liked the sense of order provided by a graded series of awards'.[88] This was not confined to schemes for boys, however, as Girl Guides expressed similar feelings of accomplishment. For instance, the Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer asserts:

*Guides, in the badge system, offers girls something to work towards just because they want to learn more. At the end they get a little badge and it's so important to reinforce that you're doing it for your own betterment, you know your own self-improvement...Whereas Guides, doesn't matter what ability level you are, you will always achieve something in Guides because it's only for yourself.*

Despite the aim of the Scout and Guide associations to enhance 'character' and encourage 'betterment' of young people, youth members do not always fit the 'good character' profile, which was originally intended by Baden-Powell. Interviewee H, who is currently a Venturer leader, asserts:

*Scouting provides a form of stability for young people that they otherwise may not get. That doesn't mean that Scouts are all 'goodie-goodies'. We don't have all 'goodie-goodies'. We have kids who burn schools down, we have kids who smoke, not just tobacco. We have people who occasionally drink too much, including leaders.*

Interviewee O confirms the suggestion that not all Scouts were 'good' all of the time. He recalls that during his time as a Scout in the 1960s:

*We were all very good, upright young citizens. We did a lot of Scoutly things, but we also got away with a few other things as well. As soon as somebody had a car*

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[88] *op cit* p.248

*we used to spend two or three nights going off to the drive-in or driving to the city, cruise around [to] Kings Cross, that sort of thing.*

In Sydney, the suburb of Kings Cross is widely known as a 'red light' district. It is therefore significant that Interviewee O mentions visiting this suburb, to emphasise that he (and other Senior Scouts in his troop) were participating in activities that the Scout bureaucracy would have considered inappropriate, an exhibition of 'poor' character. Nevertheless, Interviewee O did not appear to perceive a large contradiction between visiting Kings Cross during Scout meetings, and describing his Scouting group as accommodating 'good, upright young citizens'. This suggests that interpretations of 'good Scouting' on an individual, practical level, often differs with the ideals embedded in the official Scouting rhetoric.

## The complexities of historical interpretation

Determining Baden-Powell's precise 'intentions' when he first established the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides is a difficult and somewhat tricky task. He was a prolific writer and public speaker, and produced much in the way of personal correspondence papers. John Springhall, Anne Summers and Allen Warren have drawn on this material to shape their views about the 'true' objectives of the movement. The main complexity arising from this approach is that Baden-Powell wanted his movement to expand and to appeal to a wide constituency. He was therefore careful to promote the movement in its best possible light, changing his persuasive line depending on his intended audience. As Springhall argues, Baden-Powell wanted Scouting to be 'all things to all men', making it near impossible to know what his 'true' ambitions were.[89]

What has become clear as a result of the debate between these three historians is that militarism and citizenship were both fundamental to Baden-Powell's conceptual framework for the Scouting and Guiding schemes. Whether militarism was more important to Baden-Powell than citizenship (or vice versa) is a 'question of historical interpretation'.[90] According to Summers:

> There is no simple answer to the problem of how historians are to assess the social impact of a given institution or organisation. The theories of its founder, and the policy decisions of its executive, are certainly not infallible guides to concrete historical practice.[91]

At the 'practical' level, interview participants tended to conclude that the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides were not militaristic organisations. They willingly acknowledged that Baden-Powell had a 'military background', which was reflected in some of the activities

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[89] *op cit* p.936
[90] *op cit* p, 943
[91] *ibid* p.947

and hierarchical structure of the movement. The majority of interviewees did not feel, however, that they were being trained to become soldiers or military nurses. While several participants stated that they had met 'authoritarian' adult leaders, perhaps similar to a stereotypically strict and bossy military commander, this was hardly a solid indication of militarism in the movement. It is entirely plausible that certain school teachers, sports instructors or music tutors could also be described in this fashion.

While Springhall, Summers and Warren have presented arguments with largely opposing views on militarism and citizenship, it was not inconceivable for some interviewees to accept that the movement incorporated both of these ideals. Interviewee O, for example, discussed the 'military hierarchy' of Scouting, but also felt he was being trained to become a 'good, upright young citizen'. That Baden-Powell may have held inconsistent, even at times contradictory, hopes for his movement would not be an entirely surprising proposition. As noted in the introductory section of this thesis, people and organisations often have ambiguous and problematic aims. Indeed, Warren argues that:

> As a social critic, [Baden-Powell] was often both simple-minded and inconsistent, and given the enormous quantity of his journalism and more formal writing, it is easy to present his views over-schematically.[92]

It is possible that Baden-Powell believed that a military-prepared citizenry would make good 'back-up' soldiers to defend the Empire. It is also possible that he thought that well-trained soldiers would become good citizens. Perhaps Baden-Powell's ideas about militarism and citizen training went hand-in-hand, rather than being diametrically opposed.

It is also noteworthy that the majority of interview participants described their Scout and Guide troops as accommodating predominantly middle-class youth members. This was not a surprising discovery, considering that several scholars interested in the movement have also concluded that it was primarily one of middle-class standing.

In conclusion, the experiences of interviewees tended to indicate that the Scouts and Guides associations in Australia were focused more on citizen training than they were on military training. The organisations were described as being predominantly middle-class, rather than including participants from a variety of social backgrounds, as Baden-Powell had hoped. Furthermore, interviewees indicated that the inculcation of 'good character' was not a guaranteed result for youth members who were involved in the movement. Despite 'promising' to become trustworthy, considerate and helpful, not all participants became 'goodie-goodies'.

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[92] 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the scout movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *op cit* p.397

# CHAPTER TWO

# Gender & Sexuality:

## *"Girls Want to do Boys' Things Too"*

Although citizenship was fundamental to Baden-Powell's conceptual framework for the Scouting movement, the Boy Scout Association often championed a different model of good citizenship for adolescent males than was favoured by the Girl Guides Association for their young female members. In the early decades of the twentieth century, adolescent boys in Western industrial cities were thought to pose a greater social problem than girls.[1] They tended to 'hang about' in the streets with their male peers, while their attendance at church services (especially Protestant services) declined, and they were increasingly exposed to the supposedly 'weakening' feminine influences at school and in the home.[2] Indeed, Baden-Powell labelled the 'irreligiousness, low moral standards, increasingly violent behaviour and ill health' of young men in Britain as 'national inefficiencies', requiring immediate attention.[3] Girls, on the other hand, appeared to conform more easily to adult expectations of respectability. According to Macleod, 'on the whole, girls aroused less adult alarm than boys', which meant that character building schemes for boys started earlier and were more extensive than their female counterparts.[4]

In response to this general dismay about the apparently lagging social development of male adolescents, the Scouting program initially aimed to cultivate a stable and clearly defined sense of manhood, which emphasised the need for both physical health and an obedient, constructive attitude. Baden-Powell sought to produce young men who were able to 'live rough', were hardy, self-sufficient productive and practical, who turned away from idleness and uselessness.[5] The antidote to what was perceived as 'Britain's moral, physical and military weakness' would stem from the inculcation of self-discipline and responsibility in young men, creating in them a sense of loyalty and duty to their country.[6]

This twofold construction of masculinity and nationalism was not limited to Britain, but was also promulgated in Australia during the first few decades of the movement's evolution. In 1935, for instance, the Governor of New South Wales addressed a Rotary Club luncheon. The event was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in the following way:

> The Governor said that the [Scout] movement was doing the nation a service of enormous value by attending to the physical and mental development of young men. When many young men were having more leisure time than was perhaps good for them, scouting offered a valuable outlet.[7]

Indicative of the perception of young men using their leisure time unproductively, this statement suggests that the importance of Scouting lay in its ability to re-focus adolescent

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[1] Mechling, *op cit* p.218

[2] Macleod, *op cit* p.47

[3] Rosenthal, *op cit* p.5

[4] *op cit* p.51

[5] MacDonald, *op cit* p.8

[6] Rosenthal, *op cit* p.3

[7] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Scout Week. Governor's Address. Value of British Character', 25 September 1935, p.14

boys (the men of the future) both mentally and physically, thereby ensuring that a stronger nation would develop.

Whereas the Scouting scheme sought to reinvigorate a widely accepted understanding of masculinity, the Girl Guides were positioned more ambiguously. The scheme for teenage girls both conformed to and challenged the boundaries of womanhood and femininity. Girls were trained to become efficient mothers, wives and homemakers, but were simultaneously allowed to wear uniforms, and participate in adventurous and exploratory activities in the public (outdoors) sphere, including hiking, tracking and signalling. According to Kathryn Castles, British imperial discourse provided 'ample scope' for women to serve the Empire as teachers, nurses, and missionaries, which allowed them to participate both within and beyond roles deemed appropriate for them.[8] Despite this ambiguity, one theme remaining constant in official Guiding rhetoric was that of respectability and self-control, regardless of whether the young women were physically active in the outdoors or conducting domestic duties.

This chapter outlines the intention of Baden-Powell (and subsequently the Scouting bureaucracy) to cultivate 'masculinity' in young men, compared to the ambivalent construction of femininity in the Guiding scheme. Conversely, detailed analysis is provided of the status of the movement, exploring whether it constitutes two separate and distinct organisations for girls and boys, or comprises a single, united entity. Attention is drawn to the recent emergence of mixed gender Scouting groups, a move which has diverged substantially from the original Scouting scheme, and finally, the significance of sexuality in the Scouts and Guides is explored, particularly in relation to the perspectives of interview participants. Whereas the Boy Scouts were often perceived to be more 'fun' and perhaps lax, both male and female interviewees tended to depict the Guide association as controlling and inflexible. This theme continually emerged throughout the interview process.

## Scouts and Guides: One Movement or Separate?

> It was wonderful to be working 'in harness' with my husband, striving towards a common goal, imbued with the same ideals...We were leading brother and sister Movements.[9]

When I first began this research, I assumed that the Scouts and Guides were part of the same organisation, working 'in harness' just as Olave Baden-Powell had described in her autobiography. It seemed plausible that the Scouts and Guides bureaucracies worked cooperatively to administer their programs for young Australian participants, differing only in the sense that they offered a sex-segregated scheme for boys and girls respectively. These assumptions, however, were challenged as I discovered more about the history of the movement, and the current approach of the Australian Scouting and Guiding organisations.

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[8] Castle, *op cit* p.8
[9] Olave Baden-Powell, *op cit* p.113

Baden-Powell established the movement initially with only boys in mind. The organisation existed for two full years before girls were taken into account and the Girl Guides Association was officially formed. From the time they commenced, the Guides were clearly designated as a separate organisation belonging to a separate gendered space, in which girls could participate in all-female activities more 'suited' to their sex.[10]

According to Macleod, at the beginning of the twentieth century, middle-class men were worried that boys from their own social class were growing up weak and were exposed to large doses of effeminacy in boyhood.[11] By 1900, middle-class boys were spending more time than ever before under conditions of full dependence and tutelage rather than entering the workforce. This phase of life, which was located between childhood and adulthood, became known as 'adolescence'.[12] Most character builders targeted boys in this adolescent age range (eleven to fifteen), perceiving them as starting to 'slide out of adult control' but still within reach.[13] Character builders reasoned that they could exercise control over these still malleable adolescents by creating an environment where adults could supervise and manage peer groups of boys.[14] To successfully instil masculine attributes in these young men, it was considered necessary to isolate them from women and girls, and to provide them with male leaders and role models.[15]

The subject of gender separation was broached with the male and female interview participants, to understand whether they felt that they had belonged to one large unified movement or had been in separate, isolated organisations. The majority of interviewees argued that Scouts and Guides in Australia were separate entities, although there were some exceptions to this rule.

The Guides NSW Business Manager, who has been involved in the organisation for over fifty years, argues that in earlier decades the Scouts and Guides had a closer relationship and followed similar programs. However, she suggests that this has changed substantially in recent years. She argues:

> The organisations, in terms of what they do, are very, very parallel. They go to the same root. It was a husband and wife team that headed them. They were running absolutely parallel. For many years even the names of the award systems were identical. They've deviated now. We've probably deviated now in terms of content.

Darling and Coleman confirm the perspective of the Guides NSW Business Manager, stating that the Scouts and Guides associations in Australia are 'two separate

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[10] Coleman & Darling, op cit p.2; Drewery, op cit p.105
[11] op cit p.xv
[12] ibid p.19
[13] ibid p.4
[14] ibid p.17
[15] ibid pp.43-7

organisations with their own teams of management, separate headquarters and different methods of operation, although their aims are similar'.[16]

In fact, for many of the interview participants, the different methods of operation were a distinguishing feature of the two organisations. Most interviewees argued that the Scout and Guide organisations were separate because they did not recall participating in any joint activities, and they consequently felt isolated from each other. Interviewee P, for example, claims that she 'took very little notice of Scouts' because they never did things together. Likewise, Interviewee K, a male participant, said Guides 'never had anything to do with us'. Five other interviewees (both male and female) suggested that the absence of joint activities meant that they perceived themselves as belonging to separate organisations. The ways in which these separate activities manifested are explored in detail in the following chapter.

The experiences of two interviewees, however, contrasted markedly with the majority of respondents, because they had been involved in joint events during the 1960s, which indicated substantial variance in the practices of local troops.

Interviewee O, a Boy Scout in the 1960s, whose mother and sister had been involved the Girl Guides, claimed that they all belonged to the one movement. He states:

> *I think I was strongly aware of it being part of the same movement because I had a mother and a sister who kept telling me they were...I just think through family connections we just saw them as branches of the same thing. We were at the same time aware that Guides weren't allowed to do certain things. Guides weren't allowed to go and camp under canvass in that era.*

While he acknowledged that Guides weren't allowed to do exactly the same activities as the Scouts, Interviewee O nevertheless felt that the organisations had developed from essentially the same idea. He also felt some connection to the Guides because his Scout group had, at times, participated in joint activities with the local Guide unit throughout the 1960s.

Several other interviewees also noted that the Scout and Guide organisations had developed from the initial idea put forward by Baden-Powell in *Scouting for Boys* - he was typically perceived as the 'founding father' of brother and sister organisations. In total, four interviewees contended that the Scouts and Guides had the same 'history' or origin, and four interviewees argued Scouts and Guides had the same 'philosophy' or underlying ethos.

Interviewee C, a Girl Guide in the 1960s, was one of the participants who reasoned that the Boy Scout and Girl Guide organisations had 'sprung from the same grain', and were based on similar principles:

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[16] *op cit* p.71

*[Scouts and Guides were] the one movement. When you first start, a lot of the stuff you're introduced to is the history. I remember learning that Baden-Powell started Scouts and his sister started the Guides, so it all sprang from the one grain really, the same idea. We accepted that girls couldn't be in with the boys. Even though they were separate they still had the same philosophy.*

It is interesting that although Interviewee O and Interviewee C thought that the Scouts and Guides could be considered part of the 'same movement', they both indicated that girls and boys performed different activities. The notion that Scouts are more adventurous with 'easygoing' leaders arose consistently throughout the interviews, and appeared to be a key characteristic distinguishing the Guides from the Scouts in the memories of participants. The Scouts were typically described as having more 'fun'. A total of eleven interviewees either explicitly stated (or implied) that one of the main differences between the two organisations was the greater freedom given to Scouts, especially in regards to camping. For instance, Interviewee C typically asserts:

*Scouts is probably perceived by the girls to have more freedom and do more adventurous stuff. There's not as many old 'fuddy-duddies' in charge of the Scouts. The blokes who are the leaders are pretty easygoing. There's not so many rules. A lot of rules are perceived to be fairly silly in the Guides [and] restrict Guides from having a lot of fun. Like if you wanted to go away you'd have to lodge an application months in advance.*

Likewise, Interviewee M, who joined the Scouts in the 1940s, remembers that the Guides were conducted in a less relaxed fashion than the Scouts. He recalls:

*Scouting grew because of the ideals and ideas of Baden-Powell. After scouting got going, it was a boys' thing, but girls of course want to do boys' things as well. Girls were attracted...In my day, Scouts would've said that Guides were just over the top really with the things they did. They carried things to sit on when they went in the bush...The Guide leaders were always sort of not relaxed and not quite with it.*

This stricter supervision of girls, compared to the more lax treatment of boys, was not unique to the movement but was also found in wider Australian society. Janet McCalman argues that educators of Australian middle-class children often treated girls and boys differently. In terms of appearance and tidiness at school, she contends that 'boys were given a little more latitude [than girls]'.[17] She also argues that 'girls' schools took more seriously the task of controlling the movement and appearance of bodies, and worked harder at teaching the beauties of silence'.[18]

Interviewee B became a Girl Guide for three years as a teenager in the 1930s. However, she expressed much disappointment with the Guides organisation, which she found 'boring'. She later left the movement and became a Cub Scout leader. Her Guiding

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[17] *op cit* p.95
[18] *ibid* p.93

background did not appear to be especially important to her, but was merely the place where she first became aware of the 'impressive' Scout movement. She recalls the moment when she first became aware of the Scouts:

> *I was a Guide for about three years and that's when I first saw the Scouts because we used to practice air raid emergencies and I thought the Scouts were fantastic. The Scouts also had wonderful concerts that the Guides used to attend.*

Despite her disdain for the 'boring' activities of Guiding, it is interesting that Interviewee B concedes that it allowed her to experience some limited freedom. The limited amount of freedom was part of the restrictive context of her time. She contends:

> *I'd always been interested in the Scouts. I thought they were exciting. I thought Guides were boring, even as a Guide. I never went camping with the Guides. There are only a couple of things that I can remember...we had two rallies. Apart from that, you got out on a Friday night.*

This tension, between the freedom of being able to go out at night, and the limitation of not being able to camp, illustrates the ambiguous nature of the Guiding scheme. In many ways, the young women were simultaneously liberated and constrained by a program that allowed them to socialise outside their private familial circle, but also wanted them to maintain their status as respectable 'ladies'.

In 1929, a *Sydney Morning Herald* report highlights the seriousness with which Guiding organisers undertook their task to instill admirable qualities in young women, strongly defending any claims that they were too liberal with their female charges. An unknown author from within the Association, asserts:

> 'Sheer nonsense', I hear one mother say, 'simply an excuse to get out at night'. This is an idea pervading the minds of many mothers, an idea which I would endeavour to correct. Guiding is not a mere dressing up or an excuse to get out at night...We are sincerely trying to model our guides as good and loyal citizens.[19]

It appears that during the 1920s and 1930s, young women needed to justify going out at night. For some women, the weekly Girl Guide meetings provided just the opportunity for this, much to the consternation of the adult Guide leaders who wanted their scheme to appeal to young women for reasons other than escaping the home. Indeed, Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans argue that often within prescribed domestic boundaries, women have attempted to 'construct spheres of autonomy for themselves'.[20]

There appears to be a longstanding tension in the Guiding movement between encouraging young women to break away from feminine gender stereotypes by participating in traditionally designated 'male' activities on the one hand, and not wanting

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[19] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Girl Guiding. Origin and Aims. (By Talkback)', 13 July 1929, p.14

[20] Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans, *Gender Relations in Australia: domination and negotiation*, Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992, p.xix

girls to seem too 'boy-like' on the other hand. In 1910, Agnes Baden-Powell published an article in *Home Notes*, affirming:

> One thing we wish to avoid is the imitating of boy's manner and dress. We are anxious to make [Girl Guides] purely a womanly movement.[21]

Similarly, when the Girl Guides were formed in Tasmania, the female organisers decided to introduce a blue uniform, so that it would be 'easily distinguished from the Boy Scouts'. Meanwhile Guides in Queensland were criticised for wearing uniforms 'too like the boys'.[22] There was clearly some concern expressed by parents that their daughters were participating in masculine activities, and the Girl Guide organisers tried strenuously to convince the Australian public that the Guides was a feminine organisation. The aforementioned 1929 *Sydney Morning Herald* article reported:

> Nothing could be more womanly than the pursuit of Guiding...Under its auspices all the womanly arts are taught and the womanly graces cultivated. A real guide is a true lady.[23]

It is interesting that Olave Baden-Powell portrayed Guiding as liberating for young women, given the movement's emphasis on cultivating 'true ladies' with all the 'womanly' graces. In her 1970s autobiography, she reflects on the beginning of the Guide movement and places it in the context of liberation for young women:

> [Guiding]...opened up new and appealing vistas to these young female Edwardians, visions of a life where women could face the world on equal terms with men, where they would be trained and equipped to cope with whatever emergencies might arise. The idea chimed in perfect tune with the growing demand for women's suffrage.[24]

It is certainly true that conventional gender roles for women were shifting in the early part of the twentieth century, particularly as the suffragette movement gained momentum and increasing numbers of women entered white-collar work.[25] Furthermore, many young women were experiencing greater social freedom, and 'wore shorter and looser clothes, cut their hair in a bob, smoked in public and went unchaperoned! Dancing was the new craze, movies and the motor car provided other pleasures'.[26] According to Macleod, the 'New Woman' demanded the vote and freedom from patriarchal control, and this 'appeared to de-stablise the middle-class order'.[27] Aware and somewhat disapproving of the emergence of this new version of womanhood, the Guide leaders of the Hawthorn unit in Victoria invited only girls of 'respectability' and 'good character' to join in 1911, suggesting that the Guiding movement's endorsement of women's liberation had its limits.[28] In fact, according to Allen Warren, 'female cosmetics and impractical if

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[21] Coleman & Darling, *op cit* p.4

[22] *ibid* pp.7, 14-15

[23] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Girl Guiding. Origin and Aims', *op cit*

[24] Olave Baden-Powell, *op cit* p.107

[25] Richard Voeltz, 'The Antidote to "Khaki Fever"? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 27, 1992, p.628; Macleod, *op cit* p.46

[26] Margaret Coleman and Honor Darling, *op cit* p.5

[27] *op cit*, p.16

[28] Margaret Coleman and Honor Darling, *op cit* p.11

fashionable women's clothes were a butt for Baden-Powell's humour'. Decadence and personal indulgence was perceived as undermining active, purposive lives.[29]

The ambiguous and contradictory construction of femininity is continually present in the autobiography of Olave Baden-Powell. She initially describes the Girl Guide scheme as providing freedom and equality for young women, but she later scoffs at the attempts made by young girls to participate 'equally' in the adventurous Scouting activities of the boys. She asserts:

> Soon there were little groups of unofficial 'Girl Scouts' sporting such unsuitable patrol names as 'Wildcats' or 'Nighthawks'. In an effort to emulate the Scouts, they marched around, festooned with water bottles and whistles, their haversacks bulging with bandages.[30]

The continued effort of the Girl Guides bureaucracy to make the girls 'feminine' rather than allowing them to freely participate in boys' activities appears to have been a source of frustration for many young girls. Interviewee D became a Brownie in the 1980s but did not progress to the Guides. She remembers that at the time of her involvement, she was required to participate in activities that she did not enjoy. She states:

> *I remember things I didn't like, such as running relays where each team member had to run up to the suitcase and 'properly' fold a shirt or item of clothing and run back and tag the other team member. I'm sure at that age it didn't strike me as non-feminist but just plain ridiculous and boring...[It was] really bad in terms of the boundaries they erected for young women. While the boys were out canoeing and doing adventurous activities, we were inside learning how to cook toast and how to fold clothes properly. I feel that the tone could have been more adventurous and active.*

It is telling that the current Guide Law states 'a Guide is self-controlled in all she thinks, says and does'. The closest equivalent contained in the Scout Law is that 'a Scout is respectful'. The version of femininity that is now reinforced by the Guides Association is one that implicitly encourages young women to be self-contained and largely reserved. Furthermore, the Guides NSW Business Manager suggests that girls need protection from risky outdoors ventures. She asserts:

> *Without a doubt the Scouts are more adventurous than the Guides. We haven't killed anyone yet. Scouts certainly have, over the years...We probably keep control over outdoor activities so I guess we've been perceived by some people as being a bit stricter.*

Interviewee I is one such person who perceives the Guides as being 'stricter'. She states:

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[29] Warren in John Mackenzie, *op cit* p.240
[30] *op cit* pp.107-108

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*I think that even some of the Scout leaders have the perception that Guide leaders are all stuffy old women and really boring and matriarchal, dominating, controlling, oppressive kind of women who make you do things even if you don't want to.*

This view is not only held by interview participants, but appears to be a widespread problem for the Guiding organisation. In a 1997 magazine produced for adult Guide leaders, the NSW Association asserts:

'Bossy leaders?' - yes, bossy leaders were identified several years ago as one of the most common reason for girls leaving guides.[31]

The modern Guides Association in Australia has much distance to travel in expanding its restricted conceptualisation of femininity, which continues to promulgate self-control and respectability as attributes that young girls should develop. While the organisation does encourage relatively adventurous outdoor activities, the overwhelming response of interviewees is that the attitude pervading the Association is 'out of touch' with the views of contemporary young women.

## Mixed Gender Scout Groups

The [Scouts] Association has a policy of co-education in all sections. Co-education is the process of educating persons of both sexes together to achieve an ultimate goal in which the relationship between males and females is one of equality.[32]

In the 1970s, the Australian Boy Scouts Association decided to omit the term 'boy' from its title, becoming the 'Scouts Association of Australia'.[33] The primary reason for the name-change was that the organisation had made a major break with the original Scouting model, allowing female youth participants to join the Rovers section (for seventeen to twenty-six year olds). Gradually all age sections of the Scout movement were opened to female participants, and in its contemporary form, the organisation includes all-male troops, mixed gender troops, and all-female troops. Female youth participants are officially allowed to join any section of the Scout movement.

This has resulted in a more 'strained' relationship between the Scouts and Guides associations because they now compete for female youth members. The Guides NSW Business Manager argues:

*[Scouts] have about twice the membership. We do compete for members...It's obviously impacted on us because part of the market has disappeared.*

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[31] Girl Guides Association (New South Wales, *The Waratah, magazine for adult members of Guides New South Wales*, Guides Australia New South Wales, 1997, No 10, p.2

[32] Scouts Australia, *Policy & Rules of Scouts Australia 2002, op cit*

[33] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Boy Scouts drop the "boy"', 1 January 1972

At the official policy level, the Scouts Association seeks to 'promote friendly and co-operative relations with the Girl Guides Association to assist both Movements in furthering their aims', but on a practical level, the mixed gender policy of the Scouts has caused tension between the associations.[34] The former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia claims:

> *We certainly work independently of each other. Some things, for example if we go to the Commonwealth Government in my time as Chief Commissioner, we often went together because lots of governments see us as the same organisation, although we're quite separate. If you get down to group level sometimes there's enormous cooperation and it works really fantastically, but other times there's a real stand-off.*

The Guides Association has chosen to remain an all-female organisation, arguing that both girls and boys 'do better' in a single sex environment. Guides Australia contends that all-girl groups can offset the tendency of girls to 'take passive roles in mixed groups' and girls can 'become themselves' when removed from the often 'inappropriate behaviour' of boys who 'may demand more attention from adults'.[35] This argument appears to be somewhat dubious and unsubstantiated, and raises several problematic issues, including what it actually means for girls' to 'become themselves'. The position taken by the Guides Association exhibits substantial stereotyping about boys' behaviour, suggesting that they are demanding, difficult to manage, and interrupting of girls' development. However, the interview data collated for this thesis suggests the opposite conclusion reached by the Guides Association, finding instead that girls tend to take very active roles in mixed gender Scouting groups. The bureaucrats who were interviewed at Guides NSW stated they had no intention to open the movement to male youth participants or adult leaders at any time in the near future.

Aside from the Scouts and Guides bureaucrats, the remaining interview participants had varied opinions about the formation of mixed gender Scout troops, and acknowledged what they perceived as the positive and negative consequences of mixed gender and single-sex groups. The positive aspects mentioned by participants included that mixed gender groups provided an opportunity for young people to socialise with the opposite sex, and mirrored other institutions in society, including most education and work places. Interviewee K states that mixed gender troops are 'more representative of what happens in the real world', while Interviewee O argues that the groups 'reflect Western society generally'. This view is expounded in a 1974 *Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper article, in which the then Secretary General of the World Scouting Organisation asserts:

> [Combined sexes] in the classroom, in industry, and even in the forces is now normal...It must therefore apply to the Scout and Guide movement.[36]

In light of this statement, Interviewee O makes a pertinent observation:

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[34] *Policy & Rules of Scouts Australia 2002, op cit*

[35] Guides Australia, 'Facts at a Glance', http://www.guidesaus.org.au (8 September 2002)

[36] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Why Scout leader showed hint of regret', 5 January 1974

*[Mixed gender Scouting] ties into all kinds of gender debates, like the current one about the army and whether women should go to the frontline. Whatever the Scouts and Guides decide to do, one thing you can be fairly sure of is that it will bounce in a feedback loop to these broader debates about gender issues and the roles of women in other institutions.*

Indeed, the debate over mixed gender versus single-sex schooling is prominent in Australia currently. According to a recent report in the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

One of the great educational theories of the past thirty years is being turned on its head. It seems boys perform better academically and become more sensitive men, if they attend all-male schools.[37]

In relation to Scouting, further positive aspects mentioned by some interviewees about mixed troops, included their 'family oriented' atmosphere and the convenience for parents with both sons and daughters, who could transport them to the same venue.

Two female interviewees who had been involved in both the Scout and Guide orgnisations said that they preferred their time in a mixed gender troop. Interviewee I and Interviewee G joined separate Brownie units when they were eight-year old girls, and are now aged in their early twenties. They established a close friendship in their early teens when they joined the same Guiding unit, and upon reaching their mid-teens decided to join the Scout organisation, entering a mixed gender Venturer troop. Their views were particularly relevant because they had participated in both the Guiding and Scouting organisations in Australia, thereby providing comparative insight into each one. Interviewee G recalls:

*When we were Venturers, we didn't want to be known as part of the Guiding movement... If you were a Ranger Guide you were [perceived as] girlie, or even a bit woosie [weak], I suppose.*

Interviewee G explained that she had received more respect and status while she belonged to the Scout organisation. Interviewee I also confirmed that she really enjoyed being involved in Venturers:

*By Venturers it was definitely the outdoor activities that [I liked the most]. It was heaps different being in with the boys. They were rougher. I remember being indignant sometimes. We had a really good relationship with the guys in our unit. But they didn't really treat us as girls, they just expected us to join in with whatever they were doing. That was fine, that was what we wanted.*

These two women reflect an increasing trend of young females joining the Scouts rather than progressing through the Girl Guides. In 2001, Scouts Australia recorded a total of

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[37] Andrew West, 'The boys who will be gentlemen', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 July 2003, http://www.smh.com.au, (6 July 2003)

66,220 youth members, of which 16,025 were female. The percentage of female participants in Scouting has increased every year between 1992 and 2002, while the percentage of male participants has declined each year over the same period. One interviewee argued that the mixed gender Scout troops were 'fantastic' because they had enhanced the membership figures of the organisation. However, it seems to have had the opposite effect for the Guides. Interviewee H asserts:

> *[Mixed troops are] the best thing that could've happened. It's the only thing that's kept Scouting alive. Australia was one of the last countries to change. There's still a few left: Japan, the US, I think Korea. They're about the only ones. The girls don't like to play the rough games - like hell they don't! The girls are the first ones into the caves and the last ones out. They've got dirt under their fingernails.*

To a large extent, it appears that the lived experience of Scouting, particularly since the 1970s, has become less oriented to the style of masculinity that was widely promulgated in the early twentieth century when Scouting began. Statements that were once made about cultivating 'manhood' are absent from contemporary Scouting rhetoric. In terms of lived experiences, many of the male interviewees pointed out that girls love the rough outdoor adventures and 'getting dirty', and were often physically stronger than boys. Interviewee J, a male interviewee who joined the Scouts in the 1930s, states:

> *The Guides were so restrictive...The leaders don't understand young ladies. They've forgotten what they were like and they don't know that girls can do anything that boys can do. In many cases they're stronger, they can stand cold temperatures better because they have a little bit of body fat and stay warm longer.*

The most often expressed concern about mixed gender troops was that they encouraged or enabled sexual contact between teenage males and females. This may seem surprising, considering that numerous other mixed leisure activities for young people do not appear to arouse the same level of adult concern, especially joint sporting activities. However, Scouting creates heightened uncertainty because it involves overnight camping, away from parental supervision. The sleeping arrangements surfaced as a primary issue for interviewees, despite the fact that the official policy of Scouts Australia designates separate tents for males and females, and stipulates that mixed gender camping must include both a male and female adult leader.

There was an ambivalence that surfaced in several interviews, between supporting mixed gender troops because they provided a forum to 'socialise with the opposite sex' on the one hand, and as potentially risky on the other hand, precisely because the 'socialising' could lead to sexual interaction, even teenage pregnancy. In fact, Interviewee E declared that during his time in a mixed gender Venturer troop in the 1990s:

> *We'd go away [camping] and share tents all the time.*

While the official policy is for adult male and female leaders to be present at all camps, Interviewee L points out that it 'can be difficult to get a female leader'. Furthermore, Interviewee H (a current Venturer leader) suggests that regardless of the official Scout policy, there is substantial discretion left to the local troop leaders, which results in a range of Scouting experiences. He asserts:

> *We allow boys and girls to go out into the bush together. We know they're going to try and 'make out'. As long as they don't do something that's non-consensual or truly harmful, anybody who thinks they don't do anything in the bush that they could be doing in the parents loungeroom is just crazy...We don't allow them to actually sleep together...Males and females sleep in separate accommodation, separate tents, unless it's unavoidable like when you go inside a cave.*

Within this troop, there is relative freedom given to the teenage participants, although it seems that other Scout groups are required by their leader to adhere more strictly to the rules of the Association. This raises questions about how closely the rules are actually followed, how frequently rules are broken, and the consequences of not following specific procedures. Local group leaders seem to have substantial discretion to run their group as they see fit, but how does the State and National bureaucracy cope with this? Are they aware of the rule bending by local groups, and simply turn a blind eye? There is obviously much variation between the bureaucracy and local group standards, and between adult leaders, whose personal and moral boundaries differ. When I interviewed the former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia, he confirmed that adult leaders have much discretion to administer the Scout program on a practical weekly basis. Whilst the bureaucracy has implemented substantial policy guidelines and standards, it cannot easily conduct surveillance of every troop, and force them to adhere strictly to the rules. Commenting on this issue in the USA, Mechling reasons that the 'social conservatism' of the national Scout Association would make Boy Scout troops 'unworkable' if they took its pronouncements and dictates seriously.[38] While the national organisation should rightly be accountable for the safety of youth members within their programs, it is also true that Scouting (and Guiding) at the local level has always been run with some independence from the official bureaucracy, as Baden-Powell had intended.

A further interesting point that arose in relation to the topic of mixed gender Scout troops was the array of gender sterotypes used by interviewees, to describe what was most 'natural' for males and females. Several interviewees relied upon these categories to explain their stance on mixed and single-sex groups for young people. Concerns were expressed about the 'practical' difficulties involved in arranging activities that were suitable for both boys and girls, because some interviewees perceived the different sexes as 'naturally' inclined to prefer different activities.

Of the eight female interviewees asked for their opinion on mixed troops, five thought they were a bad idea, primarily because they felt that girls were 'more responsible' or became 'natural leaders' at an earlier age than boys. For this reason, they thought mixed

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[38] *op cit* p.283

gender Scout troops would be unchallenging for girls and would not encourage boys to develop their full potential. Interviewee B argues:

> *Boys are lazy in a way, and if they can get out of taking responsibility, they will...[Mixed gender] has spoilt the Scouts...They've got these girls looking after the boys so well, being the mother and doing the dirty work.*

Similarly, the Guides NSW Business Manager asserts:

> *Girls become natural leaders earlier than boys, so the boys are probably getting less chance for leadership than they used to get because the girls will take those roles.*

Furthermore, Interviewee C, a Guide in the 1960s, expressed regret about the introduction of mixed gender Scout troops. She explains:

> *[Girls in mixed gender groups] miss out on doing some of the things that girls seem to really enjoy, like craft and more creative things. [They have] less time to talk and share with one another, and develop strong female friendships.*

However, Saunders and Evans argue that in the face of 'confounding stereotypes', women have often developed counter-identities.[39] Interviewee I, for instance, strongly challenges the perspective that young women are 'naturally' inclined to prefer domestic, craft-like activities. She contends:

> *I think with some of the skill and badge work in Guides and Brownies is that it's getting really outdated. There's still such a gender stereotype in a lot of it as well, like the Girl Guides are expected to do the Homemakers Badge, and things like that.*

While much attention has been given to the stereotypes applied to females, similar generalisations are made in relation to males. The suggestion by some of the interviewees, that boys are 'naturally' lazy and irresponsible, while girls are responsible leaders, with a 'mothering' disposition, demonstrates the persistence of views held by many character builders in the early twentieth century, that boys pose a greater social problem. As Lake contends, 'historians have been slow to recognise "manhood", "manliness", and "masculinity" as social constructions requiring historical investigation'.[40] Furthermore, while Guides have continued, in many ways, to adhere to ideas about 'self-controlled' and 'respectable' femininity, the men have tended to push the boundaries for young men and women. The male interviewees, overall, were more supportive of mixed gender troops. They were also inclined to hold more progressive ideas about the value of young men and women 'working together'.

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[39] *op cit* p.xix

[40] Lake, Marilyn, 'The Politics of respectability: identifying the masculinist context', Susan Magery, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan, (eds), *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993, p.1

# Sexuality & Pedophilia

The widely held concerns about masculinity in the early part of the twentieth century extended to fears about male sexuality, particularly masturbation. Masturbation was considered sinful, and adults sought to control teenage sexuality by supervising their recreation and encouraging them to do large amounts of vigorous activity.[41] McCalman argues that in Australia, particularly between 1920 and 1939, 'an immense amount of time went into training [middle-class] children to be still, silent and spotless. They had to learn that there were parts of their bodies which were unclean and must not be touched except in the unavoidable duties of nature'.[42]

This notion of sexual purity surfaced in the original Scouting scheme outlined by Baden-Powell. According to Mechling, early versions of the Scout Handbook contained 'amusing talk (and silence) about masturbation'.[43] For example, one section suggests that God has put a 'special sex fluid' into boys' bodies, and they must be aware that:

> These organs actually secrete into the blood material that makes a boy manly, strong and noble. Any habit which a boy has that causes this fluid to be discharged from the body tend to weaken his strength.[44]

Mechling suggests that the male adolescent body was perceived as one which threatened to 'swing out of control', and masturbation was considered a bad habit that must be fought against. Importance was placed on conserving the 'body's special fluid' for strength, lest masturbation drain male virility and potentially inhibit the future expansion of the race.[45]

The issue of 'sexuality' featured strongly in certain interviews with current and past members of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia. Several interviewees, particularly the males, discussed sexual experiences during their involvement in the Scouts. Interviewee O boldly asserts:

> *You were not only getting an education in knots and mapping but you were getting sex education as well because right from the start you're in with older kids who simply know more and they tell you. That function of Scout camps was probably the most important unofficial function, to provide very good sex education.*

I asked Interviewee O to elaborate on the nature of this 'sex education'. He recalled participating in a hiking expedition with two other teenage males when he was a Senior Scout (now known as 'Venturers') in the 1960s. The boys were expected to conduct the

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[41] Macleod, *op cit* p.37

[42] *op cit* p.92

[43] *op cit* pp.189-190

[44] *Boy Scouts of America, Handbook* for Boys, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, 1911, 232-33, in Mechling, *op cit* p.190

[45] *ibid* p.189

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hike without adult supervision, to demonstrate they had attained skills of self-sufficiency in the outdoors. He remembers that the two other teenage males:

> *Insisted on sleeping head to toe so they could mutually masturbate each other, which they did...There was that kind of juvenile experimentation going on...These are the kinds of experiences that Scout leaders wouldn't openly talk about, but they go on...I don't think that kind of stuff is anything unique to Scouting.*

This kind of discussion about sexual experiences on camping and hiking expeditions was not something that I had anticipated learning about during the course of the interviews, perhaps because I assumed interviewees would feel uncomfortable discussing this topic with me. However, following the comments of Interviewee O, I included questions about sexual education and sexual experiences during subsequent interviews.

Interviewee Q, also a Scout in the 1960s, had vivid memories of the sexual encounters he had during his involvement:

> *[Scouting] did coincide with adolescence, where there's a sexuality dimension. The first time, in fact the only time I've seen males masturbate was in the scouts. My [adolescent] patrol leader took me aside and offered to show me how he could do it...He also gave the same demonstration to the whole group of the patrol...He did it on himself. I guess I was about twelve and he must've been about fourteen. I remember feeling somewhat anxious once I got to be the patrol leader. I was thinking that I guess I'm really obliged to give a demonstration.*

Interviewee Q proceeded to explain that he did not, in the end, give his own 'demonstration'. He indicated, however, that the sense of fascination, combined with some anxiety, associated with the sexual exploration during his Scouting involvement had left a lasting impression.

The sexual experimentation mentioned by these male interviewees was apparently not a unique experience. Mechling draws attention to Ray Raphael, who has studied 'rites of passage in male America'. His work includes the following excerpt from a teenage boy at summer camp:

> One year when I had just turned fourteen I went to summer camp where there were a whole bunch of us sleeping in a dormitory. At that age most of the guys were masturbating pretty regularly, so instead of trying to hide it they made it into a quasi-public event. In each room, posted on the wall, we had a 'BTMS' chart - 'Beat The Meat Sheet' - with everybody's name on it and the number of times they masturbated.[46]

However, in contrast to the two male interviewees, who felt that Scouts during the 1960s was an experience in 'sexual education', a female interviewee from Guides in the 1960s had a completely different experience. Interviewee C suggests:

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[46] Ray Raphael, *The Men from the Boys: Rites of Passage in Male America*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988, 76-77, in Mechling, *op cit* p.193

*In my experience there was absolutely no opening up sexually to anybody. There were really not many opportunities to do that.*

Interviewee P, who commenced her Guiding in the 1950s, also recalls being largely unaware of sexual dynamics of the group. She states:

*I had very little information or awareness of a sexuality different from the standard heterosexual model...In retrospect, it may be that the two hard-working, warm hearted and intelligent women who ran the Guide troop and were inseparable, were lesbians.*

McCalman argues that the middle-class lived by an unspoken 'set of constraints about the expression of feeling, the display of the naked body and the physical expression of affection', particularly between 1920 and 1939. She argues that while many families were very loving, they rarely kissed or cuddled. She also states that many deliberately avoided an internal examination by a doctor, due to 'excessive modesty, religious prohibition and sexual ignorance'.[47]

The contemporary shift in public discussion and awareness of sexual relations came to the fore when interviewees expressed concerns about pedophilia. The discussion about pedophilia arose spontaneously, because no direct questions were asked on this topic during the interview process. However, when questioned about sexuality, several interviewees expressed opinions or concerns about pedophilia. Others raised this topic of their own accord, unprompted, at various stages throughout their interview. All discussion relating to pedophilia was introduced by the men, with the exception of one female, indicating that it was perceived as a 'Scouts problem', and not a concern of the same magnitude for Guides.

The topic of pedophilia was approached from different standpoints, and was primarily an issue for the Scouting bureaucracy, the adult Scout leaders, and parents of boys involved in the movement. The former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia emphasised that numerous measures have been taken to reduce or prevent pedophilia in the organisation. From the current adult Scout leaders' point of view, attention was drawn to the difficulties of running a local troop according to the strict rules about child protection. Whilst they understood the purpose of the rules, they felt that the practical difficulties, especially when away on camp, were substantial. For example, Interviewee L explained that he found it difficult to accept that he could not put his arm around boys 'to comfort them' when they went away camping.

Other interviewees, who were neither Scout bureaucrats nor adult leaders, tended to express the view that pedophilia was a concern for parents and would reduce potential membership of the movement. Interviewee A explains:

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[47] *op cit* pp.82-83

*My son went along once but he wasn't interested. I was quite happy for him to go along and have a look. My wife wasn't that impressed with it [because] she works with a child welfare agency and comes across abuse and things. She seemed to hold the message of Scouts and all those sort of groups as where these people [pedophiles] tend to gravitate towards.*

The issue of pedophilia had particularly impacted upon Interviewee O, who had taken a position as an adult Scout leader when aged in his early twenties. He later discovered that the previous Scout leader had been a pedophile and that the children in the group had been quite traumatised. Interviewee O was disturbed by this experience and after having spent many years in the movement as a youth, he left, never to have contact with Scouts again. He states that this confronting experience of pedophilia in Scouting really 'colours' his memories and current thoughts about the movement, and it appeared to sit uncomfortably with the largely positive experiences he had had up until that time. This perhaps contributes to his current ambiguity about the value of the movement for young people. Interviewee O states:

*The other thing that strongly colours my understanding is.....when I went off to lead a Scout group, I had no knowledge of what had happened in the four years before I got there. I was slowly but surely informed of this after I became the leader. Essentially, the guy who had run that troop for about five or six years...was a pedophile...That sort of thing is perhaps one pointer to the potential problems of a very strict and militaristic hierarchy, with leader, troop leader, patrol leaders, Scouts. It's a classic hierarchy. The way it turned out this guy was operating a pedophile ring, to very neatly use the hierarchy - the troop and patrol leaders become the procurers and that's how he used to run it - and with a very nice reward system...That discovery, not so much the shock of the pedophilia itself, but the discovery of how it had manifest itself, and how that leader had been able to operate within the hierarchy, that strongly colours my questioning about the movement.*

Only one of the female interviewees mentioned pedophilia. She recalls one incident when her daughters were involved in Guides. Another mother was worried about her daughter spending the night with the adult Guide leaders. Interviewee C asserts:

*When my girls were in the Guides there was a bit of a scandal at one stage, when a mother pulled her daughter out of Guides because she felt [on] one of the nights [it] had been a bit inappropriate [to stay] at somebody's house and the Guide leader had acted inappropriately. There seemed to be absolutely no basis in fact for that, but it came out later that she'd been a bit frightened by...she hadn't been in the movement herself, and she'd been frightened about media reports which are much prevalent about the Scouts, but she didn't want her daughter going overnight with the Guide leaders. That's the only time I've ever been aware of somebody feeling there was unnecessary sexual threat.*

A continuing theme surfaced during the conversations about pedophilia which related to the previous discussion about the status of Scouts and Guides as separate organisations, rather than being a unified movement. Interviewee responses to each of these topics indicated that the Guides association is seen to be more 'safe', 'protected' or 'regulated', whereas Scouts clearly have the image of being more 'fun' and 'adventurous', but also of being more 'dangerous' and perhaps 'risky'.

Although the contemporary Scout movement has a very clear 'zero tolerance' stance on pedophilia, the policy boundaries for acceptance of homosexual adult Scout leaders appears to be less clear. In the USA, a Scout leader who openly declares his homosexuality will have his membership terminated by the Boy Scouts Association. Homosexuality is 'considered immoral and inappropriate as a role model for young men'.[48] The Australian Scouting movement is less extreme in its approach to homosexuality. The former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia states:

> We have a code of conduct which basically says that...well, we never ask people what their sexuality is because it's of no interest to us. What's of interest to us is how they behave with young people. It doesn't really matter what your sexuality is, if your sexual behaviour is unacceptable and you're demonstrating that or promoting that with young people, well as far as we're concerned you're out of the movement rapidly...In terms of homosexuality we never ask people. If people start to promote the concept of homosexuality within the movement then we'll step in and tell them they're actually breaking our code of conduct...The code of conduct says that you can't promote your own personal beliefs.

Furthermore, he explains:

> I've never actually had anybody come to me in all my time as Chief Commissioner of NSW, five years, and Chief Commissioner of Australia and have somebody say to me this person is gay, what are you going to do about it?...I'm certainly aware of people who are gay in the movement but their behaviour is totally acceptable. So why should we be moving against them? No reason at all. In fact, some gay people are more caring about young people than some heterosexual people.

There are many complex issues included in the views expressed by the former Chief Commissioner. Determining what it means to 'promote' your own beliefs is extremely problematic. What actually constitutes 'promotion' in this respect? The question also left unanswered is what he *would* actually do if someone were to approach him, to openly confirm their homosexuality, or to complain about a Scout leader's homosexuality. The movement is subject to Australian anti-discrimination laws, a matter of which they are well aware. The fact that the former Scout Commissioner recognises that pedophilia and homosexuality are separate issues, augurs well for the future development and inclusiveness of the movement, especially compared to the movement in the USA. However, there still appears to be what Mechling calls an unspoken 'don't ask, don't tell' policy, often used by the military. This means that homosexual leaders are not highly

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[48] Mechling, *op cit* p.207

scrutinised or excluded from the movement. It also implies that homosexuality is an uncomfortable topic for the Scouting bureaucracy, and one which they have not openly affirmed. In many ways, the 'silence' regarding homosexuality is commensurate with intolerance.

## Shifting concepts of sexuality and gender...

The original Scouting scheme, as devised by Baden-Powell, aimed to make young men exercise sexual restraint by keeping them active in the outdoors and distracted from the inclination to masturbate. Based on the experiences of Australian male Scouts in recent decades, especially the two men who spoke about Scouting as a forum for unofficial sex education, it appears that the all-male camps provided an opportunity for sexual exploration, rather than quashing it as Baden-Powell had planned.

The interview data provided by former and current Girl Guides conformed more closely to the original model of Guiding. In terms of sexuality, the experiences recounted by the females were of 'proper' conduct, and of absent (or limited) sexual discussion and experimentation. The men, in stark contrast, expressed uneasiness about pedophilia, were aware of some homosexual men in the Scouts, and had been exposed to the sexual practices of other male adolescents.

Current concerns about pedophilia have put sexual issues relating to children into a completely different light. Rather than controlling the perceived sexual 'deviance' of children and teenagers, the attention of the contemporary Scouting organisation now focuses on protecting children from 'deviant' adult pedophiles. Their policy and promotional material is laden with information about the measures taken by the Association to ensure a safe and protected environment for youth members. Whereas the earlier Scout organisers implied that children were too closely 'coddled' by parents (especially mothers), contemporary anxieties have centred on the dangers of children being too far away from the watchful gaze of parents.[49]

However, one aspect that has remained constant is that of adult monitoring and supervision of the sexual relations of young people. Concerns about child and teenage sexuality, and the perceived need for adult control, have not diminished but have simply

taken a different form. Whilst worries have shifted from masturbation to pedophilia, the fact remains that since the time Scouts and Guides were formed, adolescent sexuality has been highly scrutinised. This is, of course, reflected in wider Australian society, and is not a feature unique to the movement.

In terms of gender, the Scouts have diverged far more from Baden-Powell's original ideas about masculinity than the Guides have from 'old-fashioned' notions of femininity. From the outset, Baden-Powell hoped to inculcate in young men a sense of masculinity, which was perceived to be lacking, or at best waning, at the turn of the nineteenth century. This

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[49] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Youth Should Not Be Sheltered', 25 February 1949

involved removing boys from feminine influences and placing them in a structured all-male environment with adult male role models. The concept of 'masculinity' has become less prominent in contemporary Scouting rhetoric, especially since the organisation has allowed female youth members to join. The mixed-gender Scout troops represent a major divergence from the original model devised by Baden-Powell, which aimed to separate boys from women and girls. The Guides, however, conform much more closely to the original model because they have remained an all-female organisation.

When the scheme for girls was later devised, it created an ambiguous identity for girls and young female participants. On the one hand, Guiding offered a seemingly broad interpretation of femininity, which included physical pursuits in the outdoors, exploration, and wearing military-like uniforms. On the other hand, Guides offered limited opportunity for young women to shed the expectations of middle-class femininity. It was intended that they would feed into the nurses' service, and would remain well within the boundaries of respectability by learning homemaker and motherhood skills.

Based on the experiences of interview participants, Scouting has, to a large extent, diverged considerably from Baden-Powell's original scheme in regards to the cultivation of masculinity in young men. The Scout Association has broadened the construction of masculinity used by the original Scouting scheme, and no longer contains any specific rhetoric about creating 'virile' young men. The Guides Association, on the other hand, continues to support a relatively narrow version of 'femininity', and, in accordance with the original model, considers girls to perform 'best' in an all-female environment.

# CHAPTER THREE

## Relating to the Outdoors:
## *"Bonding around the Campfire"*

To reinvigorate 'masculinity' in Britain's adolescent males, Baden-Powell needed the right setting. He wanted an alternative to the school system, which focused exclusively on rote learning imposed by the teacher.[1] According to a report in *the Sydney Morning Herald*, Baden-Powell stated that:

> More attention had to be paid to the physical side of young people. The authorities had been apt to concentrate too much on packing the minds of children with learning, forgetting that the mind and body must be healthy to absorb and retain knowledge'.[2]

Having enjoyed the outdoor army life, and perceiving the major industrial cities as an unhealthy influence, he decided to remove boys from the urban environment to take them 'back to nature'. According to MacDonald, in the years before World War One, the population of British cities had swelled, resulting in overcrowding. Bad housing, air pollution, long working hours and insufficient food meant that the city was widely viewed as a space that was corrupting, unhealthy and potentially detrimental to the future strength of the nation's citizens. These were mostly middle-class fears, but even 'some pessimists' perceived the middle-class themselves to be increasingly self-indulgent, decadent and materialistic.[3] Meanwhile, the rapid growth in modern technologies at the turn of the century reinforced enthusiasm for a return to a more 'wholesome', simpler lifestyle.

Organisations for the young incorporated outdoor activities in their programs, including large doses of exercise in the 'fresh air'. In 1904, open-air schools were launched in Berlin, and were quickly adopted in Britain and the USA.[4] The Boys' Brigade held frequent camps, and the Church Lads' Brigade conducted regular outdoor excursions.[5] While the outdoors was seen as the best setting in which to cultivate masculinity in young men, the perceived benefits of exercise were not limited only to males. In Australia, for instance, the Young Women's Christian Association included physical culture lessons to ease the strain on young women from long working hours in factories, offices and shops.[6]

In line with other institutions of the time, Scouting also touted the benefits of outdoor activities, and camping became a major feature promoted by the movement. Camping was an activity extolled as 'educational' - one that encouraged resourcefulness and strengthened bonds of friendship.[7] Baden-Powell contended that outdoor activities taught young people 'how to observe nature and life for themselves, and [made] them able to solve its various problems'.[8]

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[1] Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout movement and citizen training', *op cit* p.397

[2] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 Janaury 1951

[3] *op cit* pp.4-5, 19

[4] *ibid* p.24

[5] *ibid* p.21

[6] Margaret Dunn, *The Dauntless Bunch: the story of the YWCA in Australia*, Clifton Hill, Victoria: Young Women's Christian Association of Australia, 1991, p.60

[7] MacDonald, *op cit* p.25

[8] Lieutenant-General Lord Baden-Powell, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Scouting. Aims and Ideals. Education of Youth', 5 January 1935, p.16

This chapter will focus on the camping and outdoors experiences of interview participants during their time in the Scouts and/or Guides in Australia, including their memories of adventure and exploration. Consideration will be given to the idea presented by many male interviewees, that Scouts were more adept in the outdoors than the Guides, implying that the Australian bush was a predominantly 'male' domain. The use of indigenous peoples' practices and symbols in the movement will be critically analysed, as will the claim that camping was a joyous or personally satisfying experience for all young participants.

## Adventure and Exploration in the Outdoors

In its early years, Scouting and Guiding bought into many of the imperial ideals, which were widely espoused in general British society. According to MacDonald, 'in the period that produced Scouting, the narratives of adventure matched nicely with the 'plot' of imperialism', which included exploring frontiers and unknown land, the conquest of territory, of leaving home and entering new worlds.[9] In the early writings of Agnes Baden-Powell on the Guide movement, there is an explicit imperial agenda. In her *Camp Fire Yarn no. 33*, she writes:

> Many of you, as you grow up, will probably find your way to some of these splendid and fruitful Colonies, and help to make them into prosperous countries. Your Guide's training will come in very useful to you there...We have had this enormous Empire handed down to us by our forefathers, and we are responsible that it develops and goes ahead...Let every Guide think of her country and help its advancement.[10]

The imperial frontier was presented as both an adventure and a discipline because it offered the chance to experience a previously unknown lifestyle in a new land, but the frontier life was also perceived as requiring a certain 'toughness' or personal strength to survive the challenging expedition.[11]

It would appear that the rhetoric of exploration and adventure has endured in the movement, and has been especially attractive to young participants. Nature study, collecting, hiking, and activities involving time in the bush have remained present in Scouting and Guiding in Australia, even in recent decades. For instance, at a Guiding camp in 1965, girls were required to conduct biological and botanical work, where they 'gathered specimens and made a complete record of their exploration of a nearby creek'.[12] Furthermore, Coleman and Darling discuss in detail a trip taken by a group of Ranger Guides to Central Australia:

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[9] *op cit* p.119
[10] Harlow & Carter, *op cit* p.357
[11] MacDonald, *op cit* p.9
[12] *op cit* p.155

A party of rangers, cadets and [Guide] leaders broke new ground by undertaking a safari to Central Australia in the early 1960s, long before it became the attraction for tourists that it is today.[13]

It is interesting that they refer to the trip as 'breaking new ground', suggesting the appeal of adventure in what they saw as largely unexplored territory.

The adventurous or outdoor activities of Scouting and Guiding appeared to be one of the most memorable aspects of the movement for interviewees. Despite not being directly asked to speak about outdoors activities, this topic was raised in nearly every interview, usually after being asked the question, 'what did you like most about your involvement in the movement'? Interviewee E, who joined the Cub Scouts in the 1980s, typically asserts:

*I liked the activities. We had a Scout Hall ten metres from the river and we spent a lot of time at the river. I really enjoyed getting into abseiling, canyoning, camping, kayaking; you name it.*

In their study of character training schemes in Britain, Roberts *et al* conclude that 'it is in recreational terms that schemes are particularly successful'.[14] They found that enjoyment of leisure and growing interest in recreational facilities during the 1970s resulted in a period of strength for 'character building' organisations. Similarly, MacDonald argues that the outdoors activities of Scouting are especially appealing to young people, and he is doubtful that the movement would have made substantial impact on its 'intended recruits' without the underlying frontier myth.[15] This perspective is confirmed by Interviewee K, a former Scout:

*There were a lot of people who seemed more interested in the activities than the movement. If it was a good activity [scheduled for that week] they'd come along.*

Interviewee A, a Scout during the 1960s, also recalls the appeal of the unique outdoor exercises. He states:

*[I did] things like learning to light fires, tying different knots, camping, skills, learning how to set up tents, how to make things like flying foxes and rope bridges, bush skills, and camping skills.*

When listed in this fashion, it is clear that Scouting ignited the imaginations of many young men, and resulted in the movement remaining a memorable aspect of their childhood or teenage years. Activities typically mentioned by female and male interviewees included camping, caving, canoeing, hiking, rock climbing and abseiling,

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[13] *ibid* p.156
[14] *op cit* p.165
[15] *op cit* p.26

suggesting that the practices of Scouting and Guiding continue to include adventure and outdoor excitement. Indeed, Scouts Australia specifically identifies as one of its aims, to 'promote knowledge of, and experience in, the outdoor environment'.[16]

However, the outdoor activities per se were not the only enticing factor. Several participants indicated that they liked the chance to escape from their usual environments, presumably their schools and homes, and perhaps also teachers and parents. Camping was typically described as 'fun', and provided the opportunity to 'get away'. Interviewee A explains:

> You'd get out in the bush and muck around in the bush sometimes. From memory it was just good clean fun. I loved getting out in the bush, lighting fires and having barbecues and going away for weekends.

Interviewee C also suggests that camping produced a unique atmosphere, and provided a sense of friendship and belonging. She remembers the feeling evoked by camping with the Guides in the 1960s:

> Camping, putting up tents, building fires, cooking your food. I loved the atmosphere of the camp. I loved campfire singing, staying up late talking in the dark in a tent with your friends. Routines of the camp. Flag parade in the morning. All the special things that always happened at camp. The camaraderie of being away from home with your friends. It was exciting, felt like it was an adventure. Famous Five!

It is telling that she uses the term 'special' to describe camping, and it appears that staying up late and talking to friends was a privilege not accessible in the routine of everyday childhood and confines of family life. Clearly, time away from 'the ordinary' was enjoyable, and being away from parental authority or supervision was exciting, perhaps even liberating. Furthermore, it seems that Scouting and Guiding captured the imagination of certain children because it was like living out an adventure from a storybook.

When asked what he liked most about being a Scout in the 1960s, Interviewee K also recalled the excitement of spending time away from his mother, without her knowledge of where he was located. He states:

> I just loved going away. In hindsight, I must've driven Mum mad when I'd just disappear and never tell her where I was going. I'd come home and I didn't want to tell her too much...It was exciting to go away and do things.

One of the strongest patterns that emerged during the interview process was that the majority of interviewees had experienced great enjoyment participating in the outdoors

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[16] Scouts Australia, The Association of, *Policy & Rules of Scouts Australia 2002, op cit*

ventures of Scouting and Guiding. While the themes of exploration and adventure, which are resonant with ideals of imperialism, have remained vigorous in the movement, the imperial overtones or rhetoric are much less evident now. Baden-Powell apparently tapped into a feature of perennial enjoyment for young people, that of adventurous tasks in an outdoors setting. Participants across the decades have gained pleasure from the opportunity to escape parental supervision, to participate in activities not offered by many other organisations, and claim to have 'bonded' or formed strong friendships particularly on camping and hiking expeditions. This element of Baden-Powell's original model, to encourage young people to spend time in and enjoy the outdoors lifestyle, has been particularly successful and enduring, based on the experiences of both male and female interviewees.

The different connotations of the term 'scout' and 'guide' suggest, however, that Baden-Powell initially felt that young men and women should play different roles in the outdoors. According to the *Macquarie Dictionary*, 'scout' refers to:

> 1. a soldier, warship, aeroplane, or the like, employed in reconnoitring. 2. a person sent out...to examine, inspect, or observe for the purpose of obtaining information.[17]

The definition of scout implies independence, a 'person sent out', who goes ahead alone, with the authority to inspect and evaluate, exercising correct judgement in knowing the best information to collect. The term 'guide', in contrast, evokes a more passive notion of directing and advising, albeit from a position of leadership. To 'guide' is:

> 1. to lead or conduct the way, as to a place or through a region; show the way to. 2. to direct the movement or course of: *to guide a horse*. 3. to lead, direct or advise in any course of action.[18]

## The Outdoors as a male domain

Marilyn Lake, an Australian historian, has explored national constructions of masculinity, arguing that ideas of manhood have revolved around an exclusively male 'bush ethos'. She claims Australian cultural heroes and legends have historically been 'white' men working or living in rural Australia, including stockmen, shearers and swagmen - what she refers to as 'bushmen'. Mary Ann Jebb and Anna Haebich support this argument, noting that the Australian bush has often been constructed as a 'womanless' domain. They contend:

> A wealth of material has been written about the 'Australian frontier'...The isolation and the perceived harshness of the environment determined the stereotyped image of a

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[17] *The Macquarie Dictionary*, Third edition, Sydney: The Macquarie Library, 1997, p.1907
[18] *ibid* p.948

'womanless' world and a bush culture where congenial mateship and tough living prevailed.[19]

The idea of women as somewhat 'alien' to the Australian bush arose during several of the interviews. For instance, Interviewee J, who became a Venturer leader states:

> *We accepted girls from Guides into the Venturers and they couldn't do anything. We had to teach them all the basic skills before we could let them out of our sight. They didn't know their knots or how to camp whereas we used to just walk into the bush on a Friday night, part the bushes and go to sleep.*

This male interviewee perceives the outdoors as a space in which men feel adept, comfortable and capable. He implies that young women were a nuisance on camps, needing to be taken care of while in the bush, or at the very least, trained to look after themselves so that the men could get on with enjoying the camping experience. Interviewee J constructs Scouts as the 'true' keepers of bush knowledge, who needed to pass this on to the naïve former Girl Guides. He tends to see women as interfering with the opportunity to relax and take pleasure from the camping experience. Lake notes that as far back as the 1890s, 'women were presented in the men's press as the spoiler's of men's pleasures'. They were typecast as 'vain, snobbish, conservative, parson-worshipping killjoys'.[20]

The women who were interviewed were quite aware of the perception held by some of the male Scouts about their inferior outdoor skills, but felt it was largely unjustified. Interviewee I, who had been a Guide in her younger years, and then transferred into a Venturer unit with boys during her mid-teens, claimed:

> *Scouts mock Guides. Scouts think they're really cool and Guides are stupid, boring and girlie. We once went on a combined Scout-Guide camp but we got teased all week because of the perception that Guides don't know how to do anything, and Scouts are out doing the adventurous activities. The guys always said to us, all you ever do is knit. But we never knitted once in our Guide unit. It's terrible when the Guide can actually tie the knot that the Scout can't because the Guides bothered to learn it.*

The notion of the bush as an exclusively male domain is strongly contested by this female participant, who argues that Scouts had a stereotypical vision of Guides. In fact, she reverses the claim that the Boy Scouts were more adept and efficient than Guides, asserting that it was actually the women who were more capable. Her perspective is indicative of the tensions that exist at a higher level between the Scout and Guide associations. At both the individual and organisational level, the men and women tend to

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[19] Mary Ann Jebb and Anna Haebich, 'Across the Great Divide: Gender Relations on Australian Frontiers', in Saunders & Evans, *op cit* p.21
[20] Lake, *op cit* p.4

compete over who can tie better knots, cope better in the outdoors, or has the best strategy to educate young male or female participants.

Interviewee I agreed that Scouting is a more adventurous scheme than Guiding, but strongly rejects the contention that Guides merely sit inside to knit. While Guides do conduct 'less dangerous' activities, some local groups are nonetheless keen to participate in outdoor adventures. Interviewee I states:

> *We had a very proactive Guide unit that did a lot of camping and outdoors stuff. We went to Norfolk Island. A lot of other units don't do that kind of thing, they're much more home-based and stay inside. It really depends on the leaders you have.*

Allison Cadzow, in her PhD thesis on Australian women explorers, argues that while exploring has often been demarcated a male activity, women have been active in the Australian bush since the eighteenth century. She asserts that governors and pastoralists' wives and maids, and twentieth-century women bushwalkers have often taken part in exploratory expeditions in Australia, challenging the limited perception that exploration was an exclusively male activity.[21] Furthermore, McCalman argues that in the 1930s, certain girls yearned for 'lives of excitement', and in 1936, twenty-three 'MLC schoolgirls' went to 'explore Central Australia'. They 'camped out under the stars, rode camels and played football with Aboriginal boys', suggesting that young women were continuing to participate in outdoor adventures throughout the early decades of the twentieth century.[22] Yet the cultural association between national identity, masculinity and exploration persists. Patricia Grimshaw *et al* contend that 'white masculinity embodied in the Australia bushman [is] updated in such films as *The Man from Snowy River* and *Crocodile Dundee*'.[23] Products of popular culture have reinforced a stereotyped opposition between feminine domesticity and the masculine bushman.[24]

Cadzow suggests that views have diverged over whether participation by women explorers in expeditions constituted a loss of femininity. As outlined in the previous chapter, Girl Guide organisers placed continual emphasis on the 'womanly' nature of Guiding, especially in its early years, to offset the criticism that it was not a 'feminine' organisation. Coleman and Darling argue that, in particular, camping for young women in the Guiding scheme was an activity which 'caused the greatest concern and raised the most eyebrows'.[25] Organisers often went to great lengths to make sure camps were very clearly 'feminine' and 'respectable', and were run on 'hygienic and sanitary lines'.[26]

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[21] Cadzow, Allison, 'Waltzing Matildas: a study of select Australian women explorers, 1840s-1940s', PhD thesis, Sydney: University of Technology Sydney, 2002, p.xii

[22] *op cit* p.134

[23] Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly, *Creating a Nation, 1788-1900*, Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1994, p.2

[24] *ibid*

[25] *op cit* p.146

[26] *ibid* p.10

For example, during their trip to Central Australia in the 1960s, Ranger Guides 'slept in guide halls and were taken to private homes for showers to remove the ever-present dust'.[27] Similarly, at the 1951 Jubilee camp, telephones, electricity and water was installed.[28] Perhaps the most elaborate example was a 1985 Guide camp held at an Army Reserve site, where changes were made to transform it into a campsite for girls. These changes included the delivery of large amounts of washing and cooking equipment and the erection of hundreds of metres of screening between the toilets. This was in addition to the five swimming pools, which were installed and maintained during the camp.[29] While these measures appear particularly extreme, Macleod argues that even Scout camps hardly constituted a 'simple return to nature'. He contends that Scouts also 'favoured a settled existence with few hardships', and camping was often used as a 'bribe' to encourage boys to endure a year of 'dull meetings'![30] The camps therefore needed to be sufficiently comfortable to perform their bribe function.

## Camping is Uncomfortable

In Australia, camping was not initially easy because Scouts and Guides followed the Handbooks that catered primarily for a British outdoors environment, which was vastly different from the Australian bush. As Coleman and Darling explain, 'camping skills were learnt mainly by trial and error, as much of the information which had come from England was quite unsuitable for Australian conditions'.[31] The Guides NSW Business Manager confirms this view, stating:

> *We'll camp all year round and most of our camping would be a weekend camp, and in the UK they hardly do any camping. They have a week long summer camp and that's it. That's the way they camp.*

Evidently, from the outset camping was not a joyous or personally satisfying experience for all youth participants, despite common narratives during the interviews expressing love for the outdoors. According to Springhall, while most members of youth movements have amusing anecdotes to tell about camping, when looking back from the vantage point of maturity, they 'conveniently forget much of the actual discomfort involved in camping: the rainy weather, long journeys and often unappetising food'.[32] Indeed, Interviewee A found it hard to remember anything that he didn't like about the movement:

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[27] *ibid* p.156
[28] *ibid* pp.151-152
[29] *ibid* p.187
[30] *op cit* p.233
[31] *op cit* p.146
[32] Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society, op cit* p.107

*Just thinking back my memories were all good. I don't remember having any particularly bad or traumatic experiences, nothing that sticks out.*

In a similar fashion, when asked what he liked least about his involvement in Scouting, Interviewee K asserts:

*I really can't think of anything I hated. I probably didn't like the planning side of it too much, but I knew I had to do it. I suppose it tends to be with a lot of stuff that you block it out and only look back on all the good things, all the wonderful times you had.*

Upon closer reading of the interview transcripts I discovered several examples which suggested that camping and outdoor activities were at times unpleasant and not necessarily always 'wonderful'. While Scouting was supposed to inculcate a 'love of the environment' in young participants, this appears to have not been entirely successful. Interviewee L recalls:

*I was only a Cub Scout for two years...We used to climb on the cliffs and one day we got matches and set fire to the bush near the Scout hall and the fire brigade came. It wasn't much burnt. That's one of my memories.*

Other interviewees recounted stories about dangerous expeditions, where they had been injured or had participated in a risky activity. Interviewee K, a Scout in the 1960s, recalls:

*I was climbing the Three Sisters and a rock came down. I got a chunk out of the side of my head. The leaders had no training, no helmets, no lifejackets.*

This interviewee also remembered being wedged under a tree root while kayaking in a creek. He recalls that 'I could quite easily have drowned.' Other participants mentioned arriving in the bush and not knowing where they were. For example, Interviewee O, also a Scout during the 1960s, asserts:

*We'd get lost in the bush but that was only temporary unpleasantness.*

Perhaps it was only a 'temporary unpleasantness' for the youth participants, but for some members of the public, lost Scouts in the bush apparently caused substantial irritation. An author by the name of CJ Kelly wrote to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1955, complaining that Scouts were about to commence camping in the upcoming Easter holidays. He argued that the public would 'incur the usual expense' in rescuing lost Scouts, who would destroy the physical environment. He wrote:

Boy Scouts will break the usual number of bottles, leave the usual number of rusting tin cans, and cut down the usual number of young, green saplings...These young vandals are sanctioned by the Government, and encouraged by instructors frequently almost as

incapable as themselves. It is surely preferable that they should join reputable bush-walking clubs and learn to appreciate the bush, instead of violating it...Either the administration should be revised in the cause of encouraging useful citizenship, or it should be disbanded.[33]

Interviewee P, a Girl Guide in the 1950s spoke less about the dangerous bush activities or being lost, but strongly disliked the regimentation of camping. She recalls that she:

> *Hated the washing-up, especially on hikes, where we had to use a trowel to dig a hole in the shape of a kitchen sink, line it with plastic, fill it with water we'd heated in a billy over the fire, and wash up the plates and cups...[I had to] scrub the black off the billies, or to tidy up the tent. Camp became a round of endless chores and futility. I would cry myself softly, very softly to sleep, on the uncomfortable groundsheets in the huge bell-tent each patrol shared, faintly smelling of mildew.*

Despite the discomfort sometimes experienced by participants when camping, the outdoors was commonly perceived as the stimulus for personal transformation. When I first considered the interview responses about camping and the outdoors, I had the overall impression that most participants had strongly enjoyed the adventurous activities. I later realised that the reason interviewees' 'bad experiences' had not been extremely memorable to me was because they often followed these recollections with a statement about how they had overcome these difficulties, and this had resulted in a feeling of personal achievement or satisfaction. In other words, the 'bad story' was rounded out or resolved with a positive statement.

The bush was typically seen as personally transformative because it presented challenges, which required physical strength and mental endurance, especially for hiking ventures. Several interviewees who had experienced physical difficulties in the outdoors during their involvement in Scouts or Guides often argued that this challenge had resulted in personal satisfaction upon completion. Interviewee G, for example, asserts:

> *Some of the walks I've done, I've been in the middle of it and close to tears because it's just hard going, but by the end you've appreciated what you've done and what you've achieved. You've got to see some beautiful scenery along the way.*

Likewise, Interviewee Q, now in his late forties, has continued hiking and camping. When asked what he likes about the outdoors, Interviewee Q explains:

> *There's an element of say wilderness experience which contrasts with the more straight office-based work that I do. [There is] an element of hiking against oneself, overcoming challenging odds so that you can look back and say I've*

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[33] 'Behaviour of Boy Scout Campers', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 March 1955

*walked all that distance...which is hard and impressive. There's a self-reliance, where you can say...I've carried all that on my back and I've overcome the odds of coping with the cold and the ruggedness... when there's a group of you, the sort of camaraderie that comes with doing a shared activity where you struggle over a distance and then camp and talk around the campfire. It's a sort of bonding thing.*

The bush was also seen to provide personal transformation for some interviewees because it invoked a spiritual experience - a feeling of peace or 'oneness' with the surrounding environment, and a strengthening of the bond with fellow Scouts or Guides involved in the activity. Interviewee C, for example, felt that camping helped her learn to 'deal with nature and relate to nature'. MacDonald argues that 'climbing mountains or walking in the countryside were physical recreation with a spiritual dimension'.[34] The religious aspects of the movement will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

## Emulating 'native' peoples

> If only civilised boys could be trained to duplicate the savage life, then they might have everything that the savage had not yet lost - virility, hardiness, martial spirit.[35]

The interest in emulating 'primitive' peoples is a theme that has been stronger in Scouting's past than it appears to be in the contemporary movement. In the first few decades of the organisation's history, the desire to escape from the industrial and urban was met with a fascination for indigenous people, who were seen as 'belonging' in the outdoors, living in harmony with 'nature'. In his publication, *Playing Indian*, Philip Deloria suggests that fascination with American Indians demonstrated a 'modernist search for authenticity'; a temporary fantasy which was not primarily about *becoming* an Indian but a 'quest for a meaningful freedom'.[36]

Baden-Powell, 'in the spirit of his time, plundered native cultures and appropriated their symbols'.[37] He likened Boy Scouts to 'authentic' American Indian scouts because they were both taught how to survive in the outdoors (learning bushcraft and tracking skills), in addition to performing initiation rituals through which a boy progressed before becoming a man.[38]

In Australia, American Indians were initially the archetype 'native', whose apparent practices the Scouts coveted. This gradually changed though, within the first few decades of the movement's development. In the 1930s Robert Turner and Milton Boyce produced a publication titled *Australian Aboriginal Signs and Symbols for the Use of Boy Scouts*, which encouraged the use of Australia's indigenous cultural practices in the

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[34] *op cit* p.22

[35] MacDonald, *op cit* p.132

[36] Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, p.129

[37] MacDonald, *op cit* p.123

[38] *ibid*, pp.5-6, 61

Scouting movement. In the Forward, the then Chief Commissioner for Scouts NSW writes, 'we should have some woodcraft law of our own and not rely on that of other countries'.[39] Turner and Boyce argue that Scouting symbols should no longer be taken largely from indigenous cultures in North America and Africa in place of the practices of Australia's own indigenous people, indicating that during the 1930s there was a strengthening of national consciousness.[40] They hoped the movement would become more 'Australianised' by absorbing local influences.

The purpose of the book was to inform Boy Scouts of the Australian Aboriginal symbols available for their use. Tom Griffiths argues that early Europeans in Australia often sought to develop an emotional and spiritual connection with the Australian landscape, and sometimes did this by accommodating Aboriginal perceptions of place. European immigrants were 'feeling their way towards the realisation that becoming Australian would, in some senses, mean becoming 'Aboriginal".[41] However, the admiration of the 'primitive' lifestyle by the Scouting movement was limited and somewhat paradoxical. For instance, Turner and Boyce imply that by emulating Aboriginal practices boys will become 'good, useful and valuable citizens', even though Aborigines were not considered to be Australian citizens themselves at this time. Indeed, Griffiths argues that although Europeans sometimes accommodated Aboriginal people, in many cases they were denied and displaced.[42] Moreover, for many Aborigines, contact with colonisers resulted in 'rape, cruelty and murder, accompanied by new diseases and moral strictures'.[43]

Avoiding these wretched aspects of indigenous life, Turner and Boyce draw attention to their 'discovery' of Aboriginal paintings of hands, and cheerily suggest that Australian Boy Scouts prepare their own hand paintings to decorate their Scout halls. They note that the 'Aboriginal method of covering the hand with the red mixture and then placing it on the wall may be considered too messy, so we offer...a more simple way of doing it'.[44] This implies that 'playing native' is enjoyable as long as the messy or complex parts can be avoided. Turner and Boyce also suggest that where Aboriginal signs and drawings are not understood, the Scouts should simply make up their own meaning or use the drawings for decorative purposes. In other words, the point is not to actually *be* an Aborigine, but to create what they call a 'native atmosphere'.[45]

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[39] Robert Turner and Milton Boyce, *Australian Aboriginal Signs and Symbols for the use of Boy Scouts*, Sydney: PR Stephensen, 1934, p.7
[40] *ibid* p.9
[41] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp.5-6
[42] *ibid* p.5
[43] Grimshaw, *op cit* p.131
[44] *op cit* pp.38-39
[45] *ibid* p.61

Marianna Torgovnik has explored in much detail how the modern West conceives the primitive.[46] She argues that the word 'primitive' first appeared in English in the fifteenth century, referring to the 'original or ancestor' of animals and humans, but gradually acquired specialised meanings, commonly denoting 'original', 'pure' and 'simple'.[47] The notion of the primitive is generalised, conforming to no single social or geographical entity. It is a construction assigned a metaphoric childlike status - untamed, free, dangerous, in tune with nature, 'living life whole'. However, such constructions typically deny the complexity of primitive societies.[48]

It appears that 'playing native' also occurred in Girl Guide groups. During the early years of her Guiding life, my grandmother kept a minute book, recording the weekly events of her local group in the rural town of West Wyalong. During the 1930s, she makes frequent reference to practicing 'stalking', 'tracking' and 'hiking'. In 1939, she writes:

> Hiked to Race Course in the afternoon (two Indians carried off a paleface who left a trail of sand). Others followed, attacked Indians and released the prisoners.

One question that arises is why the girls pretend to be American Indians and not Aborigines. While the Boy Scouts had become particularly interested in Australian Aboriginal symbols during this decade, the girls, at least in my grandmother's experience, continue to 'play Indian'. Perhaps this changed in the following decades because Coleman and Darling note that at an international Girl Guide camp held in Victoria in 1959, 'boomerang throwing was taught by an expert' and a 'boomerang was presented to each country'.[49] At this point, there had obviously been a shift towards the use of Australian indigenous iconography and practices.

Cadzow argues that 'going primitive' was a common part of camping for many women bushwalkers participating in all-women hikes. Undressing and dancing around the fire was quite common, as was dressing up 'Indian style' when camping.[50] She suggests that primitive representations were used to express the women's desire for different (more liberated) life circumstances, and that 'playing Indian' rather than 'playing Aborigine' was possibly influenced by imagery coming from the USA and Britain.[51]

To play 'Aborigine' and to use their signs and symbols suggests an absence of actual indigenous people.[52] This brings to the fore the relationship between Australia's indigenous people and the contemporary Scout and Guide organisations. It appears that to this day, Aboriginal people remain largely absent from the movement. In recent years,

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[46] Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1990, p.12
[47] *ibid* pp.18-19
[48] *ibid* pp.22, 8-9
[49] *op cit* p.154
[50] *op cit* pp.268-269
[51] *ibid*
[52] Deloria, *op cit* p.121

there has been a concerted effort by both Guiding and Scouting administrators to increase their indigenous youth membership, but they are still grappling to understand and improve their relationship with Australia's indigenous peoples. As Torgovnik contends, whereas the West was once much more convinced of the illusion of Otherness it created, everything is now 'mixed up'.[53] The complex position of Aboriginal youth in the contemporary Scouts and Guides associations is explored in more detail in Chapter Five.

None of the participants mentioned the use of Aboriginal symbols in the Guides and Scouts during the interview process. However, many expressed similar concerns to Baden-Powell, describing the city as a corrupting environment for young people. Some interviewees were especially concerned about the effects of relatively recent technological developments such as computers and television on the social development of children and teenagers. They felt that Scouting and Guiding was a positive influence because it drew young people away from these indoor sedentary activities which were seen as 'unhealthy'. When asked how he thinks Scouts is perceived today, Interviewee A states:

> *I think especially for city kids it just teaches them a whole new range of skills that they're not getting anymore. Even when we grew up in [suburban Sydney] there was heaps of bush nearby and we spent most of our time playing in the bush. But kids today, especially in the city, there's not those avenues to get out in the bush, so they're getting those experiences and skills. I think the Scouts give an opportunity to get those experiences.*

Similarly, when asked if she thought the movement has contemporary relevance, Interviewee G asserts:

> *The more that video games take hold, the more important it is to have an outlet for people to be involved and do things that are natural. Just going hiking in the bush, [is] acquiring quality that will help you for the rest of your life. Definitely it's even more important in today's society.*

In line with Baden-Powell, interviewees typically juxtaposed indoor city life with outdoors rural life, perceiving the latter as a better, more wholesome option.

## Outdoors activities remain popular

Without doubt, outdoor activities are still a major draw card for the Scout and Guide organisations. As previously mentioned MacDonald suspects that the movement would have had a less substantial impact on youth members without the underlying frontier myth. But this is only part of the story. Springhall notes that in the 1920s, several off-shoots of the Scout movement developed in England, and were known as woodcraft groups - the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry (1916), the Kibbo Kift Kindred (1920), and the

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[53] *op cit* p.38

Woodcraft Folk (1925).[54] They all shared a keen interest in the outdoors environment, but were less successful in comparison to the Scouting scheme.

In contrast to Scouting, the woodcraft groups appealed primarily to the Left, combining naturalism with socialism. They were co-educational, non-religious and non-military, and 'conspicuously displayed a pursuit of the tribal and primitive'.[55] Despite their rejection of industrial society, and emphasis on freedom through the open-air life of adventure and play, the woodcraft groups never experienced the numerical success nor the long life of the Scouting movement.[56] According to Springhall, there were several reasons for this, including the elitist and esoteric image displayed especially by the Kibbo Kift, combined with 'much pretentious ritual' and 'a muddled philosophy'.[57] Furthermore, the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry portrayed an 'obscurantist, sect-like image', and the progressive doctrines of many woodcraft groups discouraged parents of potential members.[58] Meanwhile, the Scouts continued to receive large financial donations from industry, in support of its more conservative ideals and aiding its international expansion. While outdoor activities were a key attraction for young recruits, it was more than just the outdoors tasks that contributed to Scouting's growth as an international organisation.

The appropriation of Australian indigenous people's symbols and the continuing desire to 'play' at being a 'native' is a problematic aspect of the contemporary movement. In 1997, a local Guiding magazine, *Mukana: the inner west insider*, included the following report from a local Brownie leader about a recent 'region pack holiday':

> On Sunday we had a wide game and went searching for the lost treasure, the wild natives shot canons at us and we retaliated. I think the wild natives won. Even when we found the treasure the wild natives tried to prevent us retrieving it.[59]

This excerpt in 1997 is very similar to my grandmother's minute book entry about playing what they perceived as American Indian games in the 1930s. The fact that certain Guide groups (and perhaps Scout troops too) continue to play games that imitate 'wild natives' indicates that the movement has changed very little in terms of its desire to emulate indigenous peoples, and that Baden-Powell's appropriation of indigenous practices has perpetuated.

According to the original model of Scouting devised by Baden-Powell, the outdoors was the best setting in which to reinvigorate a sense of masculinity (including physical fitness and moral virtue) in adolescent boys. This view has only partly remained evident in the contemporary Australian movement. Roberts *et al* suggest that the importance of outdoor tasks has endured in character training schemes, but the rationale for the activities has

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[54] *op cit* p.110
[55] *ibid* p.111
[56] *ibid* 112
[57] *ibid* p.114
[58] *ibid* 116-117
[59] *Mukana: the inner west insider*, Sydney, May 1997, p.10

changed. The idea once held by many character builders that physical fitness stimulated moral virtue has faded, and:

> Outdoor activities are [now] regarded as just one amongst several types of challenge through which young people can be impelled into experiences, thus aiding both personal growth and social development.[60]

In place of 'moral virtue', the Scout and Guide schemes nowadays encourage related ideals of 'initiative', 'leadership', and 'personal growth' in young people. This appears to have been quite successful, with many of the interview participants claiming they had attained a sense of personal accomplishment from outdoors activities, sometimes equivalent to a 'spiritual' feeling of personal transformation.

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[60] *op cit* p.74

# CHAPTER FOUR

## Religion & Duty to God:
## *"A Spiritual Dimension is Fundamental"*

The policy of the Scout Movement, which includes members of many different forms of religion, is that all members should develop their relationship with the spiritual values of life by adhering to spiritual principles, through loyalty to the religion that expresses them.[1]

To become a recognised member of Scouts or Guides in Australia, participants must have (or at least publicly claim to have) a belief in a God or Supreme Being. The Australian Scout and Guide associations request that each new member promise to do their 'duty to God' before being accorded full membership status. The former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia explains:

> *The concept of a spiritual dimension of Scouting is absolutely one of the fundamentals. Scouting started from Lord Baden-Powell. He put Scouting together and he was the one who decided that there was a spiritual dimension.*

Despite its clearly stated requirement for members to believe in a Supreme Being, the religious position of the movement is difficult to pinpoint. According to Warren, *Scouting for Boys* did not include any distinct statement of religious or spiritual objectives. While the Scout Laws embodied guidelines for moral and social behaviour and the Scout Promise included the phrase 'duty to God', Baden-Powell did not devote space in his publication to developing boys' understanding of God's purpose nor to expanding Christianity among boys. Instead, he felt that 'an appreciation of nature and a dedication to personal service' was a worthier foundation for spiritual development.[2] Concurring with Warren, Macleod argues that in Baden-Powell's original scheme, religion played an important but subordinate role.[3]

This chapter will evaluate the status of religion in the Australian Scouting and Guiding organisations, both in terms of the official objectives of the movement and the lived experiences of interviewees. The exploration will focus on the topic of 'religious values' and whether participants felt they were conveyed through the movement. Consideration will also be given to the historical division between Protestant and Catholic sections in Australian society and the way this impacted on the religious membership of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. Finally, attention will be drawn to the contemporary movement's attempt to shed its public image as a Christian organisation in order to appeal to Australia's increasingly diverse religious traditions.

## Religion is a 'simple' thing

According to MacDonald, Baden-Powell's attitude to religion was 'sensible and generous'. He reasoned that 'every Scout should believe in God...and do good to other people. Religion was a very simple thing; it did not matter that there were different sects'.[4] While Baden-Powell appears to have personally embraced this 'simple' approach

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[1] Scouts Australia, *Policy & Rules of Scouts Australia 2002, op cit*

[2] Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout movement and citizen training, *op cit* p.388

[3] *op cit* p.176

[4] *op cit* p.160

to religion, it also ensured that on an organisational level, the Boy Scout and Girl Guide schemes would interest a larger constituency of young people and their parents.[5] Phillip Hammond suggests that 'civil religion' often arises when the condition of religious pluralism prevents any one religion from being used by all people as a source of generalised meaning, yet there is a desire to bring together persons of diverse religious background.[6] In other words, people are able to unite through their shared belief in 'God', rather than sharing the same religious tradition. McCalman argues (Christian) religion in Australia helped to define morals and bond society, suggesting:

> If a chap was a 'good Methodist' or a 'staunch Presbyterian' or a 'devout Catholic' or a 'strong Anglican' - high, middle or low - you knew what to expect of him: you knew where he stood and what he stood by.[7]

Knowing that a person was Christian meant that they were presumed to be 'good' and respectable, regardless of what strand of Christianity to which they subscribed.

Research conducted into the public image of Scouts Australia by the Dangar Research Group in 2001 identified the 'notion of civic religion' as a marketable feature of the movement. The Dangar Group suggests that there is a desire among many Australians to 'return to community' and to feel a sense of 'belonging to 'something bigger', [something] more meaningful versus rampant individualism'.[8] The public image of Scouting (and Guiding), then, is still presented as one that contains religious belief as an essential ingredient. The aim to demonstrate adherence to the 'duty to God' principle has been taken quite seriously, even in recent times. According to Interviewee H:

> *Normally the Governor General of Australia is [appointed as] the Chief Scout of Australia. That couldn't be [the case] with Bill Hayden when he was the Governor General [between 1989 and 1996] because he's an atheist. Someone else was appointed Chief Scout while he was Governor General.*

The movement in the USA has also taken strong measures to adhere to this principle, with both the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America defending themselves against several lawsuits from young, self-proclaimed atheists whose membership had been revoked.[9] There have been no such cases in Australia, and the Scout Association continues to encourage youth participants to attend religious 'services of their own'. Prayers are typically recited at weekly meetings, camps, and official Scout or Guide ceremonies. The Scouts and Guides organisations endorse the importance of religious belief among young people, and seek to inculcate what they refer to as 'spiritual values'.[10]

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[5] Rosenthal *op cit* pp.113, 267-8; MacDonald, *op cit* p.161

[6] Phillip Hammond, 'The Rudimentary Forms of Civil Religion' in Robert Bellah and Phillip Hammond, (eds), *Varieties of Civil Religion*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980, p.121-122

[7] *op cit* p.91

[8] Dangar Research Group, 'Scouts Australia: Positioning Image Research', Sydney, 2001, p.7

[9] Mechling, *op cit* pp.35-37

[10] World Association of Girl Guides (WAGGS), *Girl Guiding/Girl Scouting: A Challenging Movement*, Third edition, London: World Bureau, 1997, pp.19, 22

At the local or 'practical' level, however, the religious position of the Scouts and Guides organisations is far from simple. Asking interview participants whether they thought the movement conveyed religious values tended to produce convoluted or 'messy' responses. This was, I suspect, partly due to the fact that I did not define the concept of 'religion' for interviewees, but instead waited to hear their interpretation of the concept and in what ways they thought religion was present in (or absent from) the movement. Furthermore, the issue appeared complicated in the memories of participants as they considered and contrasted three different aspects. This included the origins of the movement (which were perceived as Christian), the rituals and practices, such as prayers, that were conducted at weekly meetings, and the blurred lines between moral values, religious doctrine, and personal beliefs.

The loosely defined religious status of the movement allows relative flexibility for troop leaders and individual youth participants to apply their own interpretation of 'God' and 'religion', producing an intricate web of subjective impressions. As Interviewee M asserts:

> *Some of the leaders would be very keen, committed Christian people. Others wouldn't have any real commitment at all...Certainly Baden-Powell at the very outset put this emphasis on duty to God. That's given it a strong moral basis. How it works in practice probably depends on the individual leadership.*

Indeed, one interviewee was a self-proclaimed atheist. Interviewee J felt that:

> *Speaking from my religious beliefs I shouldn't have been in the Scouts. I'm not a Christian. I never encouraged it [when I was a Scout Leader].*

For most participants, 'morality' or a code of conduct was more recognisable during their experience than religious doctrine. Indeed, Robert Campbell argues there is constant emphasis on community service and the realization of individual potential within the movement, perhaps contributing to the perception held by interviewees that Scouts and Guides had solid moral guidelines.[11] Interviewee J, for example, identifies the moral values in Scouting as:

> *Honesty, trustworthy, loyal, helpful, courteous, kind, obedient, smile and thrifty. Those values can be applied to any person of any religion.*

Interviewee C mentions similar values, such as:

> *Being kind to one another, helpful, good turn every day, be prepared, work hard, treat animals kindly, do your best, always tell the truth, those sorts of things.*

The overall response from interviewees was that the movement did not strongly emphasise religion, although some religious practices were present during their

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[11] Robert Campbell, 'When Implicit Religion Becomes Explicit: The Case of the Boy Scouts in Canada', *Implicit Religion*, 4(1), p.20

involvement, including Scout and Guide Prayers, the Scout Oath, and 'Scouts Own'. Interviewee I explains:

> *Scouts Own is like a small church service that they have...where you gather in a circle and say a prayer.*

Scout camps certainly included religious elements on a small scale, but these were less pervasive than on Boys' Brigade camps, which were shaped around 'drumhead services, Church parades and prayers'.[12] Springhall observes 'there is little evidence...of similar forms of indoctrination being attempted in the Boy Scouts; although this would depend on the personality of the individual Scoutmaster in charge of the camp'.[13] In fact, Springhall asserts that the Boy Scouts have always been more flexible and accommodating of changing cultural and social patterns than the 'brigades'.[14]

When Scouting was originally formed, the main British youth organisations had embraced a 'strain of religiosity' known as 'muscular Christianity', which sought to

promote Christianity in cooperation with physical activity. According to Clifford Putney, muscular Christianity first arose in England in the 1850s, and was strongly supported by Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley, who believed that the Anglican Church was becoming too accepting of physical weakness and effeminacy.[15] They aimed to infuse Anglicanism with health and manliness to offset this perceived trend. Muscular Christianity also flourished in American Protestant churches between 1880 and 1920. The more strident adherents were particularly concerned about the disproportionate number of women in church and the 'feminising' influence that churchwomen were allegedly having on aspects of Victorian religion. The new model for manhood, proposed by the muscular Christians, stressed action and aggression rather than reflection and gentility.[16] Baden-Powell also bought into many of the muscular Christian ideals, believing that discipline and directed activity in the outdoors would contribute to the physical strength and moral virtue of young men. As Putney asserts, 'the newly formed Boy Scouts took 'sissified' boys from the suburbs and sent them on rigorous trips in the forest'.[17]

Eight interviewees explained during their interview that they held strong Christian beliefs and regularly attended church services. This was not just the case for older participants, but included three interviewees aged in their mid-twenties. They mostly contended that the religiousness of Scouting and Guiding was diluted or 'superficial', especially in comparison to their church services. Interviewee I, for example, states:

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[12] Springhall, *op cit* p.101
[13] *ibid* p.101
[14] *ibid* p.31
[15] Putney, Clifford, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001, p.1
[16] *ibid* pp.1-5
[17] *ibid* p.6

*I think now [the movement] would be, apart from the formalities, it's really just a secular organisation... Our leaders conducted themselves in a manner that was good, right and proper but they were just moral people, they weren't Christian.*

Two more interviewees, both of whom expressed their non-religious affiliation, concurred that the movement did not overtly push religious objectives. According to Interviewee Q, there was only a 'lip service to religion' in his local Scout troop during the 1960s. He recalls that there 'wasn't much said (about religion) apart from the Scouts Prayer'. Similarly, Interviewee O asserts:

*I've never been fond of organised religion since I was about 14 or 15 so the connection of the Scouts to religion has always been another little thing that has bothered me. But it has never been in practice a particularly strong element of Scouting... There's a Scouts Prayer, there's a Duty to God, but it's quite generalised.'*

Furthermore, Interviewee A asserts:

*[Religion] wasn't pushed down your throat. [Scouts] just taught you respect for authority and those sort of things which I suppose relate back to religion in some way. It doesn't strike me as being overly focused in that area.*

Interviewees recognised that the Scouting and Guiding schemes included some religious elements, exemplified mainly in the Scout and Guide Prayers. Many interview participants also acknowledged that the movement was based on moral principles and aimed for youth members to become 'good' citizens. They were mostly inclined to reject the claim that Scouting and Guiding had a strong religious agenda. In line with Baden-Powell's original model, the lived experiences of Australian interviewees suggested religion was only subtly present in the movement and was not an overriding priority.

## There were few Catholics

One of the main differences between older and younger interviewees was that the former had experienced the movement as being predominantly Protestant. While some Catholic children appear to have been involved in the early decades of Scouting and Guiding, they were certainly in the minority. Interviewee O explains:

*When I grew up, there were in that era [1960s] quite significant distinctions between Protestants and Catholics. It is a distinction in Australian society, which is still there, but it was a lot stronger then. There were differences in bureaucracies that were run respectively by Protestants and Catholics, particularly here in NSW. All of that stuff was boiling a lot more.*

McCalman elaborates on this 'boiling' tension between Protestant and Catholic sections in Australian society. She suggests that religious life in the 1950s and 1960s was characterised by 'savage conflicts', and despite Australian society becoming more secular,

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'sectarianism remained as pervasive as ever'.[18] This had, however, been simmering in Australia long before the 1950s. McCalman explains that by 1919, 'the Catholic elite grew quietly and independently [and]...developed a different visual aesthetic - European rather than English'.[19] For the Australian Scouts and Guides movements' there was a stronger affinity with 'English' culture, including assimilation of the English public school ethos and Protestant religion. In the 1920s, for example, Girl Guide instructors actually travelled out from England to Australia to 'train' local leaders - an indication of the strong link that existed between the Australian movement and its English founders.

Furthermore, McCalman claims that Protestant circles exuded social superiority, with one of her interviewees suggesting that 'there was a whole pecking order...of things Catholics could be in and a kind of inner circle they were *not* in'.[20] Protestant private schools legitimised their social superiority with the assertion that they provided fuller academic training, produced finer moral and cultured beings, and thereby *deserved* their social position.[21]

This religious and social division between Protestants and Catholics manifested itself in the Scout and Guide organisations. Several interviewees expressed awareness of the lack of Catholic youth in their local group. Interviewee A, a Scout during the 1960s, recalls:

> There were no Catholics [in my Scout troop]. My best mate at school was Catholic and it was never an option for him to go to Scouts. I was [from the] Church of England.

Similarly, the Guides NSW Business Manager asserts:

> When I first started as a leader in the late 60s you couldn't get Catholic kids in. It took me years to get a Catholic child into the unit...It's always been a very open movement and accepting environment but it's not always been easy to translate that into reality and getting people to understand that it's open and accepting.

In fact, Macleod argues that 'early character builders' militant Protestantism kept Catholics away'.[22] This separation of Protestant and Catholic activities was certainly not restricted to Australia. In her autobiography, Olave Baden-Powell explains:

> Occasionally it was impossible sufficiently to reconcile deeply opposed groups...In France, for example, the Roman Catholics and Protestants have always kept to separate organisations. In Canada, there had been no trace of religious apartheid until the early thirties, when, again, the Roman Catholics began breaking away from the national association and forming their own Scout and Guide organisations.[23]

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[18] McCalman, *op cit* pp.224-225
[19] *ibid* p.59
[20] *ibid* pp.59, 141
[21] *ibid* pp.141-143
[22] *op cit* p.3
[23] *op cit* p.169

Although I had been aware during the interview process that some participants did not have Catholic members in their local troops, it was only during the collation of interview data that I realised none of the interviewees came from a Catholic background themselves. Nevertheless, Interviewee X recalls that some members of her Guide unit in the 1930s were Roman Catholic, and Interviewee J remembers that on Scout camps:

*The Catholics had their [church] service first, then we had our turn.*

This indicates that at least some Catholics were participants in the movement, but it is telling that all interviewees had a Protestant background. To my knowledge, the Scouts and Guides Associations do not maintain statistics on the religious affiliation of youth members. Consequently, I am unsure of the number of Catholic participants currently in the movement.

Despite its claim to be 'open to everyone', the local Scouts and Guides troops were clearly subject to the broader religious and social tensions in Australian society for many decades, resulting in a predominantly Protestant membership base. Although there were Catholic members in her Guide unit, Interviewee X points out that:

*Their Faith made it hard for them to come to the Church parades...We were attached to the Anglican Church.*

It is interesting to consider why even a small number of Catholics were attracted to joining the movement, and this matter potentially warrants further research in future. It appears that the experience for Catholic youth in the Scouts and Guides would have been different in many ways from the majority of Protestant children. A further question worthy of future consideration is the proportion of non-Anglican Protestant denominations in the Australian movement and whether they were keen participants in or critics of the Scouts and Guide organisations.

Beyond the Catholic and Protestant divisions, which resulted in largely mono-religious Scouting and Guiding experiences for most interviewees, there were other youth organisations in Australia that drew the attention of some young people away from the Scout movement. For example, in the 1930s, increasing numbers of Australians joined the Communist Party of Australia. McCalman states that in 1945, around 23,000 Australians had joined.[24] Many of the children of Party members joined offshoots, such as the Young Communist League, and Young Pioneers for children under fourteen years of age. These groups held 'regular socials, river outings, picnics, dances and the like', thereby offering a leisure-time and ideological alternative to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.[25]

According to Ron Brown, who joined Queensland's Youth Communist League in 1933, a new organisation was later established in 1941, known as the 'Eureka Youth League'.

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[24] *op cit* p.219

[25] Ron Brown, 'Homegrown Communism - recollections of the Young Communist League in 1930s Brisbane', 1998, http://www.takver.com/history/r_brown.htm (12 April 2003)

This became a 'significant working class youth organisation, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s'. Unlike the Scouts and Guides, this movement was, according to Brown, explicitly 'anti-war' and included 'prominent anti-war activists'.[26] In fact, when Baden-Powell arrived in Sydney in 1931, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that:

> A large body of police and several detectives were on the wharf and kept a watchful eye on the proceedings. It was feared that the Communist organisation might make an attempt to organise a demonstration. Placards urging youths to join the Young Communist League were prominently displayed in the vicinity.[27]

Mechling argues that in the USA, the 'remarkably subdued' rhetoric about religion in early forms of the Scout Handbook changed in the 1950s. The emphasis on Christianity grew stronger as it became a marker, 'distinguishing between the Communists and Western democracies'.[28] Similarly, Rosenthal suggests that 'a properly trained Scout was to be Britain's best antidote to Communist lies'.[29] In Australia, although the movement was officially open to young people from all religious backgrounds, in practice it was a largely Christian Protestant organisation, which attracted very few Catholic and Communist youths.

## Moving beyond Christianity

> *[Guides is] thought of as a Christian organisation. [It is perceived as] a very dated, daggy Christian thing...But it's not Christian at all...It would've been years ago. But it's certainly not anymore, it hasn't been for a long time.*[30]

Based on their experiences in the movement, ten interviewees stated that Scouts and Guides were associated with Christian churches or Christian principles at some stage during the movement's evolution. Although they felt that the religious aspects of the movement were not particularly strong, interviewees nonetheless perceived the Scouts and Guides to have Christian origins, and a strong relationship with certain Christian churches in earlier decades.

In particular, older participants recalled attending weekly meetings in church halls and attending church services with their local Scout or Guide troop. Interviewee X remembers that in the 1930s, Guides were 'often called upon to take part in church functions' and attended 'monthly church parades'. Furthermore, she recalls that each Girl Guide had 'a little garden bed in the church grounds, which was tended to after school'.

Indeed, McCalman argues that for many Protestants and most Catholics in Australia between 1920 and 1939, 'the teaching of religion and the shaping of souls' was perceived as the most important task of all in the raising and education of the young. She claims

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[26] *ibid*

[27] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Chief Scout. Lord Baden-Powell. Arrival in Sydney', 18 March 1931, p.13

[28] *op cit* p.43

[29] *op cit* p.273

[30] Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer, Interview 2002

that 'few middle-class families went about the business of private life without contact with organised religion in some form'.[31] Several churches supported the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides by becoming 'sponsors' of local troops, providing meeting venues, financial and material resources, and adult leaders.[32] Sponsoring is still commonplace in the contemporary Scout movement in Australia, but nowadays encompasses more than just Christian churches. Interviewee L explains:

> *[My Jewish troop has] been sponsored by Synagogue. There's a group out at Canterbury, which is $2^{nd}$ Canterbury St Paul's. St Paul's is the local Church there.*

The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides were often portrayed in the popular press as having a substantial connection with Christian churches in Australia. For example, in December 1944, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that an RAAF Chaplain presented his 'annual Boy Scout and Girl Guide service in St Andrew's Cathedral'.[33] Furthermore, the following year, the Duke of Gloucester (President of the Boy Scouts and Governor-General of Australia) delivered a radio broadcast to the nation, in which he asserts:

> Our [Scouting] ideals and purposes cannot be challenged. They are unassailable. They are Christian to the backbone and embody the spirit of service to mankind.[34]

In light of this quote, the following statement made by Interviewee E is especially pertinent:

> *[The movement] definitely had a Church of England history. It definitely had a Christian start. I think towards the later years it was watered down a bit. But hey, when it's an English based thing and it's in a supposedly Christian country, it's no surprise that it's a Christian sort of thing!*

Organised (Christian) religion was a central part of Australian society in the early twentieth century, and this was also true of English society. It was inevitable that Christianity would seep into the practice and administration of Scouting and Guiding from local leaders, despite the ideologically open stance of the movement on the issue of religion.

Interviewee C reflects on her Guiding experiences during the 1960s, and ponders how the movement has developed since her involvement ceased. She suggests that:

> *The big stumbling block for anyone [wanting to join Guides] who wasn't Christian, was to swear allegiance to God. And that would've excluded a lot of people. But it probably wasn't so obvious when I was growing up in the 60s*

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[31] *op cit* p.90

[32] Campbell, *op cit* pp.20-21

[33] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Scouting Should Admit Japanese', 11 December 1944

[34] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Scout Leaders Needed, Says Duke', 21 May 1945, p.4

*because we wouldn't have had a large non-Christian population in Australia. I'm not sure how the movement has dealt with it in more recent decades.*

Significantly, in more recent decades, both the Scout and Guide bureaucracies in Australia have attempted to present a public image which is more open to the diverse religious practices in Australian society. Guides NSW has made an effort to break down perceptions of the organisation as 'Christian', particularly among communities from Non-English speaking backgrounds. The Multicultural Liaison Officer explains:

*[Guides is] a faith-based (any faith) organisation...It's not Christian, it 's not Muslim, it's not Jewish, it's not anything. It's whatever your faith is, as long as you make a commitment to your faith.*

In a similar fashion, the former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia, asserts:

*We changed our promise so we have a 'duty to <u>my</u> God', probably 15-20 years ago. It was 'duty to God' up until then. And 'God' was satisfactory to a lot of people, a lot of religions, but not to everybody. That's why we made that change. That was the fundamental change.*

Furthermore, when questioned about plans to encourage more of Australia's indigenous youth to participate in Scouting, the former Chief Commissioner suggests:

*We may need to change our promise again because I'm not sure whether 'my God' will be sufficient to satisfy the needs of indigenous people. I'm not sure what their words might be but we'd be willing to look at that. There is a spiritual dimension to the indigenous life which is just as valid as ours so we must be prepared to look at that.*

This indicates that the movement has evolved in relation to wider changes in Australian society, particularly as it seeks to increase membership figures. As the Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer notes, 'ethnic communities [are] not going to be interested if it's just a solely Christian organisation'. The contemporary Scouts and Guides bureaucracies have had to adapt to multi-religious Australian society, and the Scouts Association of Australia has done this on a small scale by altering its Promise. The Guides have not shifted as much on this issue, leaving the phrase 'duty to God' in their version, indicating again their closer adherence to the original Girl Guiding scheme than the Scouts. Based on the memories of interviewees, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia stress the importance of moral conduct and have incorporated minor religious practices in their programs, but cannot be considered religious organisations and do not strongly convey religious values.

# CHAPTER FIVE

# Ethnic & Cultural Diversity:
## *"Different Troops with Different Flavours"*

The subject of 'ethnic diversity' is in many ways the most fascinating topic addressed in this thesis, primarily because it brings to the fore the layered and complex nature of multiculturalism 'in practice' in contemporary Australian society. This chapter moves beyond an ideological or political conception of multiculturalism to arrive at a deeper understanding of how ethnic and cultural difference is actually approached by a traditionally 'white' Australian youth organisation. Attention is drawn firstly to the co-existence of international and national dimensions in the movement. Consideration is also given to those 'ethnic' groups remaining largely outside the reach of the official Scout and Guide bureaucracies, namely Australian indigenous youth and 'Scouts in exile'.

The thoughts and opinions conveyed by interviewees, particularly from the Scouts and Guides bureaucracies, illustrate the 'ambivalences and tensions bubbling beneath the surface of allegedly multicultural Sydney'.[1] Indeed, the efforts of the Scouts and Guides organisations to enhance the ethnic diversity of their youth membership illustrates the complexities that arise at the intersection of ethnicity, culture, identity, belonging, and understanding the 'other'. Whereas the Guides have been inclined to favour a policy of 'integration' (i.e. having girls from different ethnic backgrounds combined in the one troop), the Scouts Association has encouraged the development of 'culturally specific' troops (i.e. the formation of homogeneous ethnic groups, like the Vietnamese-Australian Scouts).

These divergent approaches reflect debates about multiculturalism that have occurred more widely in Australian society over whether recent immigrants should be able to continue the cultural practices and traditions of their 'home' country, or should be encouraged to actively assimilate with Anglo-Australian culture. Such debates, of course, raise manifold questions relating to the definition of 'culture', 'Anglo-Australian' and the precise meaning of a 'multicultural society', which are extraordinarily complex and problematic issues. The following exploration of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movement in Australia demonstrates that the notion of what it means to be an 'Australian' is 'an identity which is continually contested, rearticulated and reproduced'.[2]

## International Scouting and Guiding

> *About twenty-seven million young people in the world are Scouts at this moment, in one-hundred-and-fifty countries. I think it's all but six countries of the world [that are] actually in Scouts.*[3]

When I first commenced researching the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia, I was curious about the international dimension of the movement, and wondered why Scouts and Guides were appealing in so many countries, considering the diverse

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[1] Peter Murphy and Sophie Watson, 'Multicultural Myths' in *Surface City: Sydney at the Millenium*, Sydney: Pluto Press, 1997, p.32
[2] *ibid* p.26
[3] The former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia, Interview 2002

religious, political, and social circumstances that exist. While a detailed account of the international status of the movement is beyond the boundaries of this thesis, it is nevertheless important to acknowledge that from the outset, the movement encapsulated an internationalist outlook.

The original ten points of the Scout Law established by Baden-Powell, includes the statement: 'a Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout no matter to what country, class or creed the other may belong'.[4] According to Warren, by 1914 Baden-Powell had adapted the Scouting and Guiding schemes to make them 'more international and multi-racial as the two movements were taken up widely within the Empire'.[5] He envisaged the movement becoming a worldwide 'brotherhood' (and 'sisterhood'). As Warren asserts, Baden-Powell sought to create a 'community of equal brothers, symbolic of a social and racial harmony'. By the mid-1930s, he 'both preached and represented an ideal of a multi-racial Commonwealth'.[6]

This model of 'universal brotherhood' has been promoted often throughout the history of the movement as contributing to worldwide peace and harmony. At the end of the First World War, the Scout Association arranged its first international camp, known as a 'jamboree', to celebrate and facilitate continuing peace. It was hoped that the event in 1920 would 'demonstrate that the youth of all nations could indeed meet in brotherhood as B.-P. envisaged'.[7] This worldview spread to the Australian movement, and in 1935 the Governor of New South Wales asks:

> What could be more conducive to the peace of the world than the great Jamborees in different parts of the world with as many as 50,000 and 60,000 scouts coming together from 25 parts of the Empire and from 41 nations; living together; trying to understand one another's point of view, and all bound together by the same principles and ideals?[8]

This kind of statement is reiterated a decade later in 1945, following the end of World War Two, by the Duke of Gloucester, who states:

> I believe that if we are to avoid war in the future, we must learn to understand our neighbours better, so that we are not jealous and suspicious of them, but admire their qualities and understand their aims and ambitions in life. The Scout Movement, through its 3,000,000 members of all nations and creeds can assist this understanding and mutual trust.[9]

This vision remains present in the movement to this day, as international jamborees are held in different countries every four years. In fact, the notion of a Scouting 'brotherhood' was mentioned by two interviewees, indicating that the term still has

[4] Drewery, *op cit* p.99
[5] Warren in John Mackenzie, *op cit* p.250
[6] *ibid* pp.239, 242
[7] Drewery, *op cit* p.115
[8] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'The Scouts. Week Officially Begun', 21 September 1935, p.18
[9] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Scout Leaders Needed, Says Duke', 21 May 1945

relevance for some members of the movement. According to Interviewee L, a current Scout leader:

> Scouting is a brotherhood and it gives people a common...not belief...but a common thing, like you can travel the world. We were in Bali in June and we saw a Scout troop there.

Similarly, Interviewee M feels part of a worldwide community, because:

> Scouting is a worldwide brotherhood. If I go over to Israel, I'd be welcomed as a Scout. I'd probably be welcomed as a Scout in Palestine.

Implied in this statement is the idea that the Scouting community transcends war and conflict, and unites people with anomalous backgrounds and political opinions. In this sense, the Scout and Guide movement is, in Benedict Anderson's terms, an 'imagined community'. Anderson argues that 'imagined' communities are those in which the members will never know nor meet face-to-face the majority of their fellow-members, yet in their minds they jointly conceive a deep comradeship and fraternity.[10] While Anderson uses this term specifically to explicate his discussion of 'national communities', the concept also seems applicable to the notion of the 'international community' espoused by Scouts and Guides.

Apart from its tendency to produce a sense of belonging to a worldwide community, there are other elements which have enabled Scouts and Guides to develop in many different countries. Interviewees speculated about why the movement has international appeal. According to the Guides NSW Business Manager, the world program for Guiding is very flexible. While all participating organisations must include the Promise, Law, and patrol system, the structure beyond these requirements can be manipulated to fit a variety of contexts. When asked why he thinks Scouting is so adaptable to other countries and cultures, Interviewee O suggests:

> It basically is a hierarchical, team-building environment where provided you've got the right leadership you can learn an awful lot and see in action some role models both from older kids and from leaders. Provided it's not treated dogmatically by the people involved with it, I think in essence it's imparting a bunch of practical skills and ways of working in teams that is adaptable to all kinds of situations.

However, like most idealistic or fanciful conceptions of a perfect and harmonised global society, the 'brotherhood' and 'sisterhood' of Scouting and Guiding has not always worked out so perfectly in practice. Interviewee H, a current Venturer leader, argues that:

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[10] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983, pp.15-16

*You can't keep politics out of anything. If there's a world jamboree and it's going to be in Israel, a lot of countries just won't go. They will boycott it, even though the World Association says Scouts are brothers to each other.*

It appears that such tensions are not just a recent phenomenon but occurred even in the early decades of the movement's development. Drewery claims that during Baden-Powell's tour of India in 1921, he apparently found:

> Six different unofficial Associations, all calling themselves Scouts but all in conflict with one another...It took all his tact to persuade them to sink their differences and to unite together into one association that could be recognised officially by Headquarters.[11]

There is an assumption of cultural superiority underpinning this statement, as the Scouting movement is portrayed as successfully quashing conflict and tension that would otherwise supposedly be unresolved. This sense of superiority is also exuded by Olave Baden-Powell, who claims that Scouting and Guiding in India had been 'set on the right lines' after a visit from herself and her husband. She argues that prior to the advent of Guiding, Indian women rarely mixed with their European counterparts, but once Indian women became involved in Guides, 'the barriers between the races began to come down'.[12]

The international outlook of the movement and conceptions of 'brotherhood' and 'sisterhood' have continually surfaced in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides since their commencement. While the emphasis placed on international unity has tended to strengthen during inter-war years and contract during times of major conflict, it has nevertheless remained a key ideal of the movement since its inception.[13]

## Scouting and Guiding as National Institutions

There is a tension in official Scouting rhetoric, however, because although the movement claims to be 'international', it is often perceived or described as a 'national' organisation. In a study conducted by Tim Phillips and Philip Smith into popular views about Australian national identity, interview participants identified the Boy Scouts as synonymous with 'Australianness'.[14] It is of interest that the Girl Guides were not also mentioned in this category. Following a series of focus groups in 1997 with 49 participants, Phillips and Smith found that sporting and voluntary clubs were commonly associated with 'Australianness', in addition to outdoor places like the bush, the backyard and the beach. In terms of 'Australian' values and beliefs, 'mateship' and a 'relaxed easygoing orientation to life' were the most popular responses. It is possible,

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[11] *op cit* p.116

[12] *op cit* p.129

[13] MacDonald, *op cit* p.183; Springhall, *op cit* p.940

[14] Tim Phillips and Philip Smith, 'What is "Australian"? Knowledge and attitudes among a gallery of contemporary Australians', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Canberra, July 2000, 35(2):203-224

therefore, that the combination of the outdoors, voluntary service and mateship is more readily applicable to the Boy Scouts than the Girl Guides, at least in the perceptions of the general public. The outdoors and masculinity have a strong historical and cultural connection in Australia, as previously discussed in Chapter three.

In 1922, the Boy Scouts Association became a voluntary managing agency for imperial settlement, under the Empire Settlement Act (1922). During the next eight years, over three thousand British Boy Scouts emigrated to Australia, to 'give the brotherhood of Scouting an imperial reality'.[15] According to Voeltz, some Scouts went to Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Rhodesia, but the majority were placed on Australian farms. Many of the young immigrants found life on the 'imperial frontier' much harder than they had presumably anticipated. Voeltz argues that for many boys, the Australian interior was isolating, with records showing that one boy had to ride nine miles to attend Scout meetings. Consequently, the boys frequently left the farms and moved to the city. By 1931, the program had almost ceased, as the Depression changed economic circumstances and views about immigration within Australia.[16]

According to Warren, during the 1920s, British Scouting and Guiding saw themselves as aiding the 'development of the Commonwealth as a unique experiment in international cooperation'. However, by 1945, Imperial Headquarters in London realised that Scouting and Guiding in the Commonwealth would be administered according to local circumstances. As it turned out, 'the dominion associations quickly became entirely independent of London', but retained some Imperial symbolism.[17]

The Scouting movement was readily accepted in Australia as a 'national' organisation at the start of the twentieth century because most Australians already considered themselves British. They identified strongly with the British Empire, often still referring to Britain as 'home'. Even when most Australians began to regard themselves as 'Australian' in the mid-twentieth century, their nationality remained that of a British subject until 1949, when the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948 'created a new status of Australian citizenship, in addition to that of British subject'.[18] Citizenship was 'conceptualised in relation to British culture and ethnicity'.[19] To this day, the Australian Guide and Scout promises include the phrase 'duty to the Queen', while the Governor General is regularly appointed as the Chief Scout of Australia. He or she distributes 'Queen's Scout' awards to young recipients at an annual ceremony, indicating that historical ties with the British Empire are still evident in parts of the movement, despite the fact that in wider Australian society, 'Britishness' has 'lost its appeal as a central defining idea'.[20]

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[15] Warren op cit pp.246-247

[16] Voeltz, 'The British Boy Scout migration plan 1922-1932', The Social Science Journal, 2002, 40(1)

[17] Warren, op cit p.251

[18] Ann-Mari Jordens, Alien to Citizen: settling migrants in Australia, 1945-75, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997, p.171

[19] ibid p.172

[20] Meaney, op cit p.89

Despite its popular status as a national organisation, it would be difficult to label the movement as strongly nationalist or 'fascist'. Cathcart argues that in the 1920s and 1930s, many 'respectable folk' in the West who were disillusioned with democracy, formed or supported fascist organisations aspiring to mobilise mass society. He suggests that such organisations, including the Italian Blackshirts, the German Brownshirts, the Spanish Falange, and Mosley's British Union of Fascists expressed their ideals in specifically nationalist myths and symbols. In contrast to the Scout movement, they tended not to have an internationalist outlook, and shared no founder heroes, but rather exhibited patriotic authoritarianism.[21]

In her autobiography published in the 1970s, Olave Baden-Powell distances the Scouts and Guides from fascist youth movements that developed during the inter-war years, especially Mussolini's 'Balilla'. She asserts that such organisations were quite unlike Scouting because they were:

> Compulsory instead of voluntary; super-nationalistic rather than international...[and] omitted any spiritual emphasis. Moreover, instead of developing individual character, it turned out youngsters all to one mould. [My husband] deplored the emphasis laid on nationalism and militarism.[22]

However, Rosenthal argues that the Scouting bureaucracy only distanced itself from fascist movements in retrospect, after the events of World War II. He suggests that during the early 1930s, Baden-Powell expressed 'intense admiration' for the methods and aims of Mussolini's 'Balilla' youth organisation, and had sought to form an official connection with the Hitler Jugend in 1937. Rosenthal suggests that Baden-Powell shared with these organisations their belief that instilling patriotism in the young was the key to producing a strong nation.[23] However, by 1940, 'admiration for the vision and achievements of Italian fascism was not something one was happy to acknowledge'.[24]

## A predominantly 'white' movement

With the exception of the Scouts and Guides bureaucrats and the Jewish interviewees, all participants suggested that there was minimal ethnic diversity in their local Scout and Guide groups during their involvement.[25] Their experiences were of a predominantly 'white', 'Anglo-Australian' movement, despite their age differences and participation in Scouts and Guides during different decades. Of all the topics raised during the interviews, the question about ethnic diversity in Scouts and Guides produced by far the most consensus among interviewees. Even the bureaucrats indicated there was minimal diversity, but emphasised that this is changing.

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[21] op cit p.31

[22] op cit p.163

[23] op cit pp.274-277

[24] ibid p.276

[25] During the interviews, participants continually used terms including 'white', 'Anglo' and 'Anglo-Saxon' to refer to people born in Australia with Anglo-Saxon ancestry, indicating the slipperiness of terminology in relation to 'race' in a multicultural society.

I was somewhat surprised by the uniformity of responses to the question about ethnic diversity, and it was also noticeable during the interviews that the question was greeted with a tone of 'surprise' by many interviewees. It was as though the largely monocultural nature of the movement appeared as something that was 'novel', that had been previously unnoticed. For example, when asked whether he felt there was any ethnic diversity in his Scout troop during the 1960s, Interviewee A suggested that 'they were mostly Anglo, white Anglo-Saxons, WASPS'. Yet later in the interview, he continues to reflect on this question, despite having discussed several other topics along the way. Interviewee A repeats his earlier statement, noting that he can't remember 'any Italians, Lebanese, Greeks or Chinese. It was all white Anglo-Saxon background'. It is particularly interesting that this thought about the 'whiteness' of Scouts appeared to come as a kind of revelation to this interviewee. It seems to have been something that just didn't occur to him, or that he didn't notice, as a child, and he now expresses some surprise as he perceives his childhood experiences from a different standpoint, through the retrospective lens of an adult. The overwhelming balance of Sydney's population was 'white' in those days, which is possibly why the 'whiteness' of his Scout troop had been taken-for-granted or unnoticed.

In fact, following this initial point of 'revelation' about their mostly monocultural experiences in Scouts and Guides, there seemed to be some disturbance or provocation of the thoughts of interviewees, as they sought to explain the reason for the lack of diversity. The most common explanation was that the suburb in which they lived during their childhood was predominantly Anglo-Australian, therefore it was inevitable that their Scout or Guide troop was also Anglo-Australian. Several interviewees did come from similar geographic locations in Sydney (particularly certain Northeastern and Southeastern suburbs), where the population has been predominantly 'white'.

However there was some divergence in views over whether Scout or Guide groups outside their local suburb did actually have greater ethnic diversity. Some interviewees felt that there wasn't much diversity even in other suburbs. Interviewee B, a Cub Scout leader in the 1940s, states:

> Other areas had more ethnic diversity, but from this area they're all very much the same.

Similarly, Interviewee G, who began as a Brownie in the 1980s, asserts:

> Brownies and Guides [was] white Anglo-Saxon. Rovers basically the same as well. The area we live in there isn't a huge diversity. Other crews have more diversity, just not in my group because of the area I live in.

However, in direct contrast, Interviewee E remembers that during his Scouting experiences in the 1980s and 1990s, there was:

*No ethnic mix at all. The entire way through. It was as Anglo-Australian as you can get...That's the nature of where I grew up. But you'd still notice over in the Bankstown area it was still very Anglo-Saxon.*

As McCalman reminds us, 'in constructing histories...we are torn between what we would like the story to be and what the evidence insists that it really is'.[26]

Based on the interview data, it seems that the predominance of Anglo-Australian participants in the Sydney Scouts and Guides was mirrored in rural communities. Interviewee K states:

*Scouts, I did in a country town, I don't recall any ethnic issues. We were all just white boys. I don't have any memory of it, but there must've been Greek and Italians. They were obviously in numbers that were insignificant.*

Some interviewees explained that there was little ethnic diversity in Australian society during the period in which they participated in Scouts or Guides. Interviewee M recalls that in the 1940s:

*There wouldn't have been very many 'new Australians' around when I was a Cub.*

Similarly, Interviewee O recalls:

*I don't think in the fifties and sixties there was a great deal of ethnic diversity in Scout troops but then the same might be said of all the baby boom suburbs of southern Sydney. The suburb I grew up in was a vastly different place to what it is now. It was essentially a monoculture...I was brought up as an Anglo-Australian in schools that had very little cultural diversity in them.*

This observation by Interviewee O is quite accurate. As Peter Murphy and Sophie Watson confirm, it was not until the mid-1960s, after the White Australia Policy was abolished, that substantial numbers of Lebanese and Turkish immigrants entered the country. This was followed in the 1970s and 1980s with large numbers of refugees from Asia and Latin America. Thus, prior to the 1940s, the majority of Australians were of Anglo-Celtic origin, but by the 1990s, almost half of Sydney's population consisted of first or second generation immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds.[27]

In 1972, the *Sydney Morning Herald* included a story about a Scout named Roger, who was born in Ceylon and immigrated to Australia. Roger caused a furore when he performed a 'black power salute' to the Governor of Victoria while attending a presentation to receive his Queen's Scout award. Roger argued that the salute was a 'protest against a statement by Mr Arthur Calwell opposing the creation of a 'chocolate-

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[26] *op cit* p.viii
[27] *op cit* p.14

coloured Australia".[28] The following day, the newspaper included a letter of apology from Roger to the Governor. This story suggests two things: firstly, that despite the predominance of Anglo-Australian participants in the movement, there were youth from other ethnic backgrounds; and, secondly, the Scout Association apparently had little tolerance for 'protests', particularly at official ceremonies and on issues of racial harmony. This appears to be the case even in the contemporary movement, whose 'Policy and Rules' stipulate that:

> The Association is not connected with any political body. Members of the Movement in uniform, or acting as a representative of the Movement in uniform...must not take part in political meetings or activities.[29]

Furthermore, members are not to express opinions in the public press 'on matters of Scout policy or principle without the prior approval of the Chief Commissioner'. As Rosenthal argues, the movement stresses unquestioning obedience to 'properly structured authority', including 'unwavering, uncritical patriotism'. He contends that Scouting emphasises the 'supreme virtue of social conformity'.[30]

While all of the interviewees included in this study spoke of the 'whiteness' of the Scout and Guide movement, few mentioned learning about other cultures or recounted memorable international experiences. In fact, two interviewees recall ethnic 'issues' in the movement only because they remember Jewish participants who were teased. Interviewee J, a Scout in the 1930s, recalls:

> *My first ethnic experience was in the Scouts at Eastwood. In my home there was never any talk of different races because there wasn't any in Sydney prior to the War. During the War there was a Jew [in the Scout troop]. When the Scout leader asked him what his religion was he said Jew. Very nice bloke. The kids behind his back called him a 'miser'.*

Likewise, Interviewee B, a Cub Scout leader in the 1940s, asserts:

> *Once I had a kid [in my troop] who was a Jew and they [the other children] were all talking about him before he came.*

Murphy and Watson argue that there is a tension in public attitudes to multiculturalism between 'a positive celebration of what migrants have to offer versus discourses of fear and hostility to what is constituted as 'other' and threatening or disruptive to Anglo-Australian identity.[31] This tension arose in a statement made by the Guides NSW Business Manager:

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[28] *Sydney Morning Herald,* 'Scout Protests over Calwell views on race', 8 May 1972, p.1, *Sydney Morning Herald,* 'Scout says sorry', 9 May 1972, p.1
[29] *Policy & Rules of Scouts Australia 2002, op cit*
[30] *op cit* p.7
[31] *op cit* p.18

*This is an English-speaking organisation and probably always will be an English-speaking organisation. We have a great appreciation of the other communities and we're very happy to see the culture of those communities brought into the culture of [the Guide] unit program, [which] is wonderful, because we're obviously a very international movement.*

There is a tension in this statement between a 'positive celebration' of the 'culture' of ethnic communities, which is perceived as enhancing the educational experiences of girl Guides on the one hand, and the threat that the diversity might diminish the English-speaking tradition of the organisation.

## Becoming more ethnically diverse?

Despite the large range of countries that have adopted Scouting and/or Guiding, there clearly remains a lack of diversity within the Australian movement. This phenomenon was given particular emphasis during my interviews with the bureaucrats from Scouts and Guides associations. While both organisations have experienced difficulties in recruiting members from non-English speaking backgrounds, it appears that the Scouts Association has been more successful in comparison to the Guides.

Both the Scouts and Guides associations have initiated programs for increasing the ethnic diversity of their youth members. Guides NSW have a six-member Committee for Cultural Diversity, which aims to 'increase the ethnic membership and ties with different communities'. Included in this committee is the Multicultural Liaison Officer, who was employed in 1999 to work on a 'two-year project to increase the number of girls and women from the Aboriginal, Asian and Arabic communities joining Guides'.

Initially, the Guides NSW Committee intended to encourage women from those communities to become leaders of Guide groups, catering to girls from their own ethnic community. This process involved 'a lot of networking' and the development of 'good contacts' with the targeted communities. According to the Multicultural Liaison Officer:

*We'd go out and make contact, arrange to meet, talk to them about Guides, and most times we found that the communities we were targeting had no exposure to Guides...[We have] held different functions to try and show them what Guides is all about, what Guiding can do for their girls, why it is important.*

I asked the Multicultural Officer what kind of Guiding 'image' she presented to the various ethnic communities, and whether the presentation was altered in accordance with the intended audiences. She responded that the same image of Guiding was not presented each time, but rather particular features of the organisation were emphasised depending on the audience demographic. For example, when meeting with women from Muslim communities in Sydney, Guides is presented as a 'girls only activity' and a 'faith-based organisation'. To the Vietnamese and Chinese community, Guides is

presented as focusing on the Guide Promise and Law, 'where you are obedient to your elders, you are patient and caring, [with] respect for elders, polite and considerate'.

However, the initial attempts to secure women Guide leaders from the targeted ethnic communities have been largely unsuccessful. The Guides NSW Business Manager states:

> *We've had Armenian units and we've had Greek units, and always they've failed. It has never worked long term.*

The reason she thinks these groups have failed is that the leaders only join the movement for a short period of time (approximately two years) for the duration of their child's involvement. Once their children leave, the adult leaders leave too. It is for this reason, the Business Manager implies, there is little purpose in creating culturally specific groups, especially when it is so difficult to secure adult leaders from the communities in the first place.

Instead, the Guides NSW association directs girls into existing local groups where they are integrated with other youth members. The Business Manager asserts:

> *Our push at the moment is less towards trying to get an ethnic grouping, than to encourage people to come into the ordinary units.*

According to the Multicultural Liaison Officer, Guides NSW has embarked on a program of educating leaders to be more culturally aware and sensitive. In 2001, the organisation introduced two new badges: The Community Harmony Badge and the Multicultural Ambassador's Award. These serve as an incentive for current Guides to learn more about multiculturalism and racism. As the Multicultural Officer argues:

> *Racism [is] such a tricky issue to deal with correctly. That was the first thing we did, to get the leaders thinking about, yes, we are part of a bigger community. We're not just in our little group that's been quite comfy and happy.*

The Scouts Association, on the other hand, has encouraged the formation of 'culturally specific' Scout troops. The former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia acknowledges that historically the movement has portrayed a 'white' or 'Anglo' image, but argues that they are trying to reshape the organisation so that their membership is more representative of ethnic diversity in wider Australian society.

In 1987, a paper on the 'benefits of Scouting to ethnic youth in Victoria' found that the participation of 'ethnic' and non-English speaking children in Scouting was very low compared to 'Anglo-Saxon' children. There were several reasons given for this difference in participation rates. Firstly, 'the majority of Lebanese and Greek parents believe Scouting is associated with the army'. Secondly, Scouting is perceived as interfering with 'religious and cultural traditions [and] exposes children to dangerous activities'. Further barriers include the expense of Scouting, and the 'concern about

activities keeping children away from the family unit, especially by Greek, Vietnamese, and Lebanese parents'. There were also fears that youth organisations 'politicise young people'.[32]

Since the 1980s, certain concessions have been made by Scouts NSW to encourage the involvement of these communities, including allowing youth members to wear a badge on their uniform displaying the flag from their country of ancestry. According to the Communications and Development Manager, the Greek Orthodox Scouts wear a blue and white coloured scarf, and within the Greek troop, badges are awarded for achievements in Greek dancing, language skills and religious knowledge. The training of adult leaders includes instruction in the specifics of Greek Orthodox culture and religion.

Other concessions made include the alteration of the Scout Promise, which means that youth members can choose to make their promise either to the Queen or to Australia. Furthermore, culturally specific groups are allowed to meet on weekends, which many apparently prefer, often after the children have attended language school. Because Scouts accommodates both male and female youth members, it tends to encourage a family gathering.

Both the Scouts and Guides in Australia have become more ethnically diverse very recently, but are still working to further enhance their appeal to diverse communities. The Scouts Association has so far made more structural changes and have been more accommodating of different ethnic groups than the Girl Guides Association.

## Indigenous Youth in Scouts and Guides

In 2002, when I conducted the majority of my interviews with current and past members of the Scouts and Guides, I interviewed the Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer. The Officer provided enormous insight into the approach of the organisation as it seeks to expand its 'ethnic' youth membership. I was, at times, surprised (and pleased) about her frank and open manner, and her willingness to identify the major shortcomings of the Guides Association in its dealings with diverse ethnic communities in Sydney. The information provided during this interview was copious and extremely detailed, and was especially informative in regards to the difficulties faced by the movement during its encounter with segments of Sydney's indigenous communities.

To demonstrate the level of complexity involved in cross-cultural communication conducted by the organisation, I recount a story that was told during the interview.

The Multicultural Liaison Officer explained that in 2001, she had been invited to give a presentation about Guiding to female members of an indigenous community based in suburban Sydney. She had arranged for two adult Guide leaders to spend the day with

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[32] Scouts Victoria, 'Expanding the Benefits of Scouting to Ethnic Youth in Victoria', Victoria, 1987, pp.1-3

the indigenous children from the community and supervise activities based loosely on the Guide program, and in the evening she gave her presentation to the group. Declaring this a successful event, the Multicultural Officer organised with the female indigenous community leaders to hold another 'Guiding day' during the subsequent school holiday period.

In the interim, the Multicultural Officer set about preparing the Guiding day for indigenous youth. She planned activities and games, arranged for local girl Guides and their leaders to attend the event, and secured a mini-bus to transport the indigenous youth to the venue for the day, which was a Guide Association property, located on the outskirts of Sydney. When the pre-arranged day arrived, the Multicultural Officer explained that the local leaders and their Guide troops had already gone to the venue and were getting organised. However, the event turned out to be:

> *[A] total disaster! It didn't work. Not a soul [from the indigenous community] turned up...That was very disappointing because all the way through our discussions [with the indigenous women], we were very conscious of not saying, 'this is what you'll do because this is the best thing'.*

The Multicultural Officer expressed that she felt shocked and disappointed when she discovered that the planned event had largely failed. However, during the interview she laughed upon retelling how the event had ended 'disastrously', perhaps because it had been so unexpected and, in retrospect, has served as an example of the level of complexities that are involved in communicating 'Guiding' to diverse communities. I also got the impression that the Multicultural Liaison Officer laughed at this scenario partly because it demonstrated her own naïvety at that time. She explains:

> *We think the reason that was a disaster was because we were taking the children from their families, even though the mothers were welcome to come. We were sort of moving them away to a property that the mothers didn't know about.*

While the attempt made by Guides NSW to demonstrate cultural sensitivity was largely unsuccessful in this instance, it was very clear during the interview that the Multicultural Liaison Officer genuinely aims to bridge at least part of the gap between the Guides Association and indigenous communities. What this story does illustrate, however, is that in practice this is a difficult and 'messy' process, fraught with cultural misunderstandings and assumptions, and a process the movement has much still to learn about.

An example of the cultural assumptions embedded in the Guide organisation was contained in the explanation given by the Multicultural Liaison Officer of how she presents Guiding to the indigenous communities. She asserts:

> *[We present Guiding as an organisation which] is culturally appropriate for them. Not self-development and all those rules, but the sense of community,*

*and getting involved together, getting them out of just hanging around the local park, a purposeful activity that builds their leadership skills and their self-confidence. The leadership skills and purposeful activities is a very important thing to the Aboriginal community. So then they can go back to be leaders in their community because the Aboriginal community sees that as a huge need.*

This statement is laden with stereotypical views of indigenous people, suggesting that they simply 'hang around' in public places and need to be directed into more worthy or respectable activities. The Guiding organisation in this case presents itself in a patronising manner, implying that it can improve the lives of indigenous communities by providing them with 'leaders' training through the Guiding system.

Like the Guides Association, Scouting in NSW has experienced minimal success in attracting indigenous youth into the organisation. The former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia explains:

*We've tried here in NSW without a lot of success. We've got groups half going and then they've stopped again. The issue in every case is it's got to be owned by an indigenous community, by the Aboriginal communities themselves. We have a big group in Melbourne which is probably the most obvious group of about seventy kids. It's certainly part of the indigenous community down there and run with the indigenous community...We're about to start groups in north Queensland and Northern Territory and [will] maintain the flexibility that we need to encourage them.*

This 'flexibility' involves using Aboriginal games, songs and cultural activities, and involving indigenous elders. The positive side of their approach is that both organisations are aware of the need to include indigenous people in the process of designing and implementing a Scouting or Guiding program suitable for them. The Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer states:

*We need them [indigenous people] to be part of the whole process. There's absolutely no point if we just waltz in and say ok well this is what we can do and we'll do this. It won't work..And also it's just the white man coming in and telling them what to do again. Which they've said, they've used those words. They're very conscious of that so we really need the women to be involved.*

However, the biggest stumbling block for the Guides has been the lack of interest shown by indigenous women to become adult leaders. According to the Multicultural Liaison Officer:

*We were really looking for [indigenous] women to be leaders because then we know it will appropriate for those children. All those issues that they're concerned, or any community's concerned about, won't be a problem because they're dealing with women of their own cultural background.*

According to the Guides NSW Multicultural Officer, indigenous communities have tended to avoid involvement in Guides (and Scouts) because they have a negative image of the movement. They perceive the organisation as 'very white fella telling us what to do again'. Furthermore, she suggests that the structured leisure time away from the family doesn't necessarily suit the indigenous community, with some women expressing more interest in Guiding 'holiday programs'.

Thus, while the Scout and Guide organisations have often been perceived as traditionally Australian, it is noteworthy that the movement has included so few indigenous people throughout its history, and indigenous people remain largely absent from the movement to this day.

## Scouting in Sydney's Jewish Community

Two adult leaders of the Judaean Scout group in Sydney were interviewed for this thesis. They are both currently involved in what has been described above as a 'culturally specific' Scouting troop. The group is sponsored by a local Synagogue, and youth members wear a Judaean badge on their sleeve.

Interviewee H was born in Hungary and came to Australia as a refugee with his family in the 1950s, his father being a Holocaust survivor. He recalls expressing interest in joining the Scouts as a child, but states:

> *When I came here [to Australia] Dad was working two jobs just to pay the rent. When a friend of mine took me to one of the Scout groups, they said I had to buy a uniform to invest me. It would've taken two and a half weeks of my Dad's wages to buy me a uniform...I didn't even ask my parents for the money...I did my camping...through the school cadets because I got it for free.*

Interviewee H has been an adult Scout leader for around twenty years, and has held various positions including Scout leader, Venturer leader, Rover leader, and District Commissioner. He commenced his leadership position in the 1980s, following his introduction to Scouting when his nephew asked him to 'stand in' for a father and son camp.

Interviewee L joined the Cubs as a child in the late 1950s, but never progressed into the Scouts or beyond. In adulthood, he returned to the movement as a leader of the Judaean group in Sydney, while his son was a Scout. He has been involved for the past fifteen years, and was still a Scout leader at the time of the interview in 2002.

The main point that I became aware of during the interviews with the Jewish Scout leaders was that they did not want to overstate the 'Jewishness' of their Scout troop. They emphasised that their Scout troop was just like any other troop in Australia. When asked to talk about the nature of the group, Interviewee H states:

*There is no such thing as Jewish Scouting. Scouting is Scouting. The Scout Association is a non-denominational but religious organisation. When Baden-Powell established Scouting, you have to take a promise to do your best and one of them is to do your best to your God. That God can be the Judeo-Christian concept of God, it can be Buddah, it can be any deity but you actually do have to believe in a God.*

It was also clearly expressed by Interviewee H that even though the group is united under the umbrella of 'Judaean' scouting, there is substantial diversity within the troop. He asserts:

*The Judaean group [is] held together in some sense and yet we're quite diverse because we grew up in different congregations with different customs. We all have the same beliefs, but different ways of practicing them.*

In many ways, the Judaean Scout group is just like any other Scouting troop, in the sense that they are affiliated with Scouts Australia, follow the same Policy & Rules handbook, wear uniforms, organise in patrols, achieve badges, and conduct camps and other activities in the outdoors. However, there are also practices unique to this group which makes it 'unlike' many other Scout troops in Australia.

For example, Interviewee H notes:

*We don't meet on Saturdays, or Friday nights. We avoid any prayer that involves the trinity.*

Furthermore, Interviewee L states:

*The food is the biggest problem. Whenever we go away, we always state no pork products. When we're away for Jamborees, everyone knows this.*

Interviewee H elaborates on the dietary restrictions, pointing out that some Jewish Scouts are more flexible than others in what they are able to consume. He explains:

*Judaism has gone through a type of reformation where some of the older traditions that are no longer thought to be relevant have gone by. Dietary laws are one of them. Most of the Jewish Scouts would fall into that category, otherwise they could never go camping. You cannot camp with Kosher food, it's impossible. The food has got to be fresh. Without refrigeration there's no way.*

However, some parents prefer their children to adhere to a strict diet, especially when they are camping at significant religious times throughout the year. Interviewee H asserts:

*There are some [parents and leaders] who genuinely try and we help them by carting their food around for them. At Easter there's a statewide event. This happens to be the Passover. The first and last two days of the eight-day Passover, you're supposed to go to Synagogue. Now you're not going to find a synagogue in the bush. Also, for eight days we're not supposed to eat bread. We overcome that by carrying boxes of unleavened bread around for the kids to make sure they can hike.*

Both interviewees are passionate and enthusiastic about the Scouting movement, and had positive experiences to share during the interviews. I also questioned the two leaders about racism, and whether they had experienced any during their involvement. Interviewee H replied immediately with 'nothing that hasn't happened in other areas of my life.' This statement simultaneously conveyed that he had experienced some racism during his Scouting involvement, but that racist tendencies in Scouting were not necessarily worse within Scouting than outside the movement. In other words, both of the Jewish interviewees included for this study had experienced some racism, or at least some cultural insensitivity during their involvement in Scouts, but also pointed out that this was not specific to Scouts and had also occurred in other areas of their lives.

Some of the difficulties that Interviewee H had encountered were with other Scout leaders misunderstanding Jewish customs and religious observance. For instance:

*In every Scout meeting there is a prayer at one stage or another, usually a posing parade. The call used to be 'hats off'. That's changed now, but some leaders will still say hats off...I remember going to a training camp and I put my hat on. One of the training leaders came along and said take your hat off. I said no, and we had a real argument until suddenly he realised I was the bloke who put in a form saying I didn't want bacon and eggs for breakfast...We've had Commissioners walking around taking hats off the kids heads for prayer because they don't think. Part of the Jewish tradition is that males must cover their heads. Females don't have to, but they may. Whether you use a little skull cap or a Scout hat, or Cub cap is not relevant, as long as our head is covered. Of course it's the exact opposite in the Christian religions where the hat comes off... These people think that they're assisting these little kids in their religious observance, like telling them to take their hats off whereas in fact they're doing the exact opposite.*

Interviewee H also recalls that on several occasions he has filled in a form prior to a Scouting event, and upon arrival 'found a nametag with my name spelt incorrectly'.

It is to avoid some of this misunderstanding or cultural ignorance that the group prefers to remain all-Jewish. Interviewee L explains:

*It's just religious. You won't have any problems with anti-religion and anti-Semitism. There's a lot of kids, especially who you meet every four years in the*

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*bush, they think Jews have little horns and tail...The main thing [concern] is with dietary [requirements] when we go away. You can't mix your meat with milk and everything. So we get all the Jewish kids together so there isn't a problem...It keeps their heritage and religious beliefs all together and going.*

Similarly, Interviewee H asserts:

*There are just less hassles. There are less kids getting black eyes because they're Jewish.*

In other words, for certain members of the Scouting community, there is still an expectation of racism and violence ('black eyes') within the mainstream troops. The choice to remain in 'culturally specific' Scouting groups, then, is not only to pass on culturally specific practices and traditions, but also to avoid potential bigotry that has been experienced in other areas of their lives.

## Scouts in Exile: Sydney's Polish and Ukranian communities

There are other ethnic-specific Scouting groups in Australia, which are based on a different model to that championed by Scouts Australia. According to the Scouts NSW Communications & Development Manager, there are various ethnic Scout groups in Australia known as 'Scouts in exile', which encompass Ukrainian, Polish, Lithuanian, Armenian and Russian groups. They are members of the world Scout organisation, but do not belong to Scouts Australia.

I corresponded with Interviewee R, who currently leads a Ukrainian Scout troop in Sydney. This was a particularly interesting case because I had not initially realised that some Scout groups in Sydney were not part of Scouts Australia. The Ukrainian group, known as PLAST, is based on the model of Scouting established by Baden-Powell, but the group prefers to remain separate from Scouts Australia in order to maintain specific Ukrainian practices which they feel will be best 'kept alive' if they are left to their own direction. Interviewee R states:

*It is similar to international scouting, but with an ethnic twist. The ideology behind PLAST was created by Dr. Oleksander Tysovsky in 1912 and the first troop was started by Petro Franko and Ivan Chmola. This occured in the city of Lviv in Ukraine. He based the ideals on that of Sir Baden Powell's 'Scouting for Boys'. Similar ideologies are represented in our organisation. Now the organisation has branches is many cities in Ukraine as well as in the diaspora: Australia, Canada, U.S.A., Germany, UK, France, Poland, Slovakia, Argentina.*

As interviewee R states, the Ukrainian group has essentially the same ideals as Scouts Australia, including:

*To help bring up Ukrainian youth through leadership and challenges and to instill a decent sense of values in that youth.*

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The Scout group meets on a regular basis, during which the participants learn about the organisation, their culture, leadership and the outdoors. They have excursions every couple of months and go camping each year. Both female and male youth are welcome to join PLAST, and, like Scouts Australia participants, are required to believe in God. They have a uniform, which is worn only at major gatherings or official functions, and all meetings are conducted in the Ukrainian language.

In a similar fashion, the Polish community in Sydney demonstrates a strong desire to adhere to traditional cultural values, and particularly to pass on the traditions, religion and language to their children.[33] This is facilitated through involvement in the Polish Scouts.

According to Danielle Drozdziewski, the Polish Scouts, known as Zwiazek Harcerstwa Polskiego (ZHP), were established in 1910 after Andrzej Malkowski translated Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*. During World War II, many Poles in exile formed Scout units, holding their first meetings in Sydney in 1951. The group helped to 'reunite members of the Polish community in the years immediately following their settlement in Australia', particularly as the group conducted meetings in Polish, celebrated 'Polish mass' and encouraged the formation of a shared identity in a new country.[34]

Drozdziewski asserts that to attain their 'environmental badge', the Polish Scouts must demonstrate knowledge of the aims of National Parks in both Poland and Australia.[35] Furthermore, she notes that at one of the Scouts' camping properties the Sydney Polish community has planted European fir trees to create a sense of 'home'.[36] Evidently, not all Scouts practicing in Australia identify completely as 'Australian' Scouts. Instead they maintain a 'dual identity', which enables the combination of two cultural practices and traditions to exist side-by-side.

## Different Flavours...

When this study into the Boy Scouts and Girls Guides first began, I was expecting to discover that the movement was, without exception, 'white' or 'Anglo-Australian'. However, I soon discovered that there are a variety of Scouting and Guiding groups in Sydney (and throughout Australia), including troops with mainly Anglo-Australian participants, troops with youth from a mixture of ethnic backgrounds, troops that are 'culturally specific', and troops that remain unassociated with the official Scouts Australia bureaucracy.

Baden-Powell's original model, which stipulated that Scouts and Guides would be open to all young people regardless of their 'country, class or creed', aimed to create a

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[33] Drozdzewski, Danielle, 'Discourses of Cultural Identity and Landscape in the Polish Community in Sydney', Honours Thesis, Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2002

[34] *ibid* pp.96-98

[35] *ibid* p.104

[36] *ibid* pp.91-92

worldwide brotherhood and sisterhood. Young people from a variety of cultures would be encouraged to mix, work together and learn from one another, especially during international events.

Based on the experiences of the interviewees, this 'mixing with other cultures' was certainly not a major part of their involvement. In fact, all interview participants strongly indicated that their experiences in the Scouts and Guides had been within predominantly Anglo-Australian troops. Therefore, it seems that the ethnic diversity that is currently seeping into the movement is a relatively recent phenomenon. While there are a number of troops which demonstrate ethnic diversity, it is important to stress that Scouts NSW estimates that only 14% of its members are from non-Anglo-Australian 'ethnic' communities in New South Wales. Neither the Scouts or Guides associations keep statistics on the ethnic composition of their youth members, which means that the proportion of diversity in the movement is based on 'impressions' rather than solid data.

It is also difficult to determine how much further this 'increase in diversity' will continue. Bureaucrats from both organisations pointed out that involving non-Anglo Australian communities has been a slow process, and even after several years is acknowledged to have a long way to go. While both organisations continue to support the 'international' dimension of the movement, including involvement in volunteer programs and fundraising for developing countries, they are still struggling to accommodate multiculturalism within Australian society.[37]

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[37] For example, Scouts Australia has recently been involved in a 'Nature Project' with Nepalese Scouts for reforestation. Australian Scouts also participated in the 'Bangladesh-Australia Child Health Project' from 1986-1992. See Scouts Australia http://www.scoutsaustralia.com.au (8 November 2002)

# CONCLUSION

After meeting and spending time with twenty-two individual interviewees, I would like in these concluding comments to do justice to their experiences by conveying a strong sense of the overriding messages communicated during the interview process. Most participants were remarkably articulate and had much to say about their childhood, teenage, or adult experiences in the movement. Although they only represent a small proportion of the entire Scouting and Guiding population, they nevertheless provided copious and complex material to consider.

Without the participation of so many individual members, the movement would not have survived. The personal stories of these people are undeniably varied, numerous and complex. They are 'messy', sometimes corresponding closely with the 'original theories and ideologies', but often diverging from them. Personal experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides allow the 'shades of grey' to emerge, and can often challenge the neater narratives that arise when one solely examines the objectives and ideologies behind the movement. Given the sheer number of participants who have passed through the movement, the Scouting and Guiding experiences of individual members should not be lightly dismissed as irrelevant or too varied to have any significant meaning. For some young people it was the major social/educational forum outside school or religious systems. As noted in the introductory section, my grandmother's life was profoundly shaped by her experiences as a Girl Guide. In fact, a *Wyalong Advocate* reports in 1947 that the local Girl Guides formed a 'Guard of Honour' at her wedding.[1]

The impact of Scouting and Guiding on those who took part in the movement has been largely neglected by many of the scholars who have studied the movement. Rosenthal, in particular, is dismissive of the significance of former Boy Scouts' and Girl Guides' personal stories. His primary interest admittedly is in 'the origins and initial developments of Scouting' and the 'theory and ideology behind the movement';[2] but he states explicitly that:

> Scouts had good and bad experiences, formative ones and otherwise, for a multitude of reasons, none of which necessarily bears on the issue of what Scouting intended to achieve or what values it expressed.[3]

According to Rosenthal, the personal accounts of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides tell us little 'about the institution Baden-Powell established to catch and train the rising generation of youth'.[4] Notwithstanding Rosenthal's central focus on discovering the central 'theory and ideology' underpinning the movement, I disagree with his position on the lack of significance of personal stories on many grounds.

During the past few decades, Rosenthal and other scholars have devoted their attention to Baden-Powell's original objectives and attitudes. This work has been immensely useful, and has provided a solid foundation for this thesis to head in a new direction, placing greater emphasis on the perspectives of participants. It is true that to understand the

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[1] *Wyalong Advocate*, 29 May 1947
[2] *op cit* pp.13-14
[3] *ibid* p.14
[4] *ibid*

movement, it was important to 'start by considering the nature of the Chief Scout himself', but it has become necessary to move beyond this approach. Indeed, many scholars have identified the limited amount of qualitative research into youth impressions and attitudes, and the importance of this work in creating a more thorough understanding of Scouting and Guiding.[5] Moreover, to assess the extent to which the original objectives of the movement were successful it is crucial to consult those upon whom methods of obtaining these objectives were tested. While oral history has its drawbacks, it nevertheless plays a very useful role in accessing the perspectives and attitudes of past and current participants in the movement.

Based on the views of interview participants, Scouting and Guiding appears to have had a substantial impact on its members. The combination of three main factors have reinforced one another to create an influential environment, including the ritualistic, repetitive nature of the program, the young (and impressionable) age range of participants, and the relatively long-term nature of the program. Regardless of their age, most interviewees could still recite (parts of) the Promise or Law that they had learned during their involvement, while others met me with a left-hand handshake, again something they had picked up from the movement. As Baden-Powell once explained, 'we are not content to preach to them moral precepts, we give them things actually to perform'.[6] Interviewee C confirms this perspective, asserting:

> *The Law and Promise were quite prevalent in our minds because you repeat them every week. You knew them inside out and back to front. It's a bit like the Lord's Prayer and things like that. It was instilled from such a young age.*

Furthermore, in contrast to programs like Outward Bound the Scouting and Guiding schemes are long-term. Roberts *et al* conclude that 'character-training schemes do not dramatically transform young people's lives within the space of a few weeks'.[7] While not all participants remained in the Scouting and Guiding movement through all possible stages, it is nevertheless structured as a long-term scheme. Roberts' study of short-term character-training schemes mainly focused on companies sending young staff to courses to make them 'better employees'. They note that courses' effects may vary depending on 'the environments to which trainees subsequently return'.[8] This is an important point, because although their trainees typically returned (after a few weeks) to their professions, many of the Scouting and Guiding experiences are shaped within a context of family tradition. The Scouts NSW Communications and Development Manager confirms that the majority (she estimates around 80%) of current participants have at least one parent who has previously been involved in the movement. When asked why he encouraged his children to join the movement, Interviewee Q states:

[5] Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society*, *op cit* p.11; Summers, 'Scouts, Guides and VADs', *op cit* p.947; Mechling, *op cit* p. xviii; Macleod *op cit* p.xiii

[6] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Scouting. Aims and Ideals', 5 January 1935
[7] *op cit* p.162
[8] *ibid* p.149

*I suppose just selfishly [I was] hoping that Scouting would give me something in common [with my children] or engage them in activities that I could understand and relate to.*

This combination of the private, familial circle, and parental expectation may well elevate the impact of the movement on participants. For some people, Scouting and Guiding has become an important part of their identity, providing a sense of belonging to an imagined and real community even long after the cessation of direct involvement. In comparison to other character-building programs, like Outward Bound, where the short-term nature of the schemes did not tend to have a strong or lasting impact, this is a significant finding.

Some aspects of the Scout and Guide organisations still conform to the original model established by Baden-Powell. The Australian Scouts and Guides associations aim to produce 'good citizens' through their schemes. The position of religious doctrine in the movement remains relatively subdued, and the more problematic practice (at least by some troops) of emulating indigenous peoples, or 'wild natives' has endured. Both Scouting and Guiding continue to follow a scheme shaped by outdoor, physical activities, and this arguably remains the most popular element, across both genders and generations. Based on the interview data, it also appears that many girls still want to be Boy Scouts, just as they did in 1909 when they attended the Crystal Palace rally. The only difference is that now the girls can actually become Scouts, rather than being confined only to the Girl Guide movement.

However, diverging from the original objectives outlined by Baden-Powell, the Australian movement has attracted predominantly 'white', middle-class participants. The interviewees demonstrate that the Scouts and Guides did not necessarily turn out a series of 'good, upright young citizens' but included young people who set fire to the bush, took illicit substances, and used their meeting times to visit red-light districts. Baden-Powell's intentions for a 'pluralistic' movement have perhaps been realised more in terms of the variety of 'characters' involved in the movement, rather than their racial or class background.

In conclusion, the lived experiences of young men and women in the movement do not correspond very closely with Baden-Powell's original objectives. Nevertheless, participants overall have been significantly influenced by their involvement in way that most appreciate and value, and Scouting and Guiding has played a memorable role in their lives, regardless of whether they enjoyed or strongly disliked the movement.

# APPENDICES

## Standard Question List

1. When did you join Scouts/Guides?
2. For how long were you involved?
3. Why did you join?
4. Have any other family members participated in the movement?
5. What other activities did you do as a child?
6. What did you like most about Scouts/Guides?
7. What did you like least?
8. Can you tell me the type of activities you did during your involvement?
9. How closely/rigidly did you follow the rules/policies outlined in the official guidelines?
10. How many people were in your local Scouts/Guide group?
11. How diverse was the group, in regards to:
    - i) ethnicity;
    - ii) socioeconomic class;
    - iii) gender;
    - iv) sexuality.
12. Did you perceive the movement to be inclusive or exclusive?
13. Do you think Scouts/Guides conveyed religious values?
14. Do you think that Scouts/Guides equipped you with ideas/practices that are relevant to you today?
15. How do you think the movement is generally perceived today?
16. Will you/did you encourage your children to join Scouts/Guides?
17. What is the difference between Scouts and Guides? Were you conscious of being part of the same movement or did you see them as separate enterprises?
18. What are your thoughts about mixed gender Scouting?
19. Did you see the movement as militaristic?
20. Any further questions or comments?

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[1] The questions in this appendix provided a basic structure for the oral history interviews. However, some of these questions were omitted and new ones added depending on the available time of participants, the manner in which each individual interview progressed, and depending on whom was being interviewed (for example, an "ordinary" participant or a Scout/Guide bureaucrat).

## Questions for the former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia

1. Can you tell me about your role at Scouts Australia, such as when you became involved and what kinds of things you do?
2. Who are the decision-making bodies in the organisation? (Bottom-up or top-down decision making?)
3. How are decision-making committees formed?
4. To whom are you accountable?
5. What is unique about Scouting in Australia, and in what ways is it similar to Scouting in other countries?
6. What changes have been made by Scouts Australia to accommodate different racial and religious backgrounds?
7. How do you think the organisation is generally perceived today?
8. Contemporary relevance of Scouting?
9. Who do you perceive to be Scouts Australia's main competitor(s) for youth members?
10. Membership numbers in Australia today, compared to membership numbers in earlier decades?
11. What approach has Scouts Australia taken to increase youth membership?
12. What are the main sources of income for Scouts Australia?
13. Does Scouts Australia have any financial sponsors?
14. What is the Scouts Australia policy on sexuality?

## Questions for Guides New South Wales Business Manager

1. Can you tell me about your role at Guides Australia, such as when you became involved and what kinds of things you do?
2. Membership numbers in Australia today, compared to membership numbers in earlier decades?
3. What approach has Guides NSW taken to increase youth membership?
4. Who do you see as the main competitor(s) for recruitment of girls into the movement?
5. Who are the decision-making bodies in the organisation?
6. How are the decision-making committees formed?
7. What is the main source of income for Guides NSW?
8. Does Guides NSW have any financial sponsors?
9. How do you think the organisation is generally perceived today?
10. How is it perceived by non-Anglos?
11. Contemporary relevance of Guiding?

## Questions for Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer

1. Can you tell me about your role at Scouts Australia, such as when you became involved and what kinds of things you do?
2. When did the organisation first try to increase its "non-Anglo" membership in Australia?
3. How have you approached this?
4. Why have you taken the approach of integrating the girls rather than having culturally specific groups like the Scouts?
5. What kind of response have you had from the "non-Anglo" communities?
6. What changes have been made by Guides NSW to accommodate different racial and religious backgrounds?
7. Have any difficulties/conflicts arisen based on ethnic or religious grounds? How are they handled?
8. Who are the decision-making bodies in the organisation? How are they formed?
9. Proportion of ethnic membership in Guides NSW? What exact 'ethnicities' are involved?
10. Indigenous membership figures?
11. How do you think Guides is generally perceived today?
12. How do you think Guides is perceived by "non-Anglos"?
13. Contemporary relevance of Guides?
14. Who do you see as your main competitor(s) for recruitment of girls into the movement?

## Questions for Scouts NSW Communications Manager

1. Your role?
2. Ethnicity - history of involvement in Scouts NSW and current approach?
3. Indigenous membership figures?
4. Culturally specific groups - what are they and why does Scouts NSW have them?
5. Membership numbers of non-Anglo participants?
6. How has Scouting in Australia changed to accommodate different religious and cultural backgrounds?
7. What perceptions do "non-Anglo" communities have of Scouts?

## Table 1: For how long were you involved in Scouts/Guides?

| | Total Years | Age range |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | 11 | Youth member and adult leader |
| IVF (1930s) | 5 | 11-16 |
| IVB (1940s) | 37 | 11-14 Girl Guide; 34 years in Adult Leadership positions with Scouts org. |
| IVP (1950s) | 8 | 8-16 |
| IVC (1960s) | 23 | 7-30 |
| IVD (1980s) | 2 | 7-9 |
| IVI (1980s) | 10 | 8-18 |
| IVG (1980s) | 16 | 7-23 |
| Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer | 15 | 7-15 Girl Guide; Parents Support Group 3 years; Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer 4 years. |
| Guides NSW Business Manager | 49.5 | 10 years youth member; Adult member 39.5 years. |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | 26 | Youth member 11 years, Adult leader 9 years, Scout Fellowship 6 years. |
| IVM (1940s) | | |
| IVA (1960s) | 7 | 7-14 |
| IVK (1960s) | 13 | 12-23 |
| IVO (1960s) | 16 | 8-24 |
| IVQ (1960s) | 13 | 10-18 (youth member); Adult member 5 years. |
| IVE (1980s) | 16 | 8-24 |
| IVH (Current) | 19 | Adulthood only |
| IVL (Current) | 19 | Youth member 3 years; Adult member 16 years |
| Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia | 25 | Adulthood only |

* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Table 2: Highest position attained whilst involved in Scouts/Guides.

| | Position |
|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | |
| IVX (1930s) | Captain of her Guide company |
| IVF (1930s) | Guides youth member |
| IVB (1940s) | Cub Scout Leader; Treasurer of Scout Fellowship |
| IVP (1950s) | Queens Guide Award |
| IVC (1960s) | Queens Guide Award |
| IVD (1980s) | Brownies youth member |
| IVI (1980s) | Queen Scout Award |
| IVG (1980s) | Queen Scout Award, Rovers youth member |
| **Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer** | Multicultural Liaison Officer Guides NSW |
| **Guides NSW Business Manager** | Business Manger, Guides NSW |
| **Male Interviewees** | |
| IVJ (1930s) | Assistant Venturer Leader; Scout Fellowship adult member |
| IVM (1940s) | National Adult Training Commissioner |
| IVA (1960s) | Scouts youth member |
| IVK (1960s) | Rovers youth member |
| IVO (1960s) | Queen Scout Award; Scout Leader |
| IVQ (1960s) | Queen Scout Award; District Representative of Parents Committee |
| IVE (1980s) | Queen Scout Award; Rovers youth member |
| IVH (Current) | Commissioner, Regional Level |
| **Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia** | Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia (until end of 2002) |
| IVL (Current) | Scout Leader |
| IVR (Current) | Adult Leader of PLAST (Ukranian Scouts) |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Table 3: Have any other family members participated in Scouts or Guides?

| | Parents In | Parents Not | Children In | Children Not |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | | | |
| IVX (1930s) | | * | * | |
| IVF (1930s) | | * | * | |
| IVB (1940s) | | * | * | |
| IVP (1950s) | | * | | * |
| IVC (1960s) | | * | * | |
| IVD (1980s) | * | | | Has no children |
| IVI (1980s) | * | | | Has no children |
| IVG (1980s) | * | | | Has no children |
| Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer | | * | * | |
| **Male Interviewees** | | | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | | * | * | |
| IVM (1940s) | | * | * | |
| IVA (1960s) | * | | Briefly | Son left. Wife was worried about pedophilia |
| IVK (1960s) | | * | * | |
| IVO (1960s) | * | | | * |
| IVQ (1960s) | | * | Briefly | |
| IVE (1980s) | * | | | Has no children |
| IVH (Current) | | * | * | |
| Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia | | * | * | |
| IVL (Current) | | * | * | |

* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

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**Table 4: What did you like the most during your involvement in Scouts/Guides?**

| | Outdoor Activities | Other |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | Hikes, camps, bush | |
| IVF (1930s) | | Activities and creating things |
| IVB (1940s) | | The people I met |
| IVP (1950s) | Bush | Games, physical challenges, awards |
| IVC (1960s) | Camping | Friends I made |
| IVD (1980s) | | Craft activities |
| IVI (1980s) | Outdoors/adventure | Achievement from badges |
| IVG (1980s) | Bush/camping | Activities |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | Bush/adventure | |
| IVM (1940s) | Outdoors | |
| IVA (1960s) | Bush/camping | Playing games, making things, friends I made |
| IVK (1960s) | Going away camping | Activities, friends I made |
| IVO (1960s) | Outdoors | Achievement from badges/tasks |
| IVQ (1960s) | Outdoors/camping | Friends I made |
| IVE (1980s) | Outdoors | Activities and friends I made |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

**Table 5: How closely/rigidly did you follow the rules outlined in the official guidelines?**

| | Closely | Not very closely |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | Very closely. Very much by the book. | |
| IVF (1930s) | Very closely | |
| IVB (1940s) | Followed in terms of principles, uniform, badges, committees | Rules "didn't worry us a great deal." |
| IVP (1950s) | Followed in terms of laws, rituals | |
| IVC (1960s) | Closely | |
| IVI (1980s) | Followed in terms of paperwork, badges | Other units drank alcohol at meetings |
| IVG (1980s) | Closely | More flexible in older-age troops |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | Scouts became more rigid over duration of involvement. Rules became more closely followed | |
| IVM (1940s) | Mentions Scouts taught "obedience" and importance of following rules | |
| IVA (1960s) | Followed closely | Threw fire crackers out of train window en route to camp |
| IVK (1960s) | Very strong boundaries | Recalls some "mischief" |
| IVO (1960s) | As an adult leader followed rules very closely | When in Venturers the teenagers managed their own group. Went to Kings Cross. Were ceremonial when they had to be. |
| IVQ (1960s) | Followed in terms of badge system and weekly meeting structure | Leaders have flexible administration of program. |
| IVE (1980s) | Followed excessively (too legalistic) | |
| IVH (Current) | Closely followed | But quite flexible |
| IVL (Current) | Closely followed in terms of child protection | Set fire to bush near Scout Hall as a Cub in 1960s |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Table 6: How ethnically diverse was your local Scout/Guide group?

| | Diverse | Not Diverse |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | | Ethnicity 'didn't exist'. It was all white Anglo-Saxon |
| IVF (1930s) | | White-Anglo town |
| IVB (1940s) | | All very much alike, Anglo |
| IVP (1950s) | | Menzies Australians, white girls |
| IVC (1960s) | | White Anglo-Saxon mainly |
| IVD (1980s) | | All Anglo-Saxon females |
| IVI (1980s) | | Very Anglo-Saxon suburb |
| IVG (1980s) | | White Anglo-Saxon |
| Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer | Some diversity | Trying to break down Anglo, Christian image & get more diversity |
| Guides NSW Business Manager | | Difficulty penetrating the multicultural communities. Essentially an English-speaking org. and always will be |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | | All Anglo-Saxon |
| IVM (1940s) | | Scouts a "brotherhood" but not many new Australians around when I was a Cub |
| IVA (1960s) | | Mostly white Anglo-Saxon, WASPs |
| IVK (1960s) | | Just white boys |
| IVO (1960s) | | Anglo-Australian suburb |
| IVQ (1960s) | | Anglo |
| IVE (1980s) | | Anglo-Australian. No ethnic mix at all |
| IVH (Current) | Five Judean groups in Australia | Have never successfully formed Koori Scout group in Sydney |
| Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia | Some diversity | Trying to encourage more. Have historically portrayed Anglo-Saxon image |
| IVL (Current) | Jewish, Vietnamese, Buddhist, Armenian Scout groups. A "brotherhood" | |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

**Table 7: How diverse was your local Scout/Guide group in terms of socioeconomic class?**

| | Middle-class | Mixture of classes |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | | A mix of "well educated" and "not so educated girls". But Guides all tended to come from similar backgrounds. |
| IVF (1930s) | | Mix. "Equal." Stockings given to girls who couldn't afford them. |
| IVB (1940s) | Yes | |
| IVP (1950s) | Yes | But some exceptions. |
| IVC (1960s) | Yes | But as a child "idealstically" thought it was more mixed. |
| IVD (1980s) | Yes | |
| IVI (1980s) | Yes | Perhaps "a couple of exceptions." |
| IVG (1980s) | Yes | |
| Guides NSW Business Manager | Yes. "Origins in the well-to-do lady type". Gentile part of society. | But "shifting out of that to a large extent." |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | | Working class. Not sure. Mix. Equal. Refers to Scout Law - accept all regardless of class, creed etc. "The subject never came up." |
| IVM (1940s) | Yes | |
| IVA (1960s) | Yes | |
| IVK (1960s) | | Working class. No sense of class distinctions. |
| IVO (1960s) | "Affluent" suburb. | A few exceptions. "Didn't cost much to be in Scouts." |
| IVQ (1960s) | | Equal. "Melting pot of different socioeconomic groups." |
| IVE (1980s) | Yes | |
| IVH (Current) | Yes | |

* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

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## Table 8: Do you think Scouts/Guides conveyed religious values?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | Guide Prayer recited every meeting. | |
| IVF (1930s) | Honour and obey at all times | |
| IVB (1940s) | Predominantly Christian. Prayer. Strong religious flavour. Cubs met in Church hall. | |
| IVP (1950s) | Prayers and grace before meals. | |
| IVC (1960s) | Embodies small "c" Christian values. Swear allegiance to God. | |
| IVI (1980s) | Prayer. Promise to serve God. Started with Christian ethos. Much more Christian in Brownies & Guides than Scouts. | Superficial. Now a secular organisation. |
| IVG (1980s) | Prayer. Principles based on Christian faith. | People in movement don't take it seriously. |
| Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer | Faith based. | Not Christian. Trying to break down that image. |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (19300s) | Had religious values. Church services attended. | Never encouraged it when I was a leader. Atheist. |
| IVM (1940s) | Hall on church grounds. Church parade monthly. Promise duty to God. | Relationship with church not very strong. |
| IVA (1960s) | God Save the Queen. Respect for authority. | Not overtly religious. |
| IVK (1960s) | Promise/Oaths were moral. | Materialistically focused. Not even subtle influences. About activities and fun. |
| IVO (1960s) | Duty to God. | Not strongly. Generalised. |
| IVQ (1960s) | Prayer, theism & monotheism. | Not strongly. "Lip service" to religion. |
| IVE (1980s) | Prayer. Church of England history, Christian origins. | Superficial, especially from Christian perspective. |
| IVH (Current) | Promise to do best to God. | |
| Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia | Spiritual dimension a fundamental part of Scouts. Must believe in a God. | |
| IVL (Current) | Must believe in God. Prayer. | |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

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**Table 9: Do you think Scouts/Guides equipped you with ideas or practices that are relevant today?**

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | Especially Child Nurse badge & Home Nurse badge 'invaluable for a woman running a home' | |
| IVF (1930s) | "Doing the right thing." | |
| IVC (1960s) | Being prepared. Confident to try different tasks. Love of outdoors. | |
| IVI (1980s) | Self-confidence to try new things. Map-reading. | "I forget specifics" especially ideology and history |
| IVG (1980s) | Leadership, organisational skills, commitment. | |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | Scout Laws. Honesty. Still plan outdoor adventures. | |
| IVM (1940s) | Scout Oath, moral message in Jungle Book still relevant for young people. | |
| IVA (1960s) | Some things. Being prepared. Camping skills & low of outdoors. | |
| IVK (1960s) | Principles still as valid today as when BP set it up. | |
| IVO (1960s) | Tie knots, mapping, outdoor skills, Scout Laws. | |
| IVQ (1960s) | Map reading. Love of outdoors. Leadership, cooperation, self-reliance. | |
| IVE (1980s) | Still do abseiling, bushwalking & bush skills. Leadership. | |
| IVL (Current) | "Once a Queen Scout, always a Queen Scout." | |

* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Table 10: Were you in Guides, Scouts, or both organisations?

| | Guides | Scouts |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | * | |
| IVF (1930s) | * | |
| IVB (1940s) | * Guides in early teens | * Cub Scout Leader in adulthood |
| IVP (1950s) | * | |
| IVC (1960s) | * | |
| IVD (1980s) | * | |
| IVI (1980s) | * Brownies, Guides | * Venturers mid-teens |
| IVG (1980s) | * Brownies, Guides | * Venturers mid-teens, Rovers 18-23 |
| **Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison Officer** | * | |
| **Guides NSW Business Manager** | * | |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | | * |
| IVM (1940s) | | * |
| IVA (1960s) | | * |
| IVK (1960s) | | * |
| IVO (1960s) | | * |
| IVQ (1960s) | | * |
| IVE (1980s) | | * |
| IVH (Current) | | * |
| **Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia** | | * |
| IVL (Current) | | * |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

**Table 11: Were you conscious of being part of the same movement, or did you perceive Scouts and Guides as separate enterprises?**

| | Same movement | Separate |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | Lots of similar activities like trekking & bushcraft | Girls did more homemaker type activities |
| IVF (1930s) | Activities were similar | Separate activities except Church parades & ANZAC marching. Scouts did more camping. |
| IVB (1940s) | | Guides were a bit "dead" |
| IVP (1950s) | | Took very little notice of Scouts. No joint activities. |
| IVC (1960s) | Same philosophy. All sprang from the one grain. | |
| IVD (1980s) | | Boys out canoeing, girls inside learning to cook and fold clothes. |
| IVI (1980s) | | Scouts mock Guides. |
| IVG (1980s) | Do many similar activities | Scouts more adventurous, physical activities. |
| **Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison** | Same philosophy. Work together when necessary. | Very separate orgs. Scouts target our members. |
| **Guides NSW Business Manager** | Both focus on development of children, leadership skills. Have the "same root." | Separate organisations. Compete for members. Different content. Scouts more adventurous. |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | | Absolutely separate. Guides had no bush skills. |
| IVM (1940s) | Same roots. | Kept quite separate. Guides less bush experience. Scouts more adventurous. |
| IVA (1960s) | | No joint activities. |
| IVK (1960s) | | Different uniforms. Guides never had "anything to do with us." |
| IVO (1960s) | Branches of same movement. | Guides not allowed to do some things/Scouts more adventurous |
| IVQ (1960s) | | No joint activities. "Guides never seemed prominent." |
| IVE (1980s) | | "Guides wouldn't have a bar of Scouts and the blokes". Scouts more adventurous. |
| **Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia** | | Separate orgs. Work independently of each other. Some tension between them at times. |
| IVL (Current) | Exactly the same idea - achievement & badges | Scouts more adventurous. |

* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Table 12: What do you think of mixed gender Scout troops?

| | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| **IVX (1930s)** | A mistake that girls now permitted to join Scouts. Diff. Physical strengths. | |
| **IVF (1930s)** | Similar to school, home & wider society | |
| **IVB (1940s)** | | Boys not as responsible when girls involved. Concerned about girls "taking over." Boys don't benefit. |
| **IVC (1960s)** | | Girls miss out on doing things they really enjoy like craft. Instead do "rough and tumble" with boys. No real need for combined groups. |
| **IVI (1980s)** | Genders not separate in other areas of life. "preferred combined Scouting." | |
| **IVG (1980)** | Learn to relate to opposite sex. If she has children will put them in Scouts, not Guides. | |
| **Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison** | | No separate outlet for boys and girls. Has decreased Guide membership. |
| **Guides NSW Business Manager** | | Boys have less chance for leadership. Has made relationship between Guides & Scouts organisations strained. |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| **IVJ (1930s)** | | Girls get pregnant. Girls and boys mature at different rates. |
| **IVM (1940s)** | Scouts has always relied heavily on women Leaders, esp. in Cub Scout section | Not as good for younger kids, but ok for older. |
| **IVA (1960s)** | Gender segregation has died. | More problematic as kids get older. |
| **IVK (1960s)** | Positive thing. More representative of what happens in the real world. | |
| **IVO (1960s)** | Good for girls to have both options. Might reduce pedophilia element. Reflects Western society generally. | |
| **IVQ (1960s)** | Convenient for parents. Opportunity to socialise with opposite sex. | Parents worry about daughter alone in bush with males. Practical difficulties to overcome. |
| **IVE (1980s)** | Socialisation for older age group. | Problematic for teenagers - sexual relations. Hard to create activities that suit both younger boys and girls. |
| **IVH (Current)** | Fantastic. Has kept Scouting alive. Gives girls chance for adventure. | |
| **IVL (Current)** | Family-oriented. Socialise with opposite sex. Gives girls chance for adventure. | Can be difficult to get female leader. |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Table 13: Did interviewees raise the issue of pedophilia?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | | * |
| IVF (1930s) | | * |
| IVB (1940s) | | * |
| IVP (1950s) | | * |
| IVC (1960s) | One incident of a mother concerned about her daughter spending night with Guide leaders. | |
| IVI (1980s) | | * |
| IVG (1980) | | * |
| Guides NSW Multicultural Liaison | | * |
| Guides NSW Business Manager | | * |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | Pedophiles a real problem. Can't have leader alone with kids. | |
| IVM (1940s) | Scouts check police records of adult leaders. Can't pick up kids in car nowadays. | |
| IVA (1960s) | An "issue" for a lot of parents. Son removed due to concerns of wife. | |
| IVK (1960s) | Has given Scouts bad reputation. Stigma. | |
| IVO (1960s) | Became leader of a Scout troop whose previous leader had been a pedophile. | |
| IVQ (1960s) | Thinks there "must've been some pedophiles in Scouting" but not something he recalls feeling fearful about. | |
| IVE (1980s) | A concern for parents. | |
| IVH (Current) | Bad press, financial liabilities. One ex-leader now in gaol. Movement much stricter now re child protection. | |
| IVL (Current) | Can't put arm around boys to comfort them due to Scout regulations. "Lose a lot of leaders because they are scared." | |
| Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia | Strict measures to deal with sexual abuse. | |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Table 14: Did you perceive Scouts/Guides to be militaristic?

| | No | Yes |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVX (1930s) | No | Probably was, afterall B-P was a soldier. Drill was very popular. |
| IVF (1930s) | No | More disciplined than YWCA. Hated cleaning shoes. |
| IVB (1940s) | No | Only the uniform. "Some people saw it as militaristic". Organised in patrols. BP military background. "I suppose in a way it was". |
| IVP (1950s) | Not good at marching | Top down discipline, laws, commands issued by whistle |
| IVC (1960s) | No | Recognises BP's military background; hierarchy. |
| IVI (1980s) | No | Only the uniform & ANZAC day march. |
| IVD (1980s) | | Uniform/underwear checks. |
| IVG (1980s) | No. Can't march. | |
| Guides NSW Business Manager | "No real affinity with the military", unlike other countries. | |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVJ (1930s) | No. I'm not a solider. | |
| IVM (1940s) | No | Grandfather thought it was connected to army. Scouts made "good soldiers." |
| IVA (1960s) | No. Much less hierarchy than the army. | BP military background. Uniform. |
| IVK (1960s) | No | Only "regimentation about the uniform." "Doctrination stuff". Ritualistic. |
| IVO (1960s) | | Yes. He left when he became anti-Vietnam war. Mentions it was paramilitary and sometimes run rigidly. "It's a classic hierarchy". |
| IVQ (1960s) | | Yes. Uniforms and patrol organisation. BP military background. |
| IVE (1980s) | No | Only the uniform and BP's background. |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Table 15: Interviewee statements about the Scout/Guide uniform.

| | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|---|---|---|
| **Female Interviewees** | | |
| IVF (1930s) | Proud to wear it. | |
| IVB (1940s) | Proud to wear it. Teaches discipline. | Bloomers & dress length checked. Became expensive. |
| IVC (1960s) | Common purpose. Discipline. | Militaristic. |
| IVD (1980s) | | Had to wear brown undies. Ridiculous. |
| IVI (1980s) | | Militaristic. "Daggy." |
| IVG (1980s) | Belonging. Pride. Badges showed achievement. | Seen by some youth as "like school." |
| **Guides NSW Business Manager** | "Very laid back" so it is not perceived as too militaristic. | |
| **Male Interviewees** | | |
| IVM (1940s) | | Expensive. Grandfather saw Scouts as army. |
| IVA (1960s) | Belonging, discipline. | Daggy; old-fashioned. |
| IVK (1960s) | Belonging, identity | Regimentation, militaristic |
| IVO (1960s) | | Disconnected from general population. Big deal for young. |
| IVQ (1960s) | Equality. | Military association. |
| IVE (1980s) | Discipline. | Expensive |
| IVH (Current) | Uniforms a middle-class concept. Egalitarian, look the same | Expensive |
| **Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts Australia** | Flexible. | Can be seen as conservative and traditional. |

\* The bracketed decades indicate the approximate time during which each interviewee joined the movement, while the word "current" indicates that the interviewee was still involved in Scouts or Guides at the time of the interview.

## Current Law and Promise[2]

| The Scout Law | The Guide Law |
|---|---|
| A Scout is trustworthy<br>A Scout is loyal<br>A Scout is helpful<br>A Scout is friendly<br>A Scout is cheerful<br>A Scout is considerate<br>A Scout is thrifty<br>A Scout is courageous<br>A Scout is respectful<br>A Scout cares for the environment | A Guide is loyal and can be trusted<br>A Guide is helpful<br>A Guide is polite and considerate<br>A Guide is friendly and a sister to all Guides<br>A Guide is kind to animals and respects all living things.<br>A Guide is obedient.<br>A Guide has courage and is cheerful in all difficulties.<br>A Guide makes good use of her time.<br>A Guide takes care of her own possessions and those of other people.<br>A Guide is self-controlled in all she thinks, says and does. |

| The Scout Promise (Version 1) | The Scout Promise (Version 2) | The Guide Promise |
|---|---|---|
| On my honour<br>I promise that I will do my best<br>To do my duty to my God, and<br>To the Queen of Australia<br>To help other people, and<br>To live by the Scout Law | On my honour<br>I promise that I will do my best<br>To do my duty to my God, and<br>To Australia<br>To help other people, and<br>To live by the Scout Law | I promise that I will do my best:<br>To do my duty to God<br>To serve the Queen and my country<br>To help other people and<br>To keep the Guide Law. |

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[2] Scouts Australia, http://www.scouts.com.au and Guides Australia http://www.guidesaus.org.au

# Original Law and Promise[3]

| The Scout Law | The Guide Law |
|---|---|
| A Scout's honour is to be trusted<br>A Scout is loyal to the King and to his officers, and to his country, and to his employers<br>A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others<br>A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what social class the other belongs<br>A Scout is courteous<br>A Scout is a friend to animals<br>A Scout obeys orders of his patrol leader or scout master without question<br>A Scout smiles and whistles under all circumstances<br>A Scout is thrifty | A Guide's honour is to be trusted<br>A Guide is loyal<br>A Guide's duty is to be useful and to help others<br>A Guide is a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide<br>A Guide is courteous<br>A Guide is a friend to all animals<br>A Guide obeys orders<br>A Guide smiles and sings under all difficulties<br>A Guide is thrifty<br>A Guide is pure in thought, in word, and in deed |

| The Scout Promise | The Guide Promise |
|---|---|
| On my honour I promise that<br>I will do my duty to God and the King;<br>I will do my best to help others whatever it may cost me;<br>I know the Scout Law and will obey it. | On my honour, I promise that I will do my best:<br>To do my duty to God and the King; or<br>God and my country;<br>To help other people at all times;<br>To obey the Guide Law. |

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[3] World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGS), http://www.wagggsworld.org

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