Tourists, tour guides and true stories: Aboriginal cultural tourism in the Top End

When you go everywhere you can see a lot of European guides. This is a place that you can come and learn true story from a lot of Aboriginal people like myself. You learn history, bush tucker, stories. Other place you might see painting but it’s not true... (Manuel Pamkal, Manyallaluk guide).

Manyallaluk postcard showing guide, Anna Bolgi, teaching a tourist to weave (photo. Barry Skipsey)

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I declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Northern Territory University, is original and the result of my own investigations. All references to the ideas and work of others have been specifically acknowledged. I certify that the work has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education.

Merridy Pitcher
November 1999
Abstract

This thesis is a descriptive and critical anthropological study of the marketing, production and consumption of Aboriginal cultural tourism at Manyallaluk, an Aboriginal owned and operated enterprise in the ‘Top End’ of the Northern Territory. Aboriginal cultural tours are participatory, and provide tourists with an opportunity to collect and taste bush foods and medicines, visit sites of significance, try arts, crafts and ‘traditional’ skills and listen to Dreamtime stories. The thesis argues that Aboriginal cultural tours are knowledge-based products and discusses the important communicative role of the guides in the representation and interpretation of Aboriginal culture and country. It describes how the knowledge the guides convey is localised and personalised and contrasts with the homogenised representations of Aboriginality found in many touristic and non touristic texts.

In the thesis I describe the socio-demographic and travel characteristics of the tourists who visit Manyallaluk. I describe the tourists’ interests and activities while in the Darwin/Katherine region, their sources of information about Manyallaluk and their interest in and knowledge of Aboriginal culture prior to their visit to Manyallaluk. I draw attention to the diversity of tourists who visit Manyallaluk and correspondingly, to their diverse perceptions of their tour experience. The thesis also assesses tourist satisfaction with their Aboriginal cultural tour experience and recommends ways of better matching product to demand.

The thesis explores the wider historical and contemporary political context of Aboriginal tourism development. It links government support for the development of cultural and other forms of niche market tourism to global changes in the industry and to changing consumer tastes. It describes and compares recently released Commonwealth, state, Northern Territory and regional indigenous tourism policies and highlights the varying interests of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals, government bodies, indigenous representative organisations and the mainstream tourism industry.
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INTRODUCTION
Introduction

"...a journey of discovery"

Like the ideal tourist, I travel on a journey of discovery, on an unmarked road to see where it leads (O'Rourke 1994).

This thesis is a descriptive and critical anthropological study of the marketing, production and consumption of Aboriginal cultural tourism in the ‘Top End’ of the Northern Territory. It focuses on Aboriginal cultural tours, a type of Aboriginal cultural tourism that enables tourists to come in direct contact with Aboriginal people, and to see and learn about aspects of Aboriginal ‘culture’ and ‘country’. Aboriginal cultural tours are often participatory, giving tourists an opportunity to collect and taste bush foods and medicines, visit sites of significance, try arts, crafts and ‘traditional’ skills and listen to Dreamtime stories. In the Northern Territory, cultural tours were first established in the 1980s and continue to be a highly visible and popular avenue for Aboriginal participation in the tourist industry.

My thesis centres on an ethnographic study of Aboriginal cultural tourism at Manyallaluk, an Aboriginal owned community-based enterprise, one hundred kilometres east of Katherine. In Crick’s (1994:3) opinion,

...the most pressing need at the moment is for detailed ethnographic studies rather than for theoretic syntheses which might do little more than prematurely cast our relatively paltry data into ready-made, highly evaluative and patently lop-sided frameworks.

Taking an ethnographic approach at Manyallaluk brought rich rewards, unveiling the complex processes involved in the construction, representation and performance of cultural tourism and enabling me to observe the communicative, emotional and
experiential aspects of the encounter between tourists and local Aboriginal people. In
the thesis I describe these processes and draw attention to the ‘work’ of cultural
tourism, to the “deep acting of emotional labour” (Crang 1997:148).

I present the results of my survey of tourists who visited Manyallaluk during 1996 and
1997. I describe their socio-demographic and travel characteristics, their interests and
activities while in the Darwin/Katherine region, their sources of information about
Manyallaluk and their interest in and knowledge of Aboriginal culture prior to their
visit to Manyallaluk. As Craik (1997:126) asserts:

Greater understanding of the diversity of the demographic profile of the
distinct market shares of cultural tourists is essential if more effective
development and marketing of cultural tourism is to be achieved.

I also discuss tourists’ perceptions of and satisfaction with their tour experience, and
contribute to the growing body of research examining tourists who visit Aboriginal

Importantly, my thesis examines the links between the practice of Aboriginal cultural
tourism in its local setting and broader changes within the tourism and cultural
industries, nationally and globally. As Nash (1981:462) suggests, the encounter
between tourists and the local people of a tourist destination is a core “touristic
process” in a much larger “touristic system”. I discuss the various, sometimes
conflicting, interests of a wide range of actors, including international and domestic
tourists, managers and guides, Aboriginal communities, industry representatives,
government agencies, indigenous organisations and the media.

Aboriginal cultural tours are a different kind of performance to the visually
spectacular cultural displays that are common in many parts of Asia and the Pacific,
and it is this difference that the thesis explores. Although tourists may be seeking an
encounter with an ‘exotic’ or ‘primitive’ other, Aboriginal cultural tours do not
necessarily fulfil their expectations. Rather, they are experiential products, and they
do not privilege the visual in the same way that many other types of tourism do.
Tourists walk, talk, eat, participate in ‘hands on’ activities and have the opportunity to
come in close physical contact with Aboriginal guides while they are being taught traditional skills. The tours are also knowledge-based products and the thesis highlights some of the problems that arise when guides select and present information for tourists and when tourists receive that information. The disjuncture between indigenous and Western ‘ways of knowing’ in some cases leads to conflicting priorities – guides want to teach and tourists want to learn, but they do not necessarily agree on the type of knowledge that should be transmitted.

For Langton (1993:81) ’Aboriginality’ is a “field of intersubjectivity… that is remade over and over again in a process of dialogue, of imagination, of representation and interpretation”. She suggests that there are three different domains in which these processes occur. Firstly, Aboriginality is made and remade when Aboriginal people interact with each other in predominantly Aboriginal social contexts; secondly, when non Aboriginal people who have had little contact with Aboriginal people stereotype, iconise and mythologise Aboriginal people; and thirdly, when Aboriginal and non Aboriginal people actually meet and interact (Langton 1993:81). The latter two contexts are highly relevant to this thesis.

Hughes (1995:791) notes that there is a difference between places that people have direct experience of and places that people know only from images - a factor that is likely to differentiate domestic from international tourists with regard to Aboriginal tourism. Although most tourists have some knowledge of Aboriginal people and their culture prior to their visit to an Aboriginal tourist attraction, the information available to them in their home contexts varies, and, for many, it may be limited to the familiar stereotypes of Aboriginal people in films, books and television and in touristic material such as guidebooks and brochures. International tourists may arrive in Australia without ever having met an Aboriginal person and with little exposure to a diverse range of representations. The situation for domestic tourists is likely to be different, although perhaps not as different as one might expect. For example, in an AGB McNair (1988) survey undertaken in Victoria to assess tourist demand for Aboriginal tourism products, only 7% of respondents indicated that they had regular
contact with Aboriginal people while 62% of them stated that they had little contact. The respondents were from the ACT/NSW, South Australia and Victoria.

Langton (1995:11) suggests that the two most enduring stereotypes of Aboriginal people are the “noble savage” and the “degenerative native”, the first being particularly prevalent in tourism marketing discourse because it packages landscape and people together (Langton 1995:11). In Langton’s (1995:18) words:

Aborigines as entertainment has come full circle from the days when indigenous men and women were exported as trophies of imperialism. Today, we entertain the tourist who comes to see us in our 'natural' habitat.

However, when tourists participate in an Aboriginal cultural tour the direct contact between tourists and local Aboriginal people enables both parties to “test imagined models of each other to find satisfactory forms of mutual comprehension” (Langton 1993:81). This process does not necessarily lead to greater understanding and MacCannell (1979:153) draws attention to the potential discord when “cultures change or collide with one another, or when illogicality is exposed”. Nevertheless, certain characteristics of the Aboriginal cultural tour suggest that the tour experience may challenge some of the stereotypical representations of Aboriginality. Firstly, as land-based tours, the information that is conveyed is bound to a locality and the guides talk for a specific place and people. As Rose (1996:32) points out, “one of the most important aspects of Aboriginal knowledge systems is that they do not universalise”. Thus, tourists do not simply hear “Aboriginal people believe…” or “Aboriginal people do…” Rather, the information passed on to the tourists is local knowledge. Secondly, the tour narratives are personalised. They vary from guide to guide because, as Christie (1991:30) suggests:

Aboriginal ontology is structured in terms of a network of points of view. Everyone has a different angle on the world, everyone and everything has a different part to play.

Thirdly, ownership or custodianship of the land puts Aboriginal people in the driving seat and enables them to select what is shown to tourists and to control what tourists are ‘allowed’ to do. Last but not least, information is usually conveyed orally and the
absence of words on paper is not something that many non Aboriginal people are accustomed to in an educational setting.

In the thesis I do not seek to determine whether Aboriginal cultural tours are good or bad - to make a "moralizing sociological projection" (Urbain 1989:108). Moreover, I do not attempt to describe the full range of local responses to the development of community-based tourism. Obviously, opinions are diverse, and at Manyallaluk this diversity of opinions is one of the main reasons why tourists are not allowed to visit the community homes. Instead, I have chosen to look at what the Aboriginal cultural tourism experience means to tourists, and to the guides who work at an Aboriginal cultural tour site and "live on a day-to-day basis with other-oriented images of their life" (Morris 1995:178). Such a focus is particularly important in the Northern Territory, where many Aboriginal people can control access to their land and where the presence of tourists is no longer new or necessarily unwelcome.

The thesis also examines tourists' perceptions of authenticity regarding their Aboriginal cultural tour experience. Interestingly, Selwyn (1996:7) claims that there are two aspects of authenticity "one of which has to do with feeling, the other with knowledge". Selwyn (1996:20-21) suggests that the first aspect, "hot authenticity" centres on the quest for the other and concerns the relationship between self and society, while the second aspect "cool authenticity", is concerned with the quest for knowledge. Both these aspects are important to participants on Aboriginal cultural tours but, as I will explain, tourists also vary considerably in the intensity of their quest for the authentic and in the criteria that they use to determine the authenticity of a tour experience.

Throughout the thesis I draw attention to the gap between the image and the reality of Aboriginal cultural tours, and the policy and the practice of Aboriginal cultural tourism. In doing so I re-examine the key theoretical constructs that have framed anthropological and sociological studies of indigenous cultural tourism. Importantly, I construct a bridge between the more problem and policy oriented approaches to the study of Aboriginal tourism that have been common within Australia, and the more
encompassing anthropological and sociological approaches to the study of indigenous tourism internationally.

**Indigenous tourism in Australia: the big picture**

The tourism industry is very important to the Australian economy, generating $16.5 million in export earnings in 1997 and employing approximately 700,000 people, or 13% of the workforce (ONT 1998a:1). During the 1990s the Australian government has supported the development of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tourism and a range of other niche market tourism products to enhance Australia's attractiveness as an international tourist destination. In the words of a former Federal Minister for Tourism, Michael Lee:

Indigenous tourism is an integral and growing part of the Australian tourism experience. It is a uniquely Australian product and provides a richly diverse attraction for both Australian and international tourists (CDOT 1994:iii).

Australia is not alone in its support for the development of niche market tourism. The growing segmentation and specialisation of the tourism industry is linked to changing trends in tourist consumption globally. There has been a shift from the standardised 'sun, sea, sand and sex' mass tourism of the 1980s to more flexible, experiential and sustainable types of 'new' tourism in the 1990s (Poon 1993, Munt 1994a, 1994b). As the Australian Office of National Tourism (1998d) states:

> [W]e need to build on and extend international interest in Australia beyond the traditional attractions of sun, surf and wide open spaces. We need to make potential visitors aware that Australia is also a culturally distinctive and fascinating destination with a rich indigenous cultural heritage.

The Australian government and indigenous representative organisations also support tourism development as a way of increasing employment and commercial opportunities for indigenous people. Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are economically and socially disadvantaged. The average income for indigenous Australians is approximately two thirds that of the national average and their unemployment rate is estimated to be 38%, compared with 8% for other
Australians (http://home.vicnet.net.au/~aar/factfile.htm). This estimate includes indigenous people who are employed under the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP), the government funded employment program that replaces unemployment benefits in many indigenous communities.

Government initiated tourism awareness campaigns and associated media attention to success stories has also drawn attention to the opportunities for indigenous people in the industry. Some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people view indigenous controlled tourism as an economic activity that is potentially reconcilable with their cultural aspirations. Some see tourism as a way of maintaining and revitalising their cultures and as a tool for teaching tourists and their own young people about Aboriginal heritage and culture. As Les Gibbons, an indigenous tour operator from Queensland, asks “If I don’t teach the younger kids who’s going to teach them after we’ve gone?” (pers. com. 6/5/95). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people also see greater indigenous involvement in the industry as one way of controlling the representation and interpretation of their cultures, both at the local level through the development of indigenous owned and operated products and at the national level by maximising indigenous involvement in planning and policy making processes.

Moreover, demand for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tourism experiences is growing and in 1996 approximately 557,000, or 15% of all international tourists visited indigenous sites or attractions while in Australia, an increase of 45% on estimates for 1995 (ONT 1998d). The indigenous tourism sector is expanding and diversifying to meet this demand and there are now Aboriginal cultural tourism attractions in urban, rural and remote areas in most states and territories of Australia, including festivals, rock art and heritage sites, cultural centres and keeping places, dance and theatre performances, and of course, cultural tours.

Nevertheless, many indigenous cultural tourism enterprises are still commercially fragile and underdeveloped, and the estimated annual value of indigenous cultural tourism is $5 million, less than $20 to $30 million estimated value of indigenous owned mainstream tourism enterprises, and far less than indigenous art and craft
production which has an estimated annual value of $200 million (ATSIC & ONT 1997:6).

**Aboriginal tourism research in the 1980s and 1990s**

Mercer (1994:124) suggests that much Aboriginal tourism research has been “necessarily contradictory in its conclusions, a reflection of the varied ideological nature of research assumptions, methodologies and interest group orientations of the investigators”. Furthermore, it is difficult to synthesise research findings because Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people themselves are geographically, culturally, politically and linguistically diverse. These varying contexts in turn influence the organisational structures of the enterprises, the balance of public and private assistance, the type of tour products that are possible and the associated target markets. As Altman (1988:39) suggests “the issue of Aborigines, tourism and development is highly complex and variable”.


Recently, the scope of Aboriginal tourism research has broadened to encompass Aboriginal tourism in urban centres (Jacobs 1996), in rural areas in Victoria (Finlayson & Maddon 1994), New South Wales (Bisset et al 1997; Zeppel 1999a) and South Australia (Hemming 1993). Researchers have also begun to examine particular
types of Aboriginal cultural tourism products, focusing particularly on cultural centres (Zeppel 1998b, 1999b, Griffin & Shelley 1993, Kapferer 1998). These more recent studies acknowledge the active role of indigenous people in the display and interpretation of their cultures, and draw attention to the political capital that tourism development can bring.

The international context: terms and definitions

'Indigenous tourism', 'ethnic tourism', 'cultural tourism' and 'tribal tourism' are broadly descriptive terms that have been used in anthropological and sociological studies of tourism and indigenous peoples. Boundaries between the terms are not clearly defined and consequently the terms have been applied inconsistently - a common problem in tourism studies more generally. As van den Berghe (1994:7) points out:

Along with indulging in cute definitional exercises, students of tourism delight in taxonomy. There are approximately as many qualifiers of tourism as there are authors of the field... Some of these types are based on the tourist attractant, others on tourist attributes, others on tourist lifestyles, and still others merely on geography.

I will now outline the distinguishing features of each of the four types of tourism and examine how anthropologists and sociologists have used the typologies in theoretical discussions and fieldwork research. The typologies are not empirically definitive; however, they have influenced the direction of academic inquiry.

The more prevalent use of the term 'indigenous tourism' in recent tourism studies may partly be explained by the prominence of indigenous peoples and indigenous sites on tourist itineraries today. Where indigenous people were previously visited only by the most intrepid tourists, improved transport technologies have made their communities accessible for even the least adventurous of tourists and, as tourist brochures reveal, there is now an established market for indigenous tourism products. Also, the term 'indigenous tourism' is often used in preference to ethnic, cultural or tribal tourism when researchers, policy makers and indigenous people want to draw
attention to the scope of indigenous involvement in the tourism industry and include indigenous participation in ‘unmarked’ mainstream attractions as well as attractions that are clearly ‘marked’ as indigenous.

In some parts of the world, indigenous people have a long history of participation in the mainstream tourism industry; however, until recently, government and industry representatives, and tourism researchers too, have largely focused on indigenous involvement in ‘marked’ indigenous attractions where indigenous people have been on ‘show’, as guides, entertainers, artists and special features of the natural scenery (Hall, Mitchell & Keelan 1993:319). They have not acknowledged the diversity of indigenous aspirations or the role of indigenous people in mainstream economic development.

In *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*, the first volume of case studies focusing exclusively on indigenous tourism, the editors, Butler and Hinch (1996:9) define indigenous tourism as

...tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction.

Their definition includes indigenous involvement in both ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ attractions and they differentiate three categories of indigenous attractions on the basis of the degree to which indigenous people have control over an attraction and the degree to which an attraction focuses on an indigenous theme (Butler & Hinch 1996:10). Thus, attractions with an indigenous theme are further separated into either ‘Culture Controlled’ attractions (controlled by indigenous people) or ‘Culture Dispossessed’ attractions (controlled by non indigenous people). A third category, ‘Diversified Indigenous’, includes those attractions that do not feature an indigenous theme but that are controlled by indigenous people. Butler and Hinch’s typology usefully illustrates the scope of indigenous participation in the industry as a whole and the varying terms under which that participation occurs.
The *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy*, Australia’s first national indigenous tourism policy, provides a definition that is similar to Butler and Hinch's, stating that indigenous tourism is “all forms of participation by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in tourism, as employers, employees, investors and joint venture partners” in either mainstream or cultural tourism (ATSIC & ONT 1997:4). The definition is fittingly inclusive since the strategy supports the development of both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tourism. It states that it is

...highly desirable that indigenous participation be integrated within the industry as a whole, rather than seen as a separate component, if it is to benefit most from the available infrastructure and support mechanisms (ATSIC & ONT 1997:6).

However, the strategy’s definition differs from Butler and Hinch's because it does not deal explicitly with the important issue of indigenous control and therefore does not acknowledge the variable role non-indigenous people play in the production of indigenous tourism.

In the Northern Territory, Aboriginal people have relatively greater control over tourism development than indigenous people in the rest of Australia because they comprise approximately one quarter of the total population and own almost 50% of the land. This gives them substantial political leverage and makes them significant stakeholders in tourism development. However, the degree of indigenous control can be difficult to assess, and while indigenous ‘ownership’ is easily determined, ‘involvement’ and ‘consent’ are open to interpretation and their appraisal is likely to be influenced by the ideological stance of the observer. Unless they are defined in operational terms it remains difficult to draw a boundary between indigenous and non indigenous tourism and to accurately determine a meaningful baseline from which to assess the future growth of indigenous tourism. Moreover, there may be practical difficulties in using ‘indigenous tourism’ to refer to both a type of product and to indigenous participation in the business of tourism since it seems likely that tourists, indigenous people, and government and industry representatives will not use the term consistently, making the coordination of policy and practice more difficult to achieve.
By contrast, the terms ‘ethnic tourism’, ‘tribal tourism’ and cultural tourism’ are used to describe types of tourism that feature the exoticism (van den Berghe 1994:9) or difference (Crick 1994:6, Hollinshead 1996b:335, Mercer 1994:142) of people whose distinctive collective identity is part of the visual allure of a particular place. Ethnic tourism and cultural tourism were initially defined in *Hosts and Guests* (1977), the first anthology of case studies examining the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development on ‘host’ societies. In Valene Smith’s (1989:4) introduction to the second edition she states that ethnic tourism focuses on “the ‘quaint’ customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples”, whereas cultural tourism is centred on the “‘picturesque’ or ‘local color’, a vestige of a vanishing life-style that lies within human memory”. Smith cites the Eskimo, Toraja and San Blas Indian case studies in the anthology as examples of ethnic tourism and the Balinese and Spanish case studies as examples of cultural tourism. In the same volume, Graburn (1989:31-32) takes a somewhat different approach, suggesting that ethnic tourism can be either a part of cultural tourism, in which case the tourist vision is a collective one, or a part of nature tourism, when the tourist vision becomes a romantic one.

Since those early studies, ethnic tourism has frequently been differentiated from cultural tourism in terms of the intensity of tourist interest in the display of ethnic identity. Thus, van den Berghe (1980:377) uses ethnic tourism to refer to tourism where “the natives themselves are the primary, or at least significant attraction” and emphasises that “the native is not simply ‘there’ to serve the needs of the tourist; he is himself ‘on show’, a living spectacle to be scrutinised, photographed, tape recorded and interacted with” (van den Berghe & Keyes 1984:345). Similarly, Wood (1984:361) suggests that ethnic tourists focus on the “cultural practices which define a unique ethnicity” while cultural tourists are interested in a foreign culture in “a contextual way”, and may be more interested in the artefacts than the culture itself.

MacCannell (1992:152) suggests that ethnic tourism is “producing new and more highly deterministic ethnic forms than those produced during the first colonial phase”. He uses the term ‘re-constructed ethnicity’ to refer to the new “identities that have emerged in response to pressures from White Culture and tourism” (MacCannell
Ethnic markers play a key role in the re-creation of ethnicity and are used prolifically in tourism brochures, postcards and advertisements (Adams 1984). In the following passage from Kaz Cooke’s novel *The Crocodile Club* (1992:163) the author highlights the media’s predilection for ethnic markers:

> It didn’t matter if the Nyampiya women danced perfectly or had the right owners of the right stories leading the singing. Not when the Yali dancers, albeit equally skilled, wore feathers in headbands for their ceremonial public dancing. They would get the thirty second grab of the TV News, because they looked just that tad more ‘exotic’. No matter that their dances would go unnamed, their homes mispronounced, their own contribution unacknowledged by name. They look like Aborigines are supposed to look, only more so, according to the news editors.

Ethnic markers are also used prolifically in non touristic contexts and, as Urry (1990:9) suggests, “it is not clear why the apparently inauthentic staging for the tourist is so very different from what happens in all cultures anyway”. Povinelli (1993) describes how Belyuen Aboriginal people differentiate between tourist performances and performances for more important purposes such as ceremonies and land claims. She notes that a decision is made as to whether “performers will have to dance with or without shirt, a useful index for gauging the importance of an event” (Povinelli 1993:125). Both women and men costume themselves according to the importance of the event and semi nakedness becomes a marker of tradition...“No matter how white men stare, say Belyuen men and women, Aboriginal people should have pride in their culture” (Povinelli 1993:126).

Ethnic tourism case studies have focused on the Pacific (Sofield 1991), Sulawesi, Indonesia (Volkman 1990, Adams 1984), Mexico (van den Berghe 1994) and native American tourism in the southwest USA (Brewer 1984, Sweet 1989, Laxson 1991, Evans-Pritchard 1989). Although Moscardo and Pearce (1989) have referred to Australian Aboriginal tourism as ethnic tourism, the term ‘cultural tourism’ is more appropriate in Canada and Australia since ‘ethnic’ is used to refer to immigrant groups, and indigenous people reject being labelled as such. They emphasise their
separate and unique identities, based on their prior and original occupation of the land (Wolfe, Reid & Haywood 1991:700).

In ethnic tourism, the intensity of the tourist gaze encourages the creation of front stage settings or separate tourist spaces. In Buck’s (1978:233) study of Amish tourism he describes how tourists are “contained within the boundaries of a tourist subculture” and argues that this spatial arrangement strengthens the ethnic boundary. Other ethnic tourism studies describe how the transience and asymmetry of the encounter between tourists and local people leads to the formation of stereotypes on both sides (Brewer 1984, Sweet 1989, Laxson 1991, Evans Pritchard 1989). Furthermore, van den Berghe (1994:8) suggests that ethnic tourists should be perceived of as a kind of “super ethny” because the gap between tourists and locals is so large that the differences between the tourists themselves are not significant.

Recently, Smith (1996a:299) used the term ‘tribal tourism’ to refer specifically to “small scale [indigenous] enterprises that are labour intensive for an owner, a family, or a small tribe”. Smith (1999a, 1999b) suggests that tribal tourism attractions are constructed around the “4Hs” or the “habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts” of a particular indigenous group and proposes that the four key attributes be used as ‘analytical tools’ to assess the tourism potential of particular indigenous sites. Tribal tourism, like ethnic tourism, selectively focuses on the more ‘traditional’ and apparently constant aspects of indigenous cultural identities, but as Blundell (1995-96:31) indicates, indigenous people increasingly resist being defined in this way:

Under attack are representations of aboriginal cultures solely in terms of their arts, crafts, costume and cuisine, without any reference to the economic and political forms of First Peoples which may differ from both those of their past cultures and those of the dominant culture.

The term ‘tribal’ invokes images of small scale ‘traditional’ societies diametrically opposed to ‘modern’ western societies and while this is the fodder of much tourism advertising, it is difficult to see what benefit can come from using the term tribal tourism in the study of tourism when it denies the complexity and variation of contemporary indigenous lifestyles.
The remote locations of many ethnic and tribal tourism attractions are also part of the tourist attraction. Their desert, mountain, 'wilderness' and arctic homes make the tourist experience more extraordinary and tourists often partake in environmental, eco, or adventure tourism pursuits as well as visiting indigenous attractions (Smith 1989:5, Graburn 1989:32). However, Munt (1994b:53) argues that the contemporary emphasis on the “discovery and expropriation” of remote landscapes in “eco-ethnic” tourism is a form of neo-colonialism, and comments:

This is romanticism for both the wildness and travel modes of the colonial period, in which racism and class subordination are recreated in invidious forms... And it has invoked a nostalgic longing for untouched primitive and native peoples (Munt 1994b:54).

O'Rourke's film Cannibal Tours depicts an encounter between local villagers who live along the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea and a group of wealthy tourists on a river cruise. In essence the film captures many of the distinguishing characteristics of ethnic tourism. As O'Rourke explains the film “looks at the incongruity of two culture meeting, or not meeting in this particular context” (in Lutkehaus 1989:427). He describes how the film examines the

...whole notion of ‘the primitive' and ‘the other', the fascination with primitivism in Western culture and the wrong-headed nostalgia for the innocence of Eden (O’Rourke 1994).

Moreover, many tribal and ethnic attractions are promoted through spatio-temporal metaphors; thus, a trip 'off the beaten track' becomes a journey back in time to a ‘disappearing world’ where the “originary, socially simple and natural character” of indigenous people is still intact (Thomas 1994:173). In these representations indigenous people are often portrayed as the “original conservationists”, which, Thomas (1994:30) argues, is a form of contemporary primitivism, essentialising indigenous identities and thereby marginalising those who live in urban settings. Furthermore, such representations deny the contemporary reality of life in the bush where Aboriginal people are engaged in a range of commercial and non commercial land use practices (Larrit 1995:242).
However, as Craik (1994) points out, there are various forms of neo-colonial tourism and not all indigenous people are positioned in relation to tourists in the same way. In African safari tourism, South African tourists establish a master-servant relationship with their guides, while other international tourists respond in a more generalised way, viewing local people as “children of nature” (van den Berghe 1986:105). Language, advertising, clothing, the safari camp style and the itineraries of safari tourism all conjure scenes of past colonial expeditions. O’Rourke (1994) perceptively comments:

> It is interesting to note how tourists from countries which had colonies tend to favour those places as destinations. This could be due to the fact of a shared language, but I feel it is more due to a nostalgic wish for the ‘romantic’ colonial era.

Since the middle of the 1980s culture has become an increasingly important dimension of the tourist experience generally and cultural tourism is now both a promotional tool and an emerging market segment in many countries of the world. Cultural tourism attractions are constructed around the history, landscape, art, architecture, food, wine, people, or lifestyle of a particular place. Hence, Blundell (1995-96:29) defines cultural tourism as a...

> ...form of international mass travel that provides tourists with the opportunities to experience the cultural attractions and the cultural distinctiveness of the area they visit.

Clearly, the motivations and interests of cultural and ethnic tourists overlap; however, cultural tourism is broader in its focus. Ethnic tourism constructs ‘difference’ through an opposition between western tourists and their indigenous or ethnic ‘Other’, while contemporary cultural tourism is oriented towards experiencing the diversity of the world’s cultures and ‘difference’ is relative, a “counterpoint to the everyday” (Craik 1997:114). In her analysis of Toraja tourism in Sulawesi, Adams (1984:481) classifies international tourists as ethnic tourists, but suggests that it is more appropriate to classify domestic tourists as cultural tourists because they are on a kind of nationalist pilgrimage and not in search of ‘otherness’.
Urry (1995:145) suggests that new or post tourists have “an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards divergent experiences from *different* national cultures”. He associates this emerging “aesthetic cosmopolitanism” with the increasing mobility of many people in the world, the geographical and historical reflexivity that this mobility brings, and the changing consumer tastes associated with the shift from Fordist to post-Fordist patterns of consumption. Aesthetic cosmopolitanism influences consumer tastes more generally, two obvious examples being the growing popularity of an array of ethnic and regional cuisine and the development of ‘world music’.

During the 1990s many governments have turned their attention to the development of cultural tourism, in part, because it is seen as one way of creating employment in economically depressed regions where restructuring has led to the loss of manufacturing and agricultural jobs. It also enhances the distinctiveness of place, something that has become increasingly important as tourism has expanded and the competition between tourist destinations has grown. However, research findings suggest that there may actually be a very small number of ‘specialist’ tourists for whom culture is a primary motivating factor, and that, for the majority of tourists culture is a secondary or incidental motivation (Richards 1996, Craik 1997, Craik & Trotter 1997). Thus, Craik (1997:126) suggests that cultural tourism attractions may need to better combine education and entertainment to broaden their market base.

**The tourist gaze**

In the 1990s changes to the practice of tourism have engendered new interest in space and place. Even MacCannell’s latest title *Empty Meeting Grounds* (1992) indicates a shift of focus, suggesting that it is now not only the meeting of tourists and locals that is of interest, but also the uncertainty of the space in which they meet. People are becoming increasingly mobile and it is changing their “subjectivity and sociability and their aesthetic appreciation of nature, landscapes, townscapes and other societies” (Dietvorst & Ashworth 1995:2). Moreover, as differences between tourists and locals, and between home and away become less clear, place myths become an increasingly
important part of the ‘pull’ of tourism, and signs are employed to accentuate the “natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness” of particular places (Crang 1997:52).

Borrowing Foucault’s notion of the gaze, Urry (1990:1) uses the term ‘tourist gaze’ to refer to the “socially organised and systematised” visual consumption of places. When he first discussed the tourist gaze Urry (1990) differentiated between the romantic and the collective gaze, and then in his later work (1995) described three further types of gaze: the spectatorial, environmental and anthropological gazes. Urry (1995:191) suggests that the romantic and anthropological gazes are both sustained and solitary, but while the romantic gaze is visionary and involves the appreciation of the aura of a sight, the anthropological gaze scans and interprets a sight. By contrast the collective, and spectatorial gazes are communal activities while the environmental gaze is collectively organised. Urry (1990:2) notes that “what makes a particular gaze depends upon what it is contrasted with”. That is, gazes “are constructed through difference”.

**Returning the gaze**

A significant feature differentiating contemporary Aboriginal tourism practice from Aboriginal tourism in the 1980s is that the roles of the viewer and the viewed are now less fixed. Aboriginal people are increasingly tourists too, travelling within Australia and to other parts of the world for work and leisure purposes (Morris 1995: 188). In *Born under the paper bark tree*, Aboriginal storyteller and Northern Territory tour operator, Bill Harney, describes his experiences in Europe and the USA:

> They were very interesting people the Spanish people, and I saw them riding around with the horses in the main street - the town street so narrow like a corridor or the gorge in the country here - and on every corner I saw people playing guitar and dancing in the street to pick up a few bob. I saw homeless people over there, laying wrapped up with the blanket in the cold morning, under the pahn tree... Then later we went across to America. We did twenty-seven cities and we saw a different style there again. Lots of people say America is very rich, and some people might be rich all right, but there were lots and lots of homeless people in the country... I never thought I’d go all over the world, but I did and it was good for me to see, so I could have it in my mind (Harney & Wositzky 1996:191-92).
Aboriginal actor and comedian, Ernie Dingo, also ‘works’ at being a tourist, entertaining ‘armchair’ travellers with his reviews of tourist destinations and attractions, on the television program, The Great Outdoors. While primarily entertaining, he also challenges the viewer by presenting an alternative viewpoint:

Racism and attitudes of white superiority are still here and not far from the surface. There is no telling when they will show. It is two years ago that my wife, who is white, and I were enjoying a swim in a pool at one of the more prestigious resorts on the first day of a well-earned holiday. I was the only Aboriginal in the water, but blissfully unaware of this fact, until the manager loudly ordered me from the pool, refusing to believe I was a paying guest (Dingo 1995:52).

Methodological issues

During my fieldwork I visited many Aboriginal cultural tourism attractions in the Top End to learn about the range and content of the products in this region. I visited museums, cultural centres, festivals, community open days, art exhibitions, rock art sites and the Springvale Homestead Corroboree. I also went on many Aboriginal cultural tours as a participant observer, including Guluyambi Cruise, the Nitmiluk bushtucker walk, Tiwi Tours, Bill Harney’s Jankangyina Tours, and the Manyallaluk one and two day tours. On one occasion I took part in a small four day tour to Arnhem Land that was run as a ‘trial tour’ to give local Aboriginal people more understanding of the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ of tourism before they made any further plans to develop tourism.

My fieldwork was undertaken mainly in the dry seasons between 1994 and 1997. During the dry season the hotels and backpacker accommodation in Darwin and Katherine are near to their capacity, and the main road south, the Stuart Highway, is much busier than in the wet. Caravans, hire cars, and tour vehicles stream out from Darwin towards Kakadu and Litchfield national parks. While undertaking my fieldwork I joined this throng, heading out to various sites and attractions, where I camped when I needed to stay overnight.
I had initially planned to record the tour narratives; however, soon found that this was unsatisfactory because the sound quality was poor either when tour groups were large and spread out or when people walked through dry grass and bushes. I chose instead to take notes and at times carried a camera to take photographs as well. I often had time to talk informally with guides and tourists during tours and when it was possible to interview tourists in greater depth at the end of the tours I did.

During the 1995 and 1996 tourists seasons most of my time was spent at Manyallaluk and it was from my time there that I learnt about the 'work' involved in community-based cultural tourism. I chose Manyallaluk as my main fieldwork site because it operates a range of moderately priced tours and is accessible by road for self drive tourists - both factors which suggest that it has broad appeal, in contrast to those enterprises that are marketed as exclusive products aimed at a select group of high paying tourists.

There are many aspects to the work of tourism - in the office and the shop, gardening, the cleaning and maintenance of the tourism amenities, food preparation, artefact production and most importantly, guiding the tourists. During my fieldwork I observed tours that were 'just right' where guides and tourists were visibly pleased at the end of the day, but I also saw other tours that left guides, tourists or both disappointed. I saw how seasonal changes influenced the tours and I saw how the attraction itself changed through time. This fluidity was not something I had expected and although culture was 'staged' for the tourists, there were many new embellishments in terms of the props and the story line while I was there. It is important to point out that sometimes these changes were part of a long term vision for the enterprise, while at other times they were organic and sprang from the ideas of an individual or a small group of people. Thus, on one trip I arrived to find that the guides had constructed two 'humpies' in the bush where tourists are taken on the morning bush walk, then on another visit rocks had been brought from further away, 'painted' with ochre designs and carefully placed around a small tree. While such changes are made to please tourists, they are not carried out specifically to enhance
tourist satisfaction, rather they are part of broader processes of the construction and performance of identity for a visiting audience.

My own role at Manyallaluk also changed with time. On my very first visit to Manyallaluk in 1994 an Aboriginal man and woman stopped me at the Manyallaluk turn off on the road to Barunga. They asked for a lift to Manyallaluk. After getting in the car, the first question they asked me was "Are you a tourist?" I explained that I was hoping to undertake some tourism research at Manyallaluk. It turned out that the man, Richard Miller, was one of the guides at Manyallaluk. He was with his wife, Judy, and they had been in Katherine for the past week.

Although I was not a tourist even on that first visit, I think perhaps the guides at Manyallaluk saw me as one for a considerable time. I camped in the tourist area and although I spent time in the office I was their most enthusiastic tourist, joining tour after tour. I was not the only ‘tourist’ who took notes and sometimes when other tourists saw me writing things down they would comment that it was a good idea and begin to write things down themselves. It was not until I too became involved in the ‘work’ of tourism at Manyallaluk that I was no longer seen as a tourist. I became the person who put things on paper and I wrote information sheets, promotional flyers, press releases and even answered written queries from academics like myself. I was no longer an observer but someone directly involved in the construction and representation of the attraction which culminated in researching and compiling Manyallaluk’s entry into the 1995 and 1996 Northern Territory tourism awards.

In 1995 I approached the guides and the manager at Manyallaluk about implementing a tourist questionnaire. My decision was partly in response to a gap in the data I had collected from interviews with tourists and from participant observation on tours. Although these methods had yielded rich data on the attitudes and perceptions of both guides and tourists, they did not enable me to describe the shape and form of the tourist group as a whole. Thus, I was unable to see whether similar tourist perceptions were associated with particular segments of the market. The other reason for implementing a questionnaire was that the only source of information on the socio-
demographic characteristics of the tourists visiting Manyallaluk was the visitors’ book; however, the type of information provided by tourists in the visitors’ book was not consistent.

My decision to administer a questionnaire was not taken lightly. From an instrumental point of view, I knew that questionnaires can be intrusive and a burden to tourists, and as Pearce suggests, filling out questionnaires may make tourists “mindful of their attitudes and prejudice”. However, I was also guided by Pearce’s (1988:45,50) recognition of their suitability in the post-travel phase of the tour experience when tourists have had time to think about and reflect on their experiences.

A pilot questionnaire was carried out in the tourist season of 1995 and a sample of 113 fully completed questionnaires obtained. During the weeks when I was administering the questionnaire I was staying at Manyallaluk and went on the tours as a participant observer, enabling me to see how variations in the tour product influenced the tourist responses on a particular day. I altered the pilot questionnaire slightly to improve the quality of tourist responses and then distributed it to tourists during 1996 and 1997. There were 33 questions in the final questionnaire and the majority of the questions were multiple choice, requiring a tick to indicate the correct response.

During 1996 and 1997, in recognition that tourists needed more time to fill out the questionnaires, they were placed in stamped self-addressed envelopes and distributed by the guides to the tourists at the end of each tour. The tourists could then complete them in their own time and post them back to Manyallaluk from anywhere in Australia. All costs for postage and stationery were paid for from my Northern Territory University research allowance. The final sample from the 1996/97 survey consisted of 581 questionnaires.

I know that survey type research cannot explain the complexities of tourist motives, perceptions and behaviour, and I accept Crick’s (1994:15) criticism of the
...methodologically prim and statistically immaculate, but otherwise culturally meaningless, examples of tourism 'survey research' so frequently found in the literature (also see Rojek & Urry 1997:2).

In this thesis though, the questionnaire findings add an extra dimension to my study and serve as starting points for my discussion. As Hughes (1995:800) comments

...whether the segments are the result of statistical artefacts of market research or the cohesion of merging consumer interests they provide signifying regimes in which identity can be expressed. Some of these regimes may be territorial... but despite their lack of historical integrity, they provide myths in, and through which meaning may be given to existence.

Importantly too, the questionnaire findings have been useful to the guides and managers at Manyallaluk, and have helped to make instrumental improvements to the tours. The findings have also influenced decisions regarding future marketing and product development.

**Chapter overview**

In Chapter One, "From the 1900s to 1990: the history of Aboriginal tourism development in the Northern Territory", I describe the historical context of Aboriginal tourism development in the Northern Territory. The chapter examines the changing terms of Aboriginal participation in the tourism industry, linking changes in transport technologies, in government policies and in academic and popular interests to the development of particular Aboriginal tourism products and to the shifting focus of the tourist gaze. Importantly, I describe an area of Aboriginal labour history that has been largely overlooked, as Aboriginal people have worked both directly and indirectly in the tourism industry for much of this century - as artists, performers, guides, bus drivers, labourers, retailers, park rangers and cultural advisors.

In Chapter Two, "The politics and policies of Aboriginal tourism development in the 1990s" I describe and compare the commonwealth, state, territory and regional political initiatives aimed at increasing indigenous participation in the tourism industry. I examine the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (1997), the Northern Territory Aboriginal Tourism Strategy (1996)
and several regional and local level Top End tourism plans. I discuss indigenous contributions to the policy making process and the formation of Aboriginal Tourism Australia, a national organisation, formed to represent the interests of indigenous people working in the tourism industry.

Chapter Three, "From postcard to plane: Aboriginal imagery and the tourism industry", examines the construction and representation of Aboriginality in tourism marketing and promotion. The chapter examines a range of tourist oriented media, from large tourist objects with Aboriginal inspired designs, like aeroplanes and cultural centres to one of the smallest and ubiquitous of tourist objects, the postcard. I identify and discuss a range of stereotypes found in these representations and also looks at recent changes in the way Aboriginality is represented in touristic discourse. In the latter part of the chapter I use content and semiotic analysis to examine a sample of 163 postcards depicting Aboriginal people and Aboriginal cultural markers. My analysis builds on important previous analyses of postcard imagery by Peterson (1985), Albers and James (1983, 1988) Cohen (1993) and Edwards (1996).

Chapter Four, "A trip to Manyallaluk: a 'really top' place", describes the spatial, geographical and historical characteristics of the Manyallaluk site. The chapter discusses Manyallaluk's layered Aboriginal and European histories, its contemporary touristic and political identities, and its reputation as an 'award winning' enterprise. I draw attention to the multiple, co-existent and contested meanings of 'place', and I show that the production of Aboriginal cultural tourism is set within 'complex cultural circuits' (Crang 1997:146) involving much more than simply the interaction between locals and tourists and the 'sharing of culture'.

In Chapter Five, "Tours, guides and 'true stories'", I describe the common features of Aboriginal cultural tours and I examine the important role that guides play in the production of the tours and in directing the tourist gaze. I describe the Manyallaluk One Day Cultural Experience, the Tiwi Tours One Day Tour and Bill Harney's Jankangyina One Day Safari, discussing their content, the tour narratives of the guide or guides, and the way in which the guides perform and interpret aspects of their
'culture' and 'country'. My discussion is based on qualitative data collected as a participant observer on these three Top End tours during 1995. In the final part of the chapter I look at the processes involved in the representation of tradition and the past at indigenous cultural tourism attractions like Manyallaluk.

In Chapter Six, "Who visits Manyallaluk?" I describe the socio-demographic characteristics of the tourists who visit Manyallaluk, their travel characteristics, their activities and interests while in the 'Top End' and their prior knowledge of and interest in Aboriginal culture. The chapter is the first of two discussing my findings from a questionnaire administered to tourists who visited Manyallaluk during 1996 and 1997.

In Chapter Seven, "And what do they think?" I examine tourists' perceptions of and satisfaction with their tour experiences at Manyallaluk. The chapter reports the findings from my qualitative and quantitative analysis of tourists' responses to two different sections of the questionnaire. In one section, tourists were asked to mark on a Likert type scale their level of satisfaction with six different components of the tour: the organisation, the quality of information passed on by the guides, the communication between the guides and the tourists, the scenery of the tour, the meals, and lastly, the facilities at Manyallaluk. In another section, tourists were asked four open-ended questions about the highlight of their tour, what they did not like, how their expectations differed from what happened and what possible improvements to the tours could be made.

In the concluding chapter, "Which way now?" I summarise the major findings from my research and discuss the significant contribution they make to anthropological and sociological understandings of indigenous, ethnic and cultural tourism. I discuss the implications of my findings to the practice of Aboriginal cultural tourism at Manyallaluk and in the Top End more generally.
Putting myself into the picture

One of the challenges in studying tourism is that almost everyone knows something about tourism, and often has a strong opinion about it, which, if not based on their own experiences, is based on someone else's. Therefore, I suggest that the study of tourism cannot be completely separated from the researcher's personal travel and touring history, which, in turn, is shaped by one's identity. For this reason I want to briefly discuss my own travel and touring experiences and look at how they may have influenced the shape and focus of this thesis. I should say first of all, that I have enjoyed being a tourist and unlike Crick (1994:11) who, in the introduction to Resplendent Sites, Discordant Voices states that he does not have "positive associations with journeys, holidays or leisure", I most definitely do.

As a child growing up in rural South Australia in the 1970s, every September I would head off with my the family on a camping holiday somewhere in Australia, preferably to the desert or the tropical north to escape the cold and rain of the southern Winter. My parents have continued to make those trips and a map on their wall proudly displays each one of their journeys as a meandering coloured line across Australia. I remember the dusty road to Uluru, or Ayers Rock as I knew it then, and Aboriginal people on the side of the road selling boomerangs and carved wooden animals decorated with poker work.

Many years later, after a university education in Adelaide and a lengthy sojourn in London where I was always to some extent a tourist, but especially so on Summer holidays in the sunshine of southern Europe, I am now back in Australia, at home and at work in Darwin. Yet, it is said that you have to have lived in the Northern Territory for a long time before you can say you are a true Territorian, and in a sense, I still feel like a tourist. This is especially so when I head off to an Aboriginal tourist attraction on Aboriginal owned land, where my position becomes more indeterminate and complex. For I'm just one of a disparate horde that includes photographers, film makers, journalists, other researchers of all kinds, plus a wide variety of general and special interest tourists. And as Rojek and Urry (1997:9) rightly ask "Where does tourism end and so called fieldwork begin?"
CHAPTER ONE
Chapter One

From the 1900s to 1990: the history of Aboriginal tourism development in the Northern Territory

There are no national monuments to a vanishing people; yet there is a monument to a mythical Dog on a Tucker-Box nine miles from Gundagai. There are not even a great many writers commercializing the disappearance of a quaint and at least tourist-worthy race (Stanner 1939:5).

In the sixty years since Stanner described Aboriginal people as a “tourist-worthy race” and lamented the lack of public interest in their fate, tourist interest in visiting Aboriginal sites and attractions has grown. In this chapter I trace the changing terms of Aboriginal participation in the Northern Territory tourism industry from the 1900s to 1990. I describe the history of Aboriginal involvement in the industry and link changes in transport technologies, in government policies, and in academic and popular interests to the shifting focus of the tourist gaze and to the development of particular Aboriginal tourism products. Importantly, I describe an area of Aboriginal labour history which has been largely overlooked, since, as this chapter illustrates, Aboriginal people have worked both directly and indirectly in the tourism industry for much of this century - as artists, performers, guides, bus drivers, labourers, retailers, park rangers and cultural advisors.

1900-1960: early encounters between tourists and Aboriginal people

Early historical accounts suggest that Aboriginal people first participated in the tourism industry in some parts of Australia in the late nineteenth century, although at this time participation largely consisted of artefact production for sale to tourists and corroboree performances. In South Australia tourist corroborees were performed regularly in the latter part of the nineteenth century and Parsons (1997:47-48) argues
that they were "a significant and successful attempt to use symbolic goods to engage in the settler economy". By the early 1900s tourists were being taken to "view" Aboriginal people at the missions along the Murray River in South Australia. Janet Matthews, a European woman who worked at Manunka Mission in the early 1900s described tourists visiting the mission:

Steamers passing up and down the river sometimes stop, and quite a number of city tourists crowd into our little school house to hear children sing, and visit the Natives' camps. The old people like to teach us their language, 'Cumbia' (father), 'Micah' (Sister), 'Paka' (mother or daughter) are words often heard. It is a treat to see the clean, shining faces, smooth hair tied back with coloured ribbon, clean blue and white striped cotton dresses and white pinafores of the little girls, and the blue trousers and white coats of the boys (Mattingley & Hampton 1988:176-177).

In her recent article on the history of Aboriginal tourism in the Northern Territory, Berzins (1998) also refers to several early encounters between tourists and Aboriginal people described in travel writing published before 1930. By then, the impact of European settlement on Aboriginal people living in southern and eastern Australia had been drastic and Aboriginal people were considered by some to be a 'vanishing race' (Berzins 1998:70, Bonnin 1980:244). By contrast, visitors to the Northern Territory still expected to come in contact with Aboriginal people living a 'traditional' lifestyle. Paradoxically, though, most early travellers in the Northern Territory only saw Aboriginal people working on stations or living in towns since travel beyond the main centres was difficult.

Although the first car journey from Adelaide to Darwin was successfully completed in 1908 (Hill 1951:260), most early visitors to Darwin arrived by ship. Berzins (1998:70) recounts how two English female passengers on a ship visiting Darwin in 1915 wanted to see Aboriginal people having read We of the Never Never and The Little Black Princess. However, they had too little time to go out of Darwin, so were taken to visit Fannie Bay gaol where the Aboriginal prisoners were woken up for them to see. At this time, few people had cameras although some ethnographers photographed Aboriginal people. Most of these early photographs depicted Aboriginal men, and showed their body scars, decorations, tools and ritual objects (Isaacs 1992:30).
By the 1930s growing government and public interest in Aboriginal people, together with new transport infrastructure and increasing car ownership encouraged tourists to visit the Northern Territory. As Stanner (1939:5) describes:

> Each year in the golden winter of north Australia motor-tourist parties are visiting some of the more accessible aboriginal camps, but they see little and take away less.

Many early visitors were not strictly tourists, but included school children, parliamentarians, scientists and artists as well. After the Department of Anthropology was established at Sydney University in 1925 and the Board of Anthropological Research at Adelaide University in 1926, Aboriginal people became a popular focus of government funded scientific research (Bonnin 1980:238).

Most descriptive travel books published during the 1930s contained “a reference to the aborigines, and many of the most popular were devoted almost entirely to discussion of their customs, beliefs and problems” (Bonnin 1980:240). While anthropologists criticised descriptive writers because “they were often not specific as to dates, locations and tribes, or to methodology”, descriptive writers were equally critical of anthropologists and questioned the accuracy of their information and the way in which they ‘rounded up’ Aboriginal people for study purposes (Bonnin 1980:246-48).

In 1934, the first edition of the travel magazine, *Walkabout*, was published by the Australian National Travel Association. It regularly contained features on Aboriginal people living in the Northern Territory and “stressed the integrity of pre-contact, traditional culture” (Russell 1995:108). Popular authors such as W. E. (Bill) Harney and Ernestine Hill, as well as anthropologists like Donald Thompson wrote for *Walkabout*, and consequently their opinions reached a far wider audience than would otherwise have been possible. Moreover, nearly all primary schools received *Walkabout*, and it had a definite educational role as well as promoting tourism (Russell 1995:104).
Entry to most missions and reserves was restricted in the Northern Territory. However, the Hermannsburg mission in Central Australia became a popular stopping point for motorists on their way to Palm Valley during the 1930s. When the work of local artist, Albert Namatjira became well known after his first solo exhibition in 1938, an increasing number of visitors stopped to buy paintings and artefacts from the newly opened mission store and to photograph local Aboriginal people (Hardy, Megaw & Megaw 1992, Berzins 1998:71).

The completion of the Central Australia Railway from Port Augusta to Alice Springs and the North Australia Railway from Darwin to Birdum in 1929 also made areas where Aboriginal people lived more accessible for travellers. Aboriginal people sold artefacts to train passengers, and in 1935, Basedow, a former Protector of Aborigines, stated that:

The construction of two railways into the interior of Australia has sown for the Aborigines a harvest of sorrow, disease and death... It is an open secret that natives living near certain railways are bribed, and even forced, to show themselves at railway stations for the fulfilment of the promise set forth in tour-programmes that tourists will see wild blacks on route (1935: 13).

Tourism was slower to take off in the Top End and most tourists were attracted to the region by big game hunting. Corroborees were arranged for tourists who arrived by ship. Berzins (1998:72) refers to one such occasion in 1939 when passengers on the Franconia were taken to see a corroboree at the newly opened Bagot Reserve. During the late 1940s and the 1950s, the Welfare Branch arranged tourist corroborees in the Botanical Gardens (Northern Territory Library Territory Images). On the following page I have included two photographs of corroborees held in the Darwin Botanical Gardens during this period. The first, taken in 1948, shows Aboriginal people from Daly River, Alligator River, Milingimbi, Goulburn Island and Melville Island performing in front of an estimated audience of 3,000 people. The second photograph was taken around 1946 and shows a corroboree performed for a visiting tourist ship by people from Delissaville (now Belyuen).
In 1931, the whole of Arnhem Land was declared a reserve, indicating a change in the government approach to Aboriginal affairs. While acknowledging that the decision had "strong welfare overtones", Catherine Berndt (1977:403) suggests that it was also
hoped that it would “increase Aborigines’ chances of being able to decide for themselves what their relations with other Australians might be”. Even from the 1940s, however, there were pressures to undo the decision and ‘open up’ Arnhem Land for tourism and other commercial purposes, with an ambitious plan at one stage to set up a tourist village at each mission station (Berndt 1977:403).

The Second World War almost stopped leisure travel in northern Australia, and it was not until the 1950s that visitor numbers began to increase again. The number of tourists visiting Uluru rose rapidly and in 1957 Bill Harney became the first ranger there. The following year, in 1958, an area of land was excised from the Petermann Aboriginal Reserve and declared the Ayers Rock Mt Olga National Park. Rowse (1992:251) describes the early responses of the traditional owners, the Anangu, to tourism development in the Park:

Some of them [Anangu] made use of the new economic opportunities they found at the Rock from 1957... by selling artefacts to tourists and performing menial services in some of the shanty motels that provided an adventurous style of tourism. Officially discouraged, but unofficially tolerated as local colour, Anangu at Ayers Rock were not recognised as a ‘community’ with traditional affiliations to that place.

In the Top End, several safari camps were established during the 1950s and Aboriginal people were employed as hunting guides and camp helpers. Gerry Randall built a camp at Mudginberri, Allan Stewart at Nourlangie, Don McGregor at Patonga and Frank Muir at Muirella Park (Berzins 1998:73). In Allan Stewart’s book The green eyes are buffalo (1969) he describes the varied work carried out by Aboriginal people at his camp. Out hunting the “Aboriginal assistant” would be “driver, skinner, odd-job man and ‘second-gun’ in tracking and destroying wounded animals” (Stewart 1969:28). Tourists valued the ‘specialist’ knowledge of Aboriginal guides and as McCristal (1966:178) notes in Top End Safari, “[t]he chances of a raw newcomer finding turtles or dugong is not bright without native assistance”.

Stewart (1969:19) also describes how Aboriginal people performed dances for the tourists and taught them about aspects of their culture.
My Mailli were greatly interested in them [tourists] too, and spent many hours with the guests explaining to them their tribal markings, bark paintings, and demonstrating their weapons and hunting skill.

Berzins (1998:73) notes that Gerry Randall arranged corroborees for tourists at Mudginberri and sometimes tourists were taken to see rock art. Together, these accounts indicate that Aboriginal labour was important to the success of these enterprises. However, Stewart’s book also reveals the colonial overtones in the paternalistic relationship between himself and his Aboriginal ‘assistants’ or, as he refers to them in the excerpt above, ‘My Mailli’. In Stewart’s (1969:1) words, he “found one of the few interesting and adventurous occupations left in this world – that of ‘white hunter’”.

By the 1950s the Top End was attracting a growing number of journalists and filmmakers. In 1955 the film, *Jedda*, was released, drawing attention to the scenery at Nitmiluk (Katherine Gorge) although at the time the gorge was still inaccessible for most visitors because of the rough road. The picture book, *Picaninny Walkabout*, based on Axel Poignant’s photographs of Aboriginal children in Arnhem Land, was first published in 1957 and became very popular, selling over 100,000 copies (Langton 1995:14-15). Stewart (1969:53) also describes David Attenborough visiting Nourlangie Safari camp in 1963 during the filming of *Under Capricorn*.

By the 1960s Aboriginal people, like the flora and fauna, became part of the Australian tourist landscape. In the following extract, from an Australian guidebook published in 1962, Aboriginal people are represented as the essence of ‘primitiveness’ - racially and spatially sorted and classified - but with no attention given to their cultural and linguistic diversity, nor to the contemporary political realities of their lives at that time:

There are in Australia about 39,000 full-blooded and 31,000 half-caste aborigines, who represent the last of one of the world’s most primitive races. Of these approximately 13,000 are nomadic, and live in the remote unsettled areas of the interior and northern Australia in the primitive style of the Stone Age, using the boomerang, fire-stick, stone-knife and tomahawk (Bank of New South Wales 1962:19).
As Russell (1995:108) argues:

The style of representation which developed suggested that Aboriginal culture was virtually the same across Australia, with variation confined to minor differences in ritual, body decoration and custom rather than to subsistence base or economy.

In the 1960s, Berndt and Berndt (1970:203) observed that growing tourist interest and a “renewed interest in Aboriginal culture from a research and recording point of view” were, together, contributing to a “growth of emphasis on Aboriginality as something important in itself” whereby “distinctive local cultures may have no place in this general scheme except as symbols of Aboriginal identity in contrast to any other kind”. In retrospect, their forecast was partly right, and artefacts that were formerly identified with the people of a particular region in Australia, such as the didgeridoo and the boomerang, have now become pan Aboriginal symbols on a world stage. However, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are challenging this process and growing indigenous involvement in the tourism industry may in fact be strengthening regional identification. As Les Gibson, an indigenous tour operator from Queensland, comments “Through respect you don’t jump over the fence to grab other people’s culture” (NTTC 1995:38). Moreover, the recently released National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (1997) and the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Industry Strategy (1997) jointly state:

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people feel strongly that the promotion of their cultures needs to acknowledge distinctive regional differences (ATSIC 1997:22).

The strategies acknowledge that “this requires a significant shift in promotion and tourist education” and that the first step will require Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to “recognise, agree and present their regional cultures”, which may be difficult considering how much borrowing has occurred (ATSIC & ONT 1997:23).
1965-1972: the commoditisation of Aboriginal culture

In 1965 Harris, Kerr, Foster & Company and Stanton Robbins released the first national report into the Australian tourist industry. The HKF Report, as it is known, described Aboriginal culture as "a unique, primitive civilization of great interest to the world" and called for government controls to protect Aboriginal people from exploitation by the tourist industry (1965:281). It acknowledged that there was a need for skilled Aboriginal guides, greater policy involvement of Aboriginal people, and stricter controls with regard to tourist access to, and behaviour on, Aboriginal land. Thirty years on many of these recommendations are still of issue today.

The HKF Report also called for tighter controls over the quality of Aboriginal arts and crafts, suggesting that authenticity was declining:

Unfortunately, the manufacture of such products has been commercialized; quality control is entirely lacking; the art designs applied often bear no relationship to the object or locality; and European techniques, such as poker work and varnishings are used, as are European paints. The shoddy products resulting are of no use to anybody (1965:282).

Many of the artefacts produced for the tourist market from the 1930s onwards were either introduced crafts or were traditional objects that incorporated non traditional designs. At Hermannsburg, the artefacts produced for tourists included leather goods and blankets early on, and later, mulga wood boomerangs and woomeras painted with watercolours, as well as carved wooden animals decorated with poker work. From the 1950s, eastern Arrernte people at the Santa Teresa mission produced leather handbags, moccasins, wallets and boomerangs for sale to tourists visiting the mission (Green 1992:304-305).

The HKF Report was critical of the influence of the missions on bark painting in Arnhem Land stating that the paintings were "losing, or have lost, their Aboriginal feeling" (1965:282). The report’s emphasis on ‘traditional’ culture mirrored the stance of critics elsewhere in the world who argued that tourism development was leading to the commoditisation of indigenous and ethnic arts and an associated loss of
meaning (Greenwood 1976). Since then however, this notion of a fixed authenticity has been challenged. As Cohen (1988b:379) argues

...a cultural product, or trait thereof, which is at one point generally judged as contrived or inauthentic may, in the course of time, become generally recognized as authentic.

The changing fortunes of the Namatjira school of landscape painters from Central Australia aptly illustrates how tourists' perceptions of what is and what is not authentic can change over time. Early tourists flocked to Hermannsburg to purchase landscape paintings by Namatjira or paintings in a similar style by other local artists. However, as tourists' perceptions of Aboriginal culture changed over the years, their art purchase preferences also changed. Now, most tourists prefer to buy dot paintings, considering them a more authentic representation of Aboriginal culture. Yet from the perspective of contemporary Aboriginal landscape artists like Wenten Rubuntja, landscape and dot styles are of equal importance:

Landscape is not just trivial, pretty or decorative. This is worship work, culture. There are two ways of painting it. I do it two ways and I tell the history in two ways. Both ways are important because that's culture (in Green 1992:310).

Soon after the release of the HKF Report, Pittock (1967) also warned of the potential negative impacts of tourism development on Aboriginal people. Pittock (1967:92) criticised the HKF Report on the grounds that it focused on the maintenance of tradition but did not deal with "the problems of motivation, self-respect, and the maintenance of a living ongoing culture". He had observed the impacts of tourism development on indigenous people in the USA and argued that the way to avoid similar problems in Australia was to give Aboriginal people more control -

...we must ensure that the Aborigines are involved as initiators, proprietors, and shareholders, and not merely as part of the scenery like kangaroos and spinifex, nor as underpaid servants or beggars. This implies Aboriginal participation through their own legally constituted and recognised councils, business committees, corporations or companies, with effective control of real financial and material resources (Pittock 1967:95).
During the 1960s a growing number of tourists requested entry to Aboriginal reserves. Some visitors entered Arnhem Land without permits, particularly in the Oenpelli region where they were keen to go buffalo and crocodile shooting (Berndt & Berndt 1970:203). In response to the growing public interest in Aboriginal people, the Welfare Branch established open days at Milikapati, Bagot and Warrabri to allow people to visit Aboriginal reserves. Jack Doolan who was a patrol officer during the 1960s, was critical of the open days, describing how “A whole lot of clowns used to walk about with cameras and walk in and out of Aboriginal people’s homes” (in Berzins 1998:75).

From the late 1960s to 1974 tourist corroborees were regularly performed at Mica Beach Resort at Mandorah on the Cox Peninsula (Northern Territory Library Territory Images). A boat picked tourists up from Darwin each evening and took them to the resort where they were provided with a meal and entertainment. According to Foley’s History of the Cox Peninsula (1982) “as many as twenty tourist buses per week” visited the resort at its peak. Approximately ten Aboriginal people from Delissaville, now the Belyuen community, performed regularly for tourists and led tourists on bush tucker walks along the coast and inland. Other local Aboriginal people were also employed at the resort on a casual basis. Foley (1982) includes a written account of a visit to Mica Beach by a Canadian journalist, Lyn Hancock, in 1972:

These were Waugeit (sic) people reputed to be among the best primitive dancers in the world. Each day they walk to Mica Beach from the Delissaville Native Settlement five miles away to dance a corroboree and demonstrate their skills in fire making and spear throwing. I know of no other place in Australia where the tourist can watch authentic aboriginal dances in such a magnificent setting... The versatile natives then put down their didgeridoos and clapping sticks and take up drums and electric guitars to provide dance music for the guests.

On the following page, I have included a postcard showing the Belyuen dancers and its envelope, and on the page after that I have included a photograph of the Belyuen people entertaining tourists at the Mica Beach Resort. In 1972 the dancers from Delissaville went on strike, claiming that they were only paid $2 a day plus their meals.
for performing. The strike received considerable media attention, the local newspaper alleging that the strikers had been influenced by “stirrers” and the resort owner counter-claiming that “the dancers were paid $4 a day and given three meals, as well as two beers and a packet of cigarettes” (Foley 1982). In 1974 Cyclone Tracy destroyed the resort and the Belyuen dancers have performed on a less regular basis since then, although people from Belyuen continue to produce artefacts for the tourist market (Povinelli 1993).

Figure 3: Postcard of Belyuen dancers, with envelope
Between 1969 and 1973 the Aboriginal Benefit Trust Fund provided financial support for several Aboriginal tourism projects in the Northern Territory. Some were feasibility studies that were not developed any further, other projects focused on employment training and enterprise development (Altman 1988:59-60). Just three out of the ten projects were situated in the Top End and none of these projects got past an initial planning stage. In general, the projects reflected the assimilationist policies of the time, emphasising the potential for Aboriginal participation in the mainstream industry, in transport, accommodation and retail enterprises (Altman 1988:59-61). One of the recipients of funding was Gus Williams, who started Western Aranda Tours in 1969. In a booklet by the Department of the Interior, published in 1972, Gus was described as “one of the best-known Aborigines in the Northern Territory” and his success was linked to his acceptance of mainstream values,

... unlike the brilliant artist [Albert Namatijira], Gus has made the grade by ‘bucking the system’ - that is the Aboriginal system of sharing with everyone else (Department of Interior 1972:8).
Similarly, the brochure promoting Iwupataka, the first independently run Aboriginal tourism enterprise in the Northern Territory, depicted a ‘modernising’ community. Beneath the heading “Welcome to Jay Creek Aboriginal Settlement” and a photograph of three smiling school girls, the written text draws attention to the “modern curriculum” and discusses the favourite subjects, hobbies and ambitions of each of the girls, ending with the statement “These are the type of children the visitor will meet at Iwupataka”.

In the 1960s and 1970s the number of popular travel books about Australia rose rapidly. Jeff Carter, a journalist for National Geographic, was one of the most prolific of these travel writers, but Mike and Mal Leyland, and Coralie and Leslie Rees published similar books during the 1960s and 1970s as well. With titles like Further off the beaten track (Leyland 1974) and Four-Wheel Drive Swagman (Carter 1969), the books usually mixed anecdote and advice and contained a considerable number of photographs of the author’s trip. These authors played a major role in the dissemination of information about Aboriginal people. As Carter (1969:11) comments in Four wheel drive swagman:
There is great interest overseas in the Australian Aborigines as a sort of fly-in-the-amber of the Stone Age. Our unique wildlife also holds a fascination for foreign magazine editors.

Carter describes staging a photograph for a National Geographic assignment. He was asked to film Aboriginal people living at the Yuendumu Aboriginal Reserve, and to look for people “still living a nomadic existence”, but when he could not find anyone that fitted this description, he

...had to resort to asking some of the tribesmen at the settlement to come with me into the bush, to demonstrate how they and their forbears lived for thousands of years before the white invasion of their lands (Carter 1969:11).

Jeff Carter’s Great Book of the Australian Outdoors (Carter 1976) has two chapters that provide information on Aboriginal people. The first is titled “Getting along with country people”, and the second, “Aboriginal Reserves”. Carter (1976:144-45) offers advice to travellers on how to approach Aboriginal people and warns against taking photographs:

If you pull out a camera and start snapping photos of the camp, you are likely to be abused, particularly by women, and even stoned! Ask permission first, and be prepared to pay for the privilege.

1972-1990: land rights and Aboriginal tourism development

Despite the early attention given to indigenous tourism development in the HKF Report, very little further development occurred during the 1970s and much of the 1980s. However, there were major changes in the broader social policy arena that affected indigenous people during this period and these changes influenced Aboriginal tourism development in the Northern Territory. The election of the Whitlam led Commonwealth Labour government in 1972 brought with it a major change in the government’s approach to indigenous affairs. Policies promoting indigenous self determination replaced the older policies of assimilation and Mr Justice Woodward was appointed to investigate the most appropriate way of developing and implementing land rights legislation.
The *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* was finally passed in 1976 by the Commonwealth Liberal Coalition government, led by Malcolm Fraser. The *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* granted Aboriginal people living in the Northern Territory inalienable freehold title to all Aboriginal reserves and a legal pathway by which to claim unalienated Crown Land, when traditional ownership of the land under claim could be demonstrated (Commonwealth of Australia 1992:14). It paved the way for the outstations movement and Aboriginal people who were living in towns and in larger settlements were able to return to live on their traditional country in clan and family groups. More than twenty years on, approximately 50% of the Northern Territory is Aboriginal owned or under claim, enabling Aboriginal people to build an economic and political base. In Heatley’s (1991:17) words:

> Possession of land and the conditions of tenure - inalienable title and strong control over land use - give its owners a significant role in the Territory’s economy and in the continuing politics of economic development.

In 1973, in response to Woodward’s recommendations, the Northern Land Council (NLC) and Central Land Council (CLC) were established to represent the interests of Aboriginal traditional owners in the Northern Territory. The Tiwi Land Council (TLC) was formed in 1978, and the Anindilyakwa Land Council (ALC) was formed much later, in 1991. Since then, the land councils have played important “representation and advocacy” roles in relation to economic development on Aboriginal land (Tilmouth 1993:26). With regard to tourism development, the land councils negotiate with tour operators on behalf of the traditional owners, and issue licenses and collect payments for commercial tourism activities carried out on Aboriginal land.

The Northern Land Council, in its recent submission to the *Review of the Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act*, identified three types of tourism activities currently operating on Aboriginal owned land under its jurisdiction: tours, sport fishing and safari hunting. Many of these tour operations are not owned and operated by Aboriginal people, although agreements between the Northern Land Council and the tour operators do contain provisions for the engagement of local Aboriginal guides and for
on the job training for Aboriginal employees (Northern Land Council 1997:42). Even though Aboriginal ownership of enterprises is limited at this stage, income generated from the issuing of licenses and permits in relation to these three types of tourism activities has grown considerably since the 1980s, as the graph below shows.

**Northern Land Council: payments to Land Trusts for Safari Hunting, Tours and Sports fishing**

![Graph showing income generated for Land Trusts from tourism licenses since the 1980s](source)

*Figure 6: Graph showing income generated for Land Trusts from tourism licenses since the 1980s*  
(Source: Reeves 1998:564)

One of the significant outcomes of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* is that Aboriginal people now own and are joint managers of several of the major national parks in the Northern Territory. In 1979 Kakadu National Park (Stage 1) became Australia’s first Aboriginal owned national park, followed by Gurig (Coburg) National Park in 1981, Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in 1985 and Nitmiluk (Katherine Gorge) National Park in 1989. The parks are leased back to either the Commonwealth or Northern Territory governments under a range of joint management agreements. The traditional owners receive revenue from the rent of the park, and from concessions for commercial activities carried out in the parks, and they also receive a percentage of the camping and entry fees. In their role as joint
managers, they have a major influence over the display and interpretation of sites within the parks and contribute to planning processes regarding the zoning of the park for tourism and other purposes.

During the 1970s and 1980s broader changes in the Australian tourism industry also influenced the development of Aboriginal tourism. In 1976 the Tourism Minister’s Council Agreement set out *The Statement of Government Objectives and Responsibilities in Tourism* which gave the federal government responsibility for the promotion of Australia internationally, through the Australian Tourist Commission (ATC), based in Sydney. The state governments were given responsibility for the actual planning and implementation of tourism development, and for the promotion of domestic tourism. State and territory governments are able to control development through zoning and licensing regulations and through the provision of necessary infrastructure.

The 1980s were boom years for the Australian tourist industry and tourism was promoted as a resource based industry. Between 1983 and 1993 international visitor numbers trebled to reach nearly three million (King & McVey 1994:5). During the early 1980s several small scale Aboriginal cultural tourism enterprises were started in the Northern Territory, including Ipolera Tours, Jankangyina Tours and Tiwi Tours. In 1984 the Northern Territory Tourist Commission became the first state or territory tourism body to appoint a person responsible for the development of Aboriginal tourism. At the same time, however, concern was growing about the impacts of the rapid growth of tourism on Aboriginal people and this became a focus of academic research (Sullivan 1984, Lawrence 1985, Palmer 1985, Gale & Jacobs 1987, Kesteven 1987, Dillon 1987, Altman 1988, 1989, CLC et al 1991). In Altman’s (1988) case study analysis of the economic impacts of Aboriginal tourism development, he estimated that Aboriginal people received between 1 and 2% of the total tourist expenditure in the Northern Territory. Less than optimistically, he concluded that
...Aborigines may be justified in their wariness in rushing headlong into tourism. Just as tourism may not be a panacea for the fiscal problems of north Australia, it may likewise not be a panacea for Aboriginal poverty and economic dependence on the state (Altman 1989:474).

However, government and industry representatives have continued to emphasise the opportunities and potential of the tourism industry for indigenous people. Furthermore, during the 1990s, commonwealth, state and territory governments have released tourism strategies to increase Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participation in the mainstream industry and in the cultural and nature tourism sectors particularly. In the following chapter I describe and compare these political initiatives and discuss the interests of various key stakeholders in the indigenous policy making arena. While the release of a range of tourism policies signals a new stage in the development of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tourism in Australia, the following chapter will show that many of the issues that were first raised in the 1960s remain significant today.
CHAPTER TWO
Chapter Two

The politics and policies of Aboriginal tourism
development in the 1990s

The track behind us is littered with the relics of policies, programs and projects that failed, that wasted taxpayers' money and failed to deliver real outcomes to those crying out for them. They failed mainly because they did not include indigenous people in making the decisions (Dodson 1996:7).

...when it comes to tourism policy, not watching is a luxury we cannot afford (Richter 1993:179).

During the 1990s Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tourism has entered a new phase with the development of commonwealth, state and territory tourism policies aimed at increasing indigenous participation in the industry. These polices have been developed at a significant time. Tourist demand for indigenous tourism experiences is growing, many indigenous people are keen to become involved in the industry, and it is possible that the Olympic Games and Centenary of Federation celebrations will “offer unprecedented opportunities for the promotion, marketing and positioning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture” (ATSIC 1995:27).

This chapter describes and analyses the politics and policies of Australian indigenous tourism development in the 1990s. It focuses on the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (1997), the Northern Territory Aboriginal Tourism Strategy (1996), and several examples of regional and local level Aboriginal tourism planning in the Top End. Policy decisions influence the direction of tourism development by determining “who gets what, where, how and why” (Hall 1994:191). Consequently, the development of policy is a complex and contested process and as Hall (1994:200) asserts “[t]here are no policy facts; there are only policy arguments”.

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The tourism industry is a composite entity, comprising transport, accommodation, entertainment, hospitality, arts and cultural sectors and, therefore, the interests of various industry and community stakeholders are extremely diverse. It is also a highly competitive and privatised industry and information about product development and the commercial performance of enterprises is often kept confidential (OND 1993:93).

In Richter’s (1993) analysis of the politics of international tourism she identifies five key policy issues at the core of national tourism policy making. These issues are the extent of public versus private ownership, the relative centralisation–decentralisation of power, the proportionate emphasis on domestic versus international tourists, the balance between ‘quality’, or high yield and mass tourism, and lastly, the choice between integrated and enclave development. In Australia, these are also significant issues in the indigenous tourism policy making arena. With regard to the first two issues, commonwealth, state, territory and local governments all play a part in the development of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tourism, but the roles and responsibilities of the three levels of government overlap and are often unclear. Moreover, the priorities of each level of government may be in conflict and the numerous government agencies involved in the delivery of funding and services to indigenous people at each level of government, further complicate the policy making process.

Richter’s second two key policy issues, the proportionate emphasis on domestic versus international tourists and the balance between ‘quality’, or high yield and mass tourism, centre on the assumed benefits of courting different segments of the market. Relatively little attention has been given to this aspect of indigenous tourism development. While research indicates that international tourists comprise the dominant market for indigenous tourism products, the characteristics of the domestic market have been largely overlooked. Moreover, many indigenous products have not been located in areas of high tourist visitation and this has accentuated their commercial fragility. As Altman (1993a:11) argues “[c]ultural tourism will often need to be provided as professional entertainment for the mass market”. Similarly, Craik (1997:126) asserts:
Too often attention is focused on the ‘high yield’, ‘elite’ cultural tourist – a rare and fickle beast – at the expense of more broadly based strategies and appeals.

Richter’s final policy issue, the choice between integrated and enclave development, relates to the location and spatial structure of tourist attractions. In the context of indigenous tourism development this issue is of particular relevance to community-based tourism where a decision has to be made as to whether tourists will be allowed to visit community homes. It is also an issue in national parks where pressures from large visitor numbers demand zoning decisions, at times requiring the separation of Aboriginal living areas from public view, as, for example, in the case of the Mutitjulu community at Uluru. While these may be micro-level decisions made at the community level, they have a significant impact on the lives of local people and on the tourist’s experience as well.

The 1990s: the changing political context

By 1990 the economic importance of the tourism industry was well recognised by federal, state and territory governments in Australia. The industry had become a major source of income and employment for Australian people and governments were committed to maintaining its growth. However, the negative environmental and social impacts from the rapid growth of the industry during the 1980s were also becoming more apparent (Hall 1994:146). In 1991 the Keating led Commonwealth Labour government gave tourism full ministerial status in the cabinet and established the Commonwealth Department of Tourism (CDOT) to develop and coordinate tourism policy nationally. In 1992 the CDOT launched Australia’s first national strategy - *Tourism: Australia’s Passport to Growth* - to promote the sustainable development of the industry. One of the aims of the National Strategy was to develop niche markets for rural, marine, backpacker, cultural, sports and indigenous tourism.

At the same time, federal, state and territory governments were looking for ways to increase employment opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The *Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody: National Report* (1991) identified the tourism, cultural and pastoral industries as potential sources of...
economic growth and employment for indigenous Australians and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) was granted $15 million to spend over five years to increase indigenous participation in the three industries. These industries are all suited to regional areas, an important consideration given that an estimated 30% of indigenous Australians live in rural, farming and pastoral areas, and another 40% in remote areas (Dodson 1994:81).

In the early 1990s there were several significant milestones in Australian indigenous affairs. In 1992 the Mabo High Court ruling formally recognised indigenous ownership of the land prior to European occupation and in the following year, 1993, the Keating government passed the Native Title Act. The Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation was established in 1991 to promote reconciliation between indigenous and non indigenous Australians through education and discussion.

In 1994 the Keating government launched Creative Nation, Australia’s first national cultural policy, which aimed to develop the nation’s cultural industries, including cultural tourism, and capitalise on the economic potential of these industries. Creative Nation described Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures as “an essential element of Australian identity, a vital expression of who we all are” and emphasised the symbolic value of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures in the representation of a unique and different Australia to the rest of the world (Department of Communication and the Arts 1994:6). In this context, the development of indigenous cultural tourism is a part of cultural as well as economic policy, and becomes a significant export product in the marketing and promotion of ‘Australia’ for an international audience.

Also in 1994, the Commonwealth Department of Tourism and ATSIC jointly released the Draft National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy, the first national policy document to specifically target the development of indigenous tourism in Australia. ATSIC is the main administrative and representative body responsible for indigenous affairs in Australia and is a key stakeholder in the development and implementation of indigenous tourism policy. ATSIC was
established in 1990 by the Keating government and is currently administered through thirty five elected regional councils and by twenty commissioners at the national level.

The \textit{Draft National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy} (1994) was developed by the Tourism Industry Advisory Committee (TIAC), a non elected body comprising Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander representatives, tour operators, tourism industry organisations, state and territory representatives, and representatives from ATSIC, the Commonwealth Department of Tourism and the Department of Employment Education and Training (ATSIC 1994b:5). Following the release of the Draft Strategy, TIAC distributed six thousand copies nationally and arranged a series of consultative meetings throughout Australia to hear responses. A shorter, 'plain' English summary of the Draft Strategy was also released because the initial version had been criticised on the grounds that it was difficult to understand.

During the consultative process, TIAC developed a series of pilot projects to test various aspects of the eight core areas identified in the Draft Strategy: awareness, expectations and attitudes; environmental, economic and social impacts; finance; marketing and research; product development; training and employment; transport infrastructure and tourism business development. The total annual funding for the pilot projects was $500,000 for 1995 and 1996, and information gained from the pilot projects was incorporated in the final strategy (ATSIC 1994b:87).

After the election of the Howard led Liberal Coalition government in 1996, the Commonwealth Department of Tourism was disbanded and the tourism portfolio was shifted to the Department of Science, Industry and Tourism, where it is now run from the Office of Tourism (ONT). ATSIC and the ONT launched the final version of the \textit{National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy} in 1997. In the same year ATSIC also released the \textit{National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Industry Strategy} and the \textit{National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Rural Industry Strategy}. 
The implementation period for the *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy* is from 1997 to 2001. The Strategy aims to remove the barriers that hinder indigenous participation in the industry as either investors, partners in joint ventures, employers or employees. It highlights the central role of commonwealth, state and territory governments in the development of indigenous tourism but also recommends that indigenous enterprises join "mainstream networks" (ATSIC & ONT 1997:28).

Since the Howard government has been in office several Aboriginal tourism initiatives have been funded through the $8 million Regional Tourism Program. This program does not specifically target indigenous tourism development, but supports the development of tourism in rural areas through the provision of funding for product development and infrastructure initiatives.

The Howard government is also funding the development of a code of conduct for tourists who visit Aboriginal communities. The code will inform tourists about cultural heritage, sacred sites, ceremonies, artefacts and the meaning of land. It will also advise tourists about procedures for seeking access to Aboriginal owned land, Aboriginal customs, and appropriate conduct with Aboriginal people. Munt (1994a:113-114) notes that codes of conduct are increasingly prevalent in the tourism industry and particularly in the nature tourism sector. They direct tourists’ behaviour, and aim to minimise the negative impacts of tourism on local people and the environment. The growing popularity of such codes is linked to the development of new ‘alternative’ and more ‘ethical’ types of tourism, but as Hall and Weiler (1992:202) assert "[c]odes of ethics only go so far; to change behaviour we need to change attitudes".

Furthermore, it may be difficult to develop a code of conduct that is relevant and meaningful to the diversity of Aboriginal contexts. Most maps, guidebooks and Northern Territory Tourist Commission brochures already warn tourists that they need to obtain a permit from the relevant land councils before entering Aboriginal owned land. Often they also provide information on sacred sites and tell tourists to
ask permission before photographing Aboriginal people. In a newspaper article on the proposed code of conduct, Paul Ah Chee, from the Aboriginal Art and Culture Centre in Alice Springs is quoted as saying that most tourists already heed protocols and do have permits (MacDonald 1999:17). Similarly, the *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Strategy Main Consultancy Report* draws attention to the “overwhelming willingness of visitors to accept cultural protocol” (NCSTT 1994:23).

Other recent changes to the broader indigenous political arena have not helped the further development of indigenous tourism. The Howard government has reduced ATSIC’s funding and there is uncertainty concerning the reconciliation process. Although this uncertainty may have little direct impact on indigenous tourism development it does challenge the symbolic position of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures, which may in turn affect indigenous participation in the tourism industry. As Sol Bellear (in OND 1993:19) suggests “Without reconciliation our marketing of ourselves to the world is a deception”.

**Hearing people’s stories: indigenous people in the policy making process**

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were consulted at several stages during the development of the national indigenous tourism strategy. A conference was held in Darwin in 1993, prior to the release of the Draft Strategy, then two fully funded forums were organised in 1995, the first in Alice Springs and the second in Darwin. These forums enabled indigenous tour operators, key government agencies and industry representatives from all over Australia to come together, discuss and respond to the Draft Strategy.

Importantly, the forums presented policy makers with a “clear and current picture of the state of Aboriginal tourism in Australia” (NTTC 1995:2). As Finlayson (1993:81) notes, such forums “where stakeholders in the industry share and reflect on their experiences, are unusual in the management of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander affairs”. To illustrate how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have informed
and influenced the development of the national indigenous tourism strategy, I will describe three areas of the Draft Strategy which were of particular concern to indigenous tour operators at the Alice Springs forum in 1995 and that have subsequently been re-addressed in the final version of the *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy* (1997). The three areas I will discuss are the Draft Strategy’s focus on ‘numbers’ and ‘growth’, its support for the diversity of indigenous business aspirations, and its incorporation of economic and cultural objectives.

**Challenging the Draft Strategy’s focus on growth**

The Draft Strategy stated that there were 2,500 indigenous people working in the industry in 1991 and approximately 500 indigenous tourism-related enterprises (ATSIC 1994b:5). These figures were based on a preliminary research report carried out by the National Centre for Studies in Travel and Tourism (NCSTT 1994). However, participants at the Alice Springs forum challenged the figures, arguing instead that the forum itself was a more accurate representation of the indigenous tourism sector (NTTC 1995:37). It was attended by 80 indigenous people representing 54 enterprises, from all states and territories, including cultural tourism enterprises, arts and craft enterprises, cultural centres, joint ventures and mainstream attractions such as crocodile and emu farms.

The gap between the two sets of figures is large and is only partially explained by the NCSTT’s more encompassing focus on “tourism-related” businesses. Moreover, an over optimistic baseline is a serious impediment to the accurate assessment of future growth. Accordingly, the final version of the *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy* (ATSIC & ONT 1997:6) more modestly estimates that there are approximately 200 indigenous tour enterprises and 1,500 indigenous people working in the mainstream industry.

The Draft Strategy also set ambitious targets for the growth of indigenous tourism, aiming to have an additional 8,500 indigenous people employed in the industry by the
year 2000, with 5,000 of them in the mainstream industry, 2,100 in new indigenous enterprises and 1,400 more in existing enterprises (ATSIC 1994b:7). Stating that environmental, social and cultural impacts are difficult to measure, it suggested that numbers are a more ‘tangible’ way of assessing the impact of policy (ATSIC 1994b:40). As Hall notes (1994:148), an emphasis on growth is a common feature of tourism policies generally:

The effectiveness and success of tourism policy are invariably set according to the number of tourists that arrive at particular destinations rather than the nett benefit that tourism brings to a destination generally.

Indigenous participants at the Alice Springs tour operators’ forum questioned whether ‘growth’ was an appropriate goal for the Draft Strategy, suggesting, instead, that it was preferable to improve the long term sustainability of the indigenous tourism sector. They maintained that the final strategy should “take into account the cultural factors” and encourage slower growth to give people time to learn about and adjust to the demands of tourists and the industry (NTTC 1995:37). To this end, they argued that more emphasis should be placed on the provision of training and funding support for existing enterprises, rather than on establishing new ones, and that funding should be guaranteed for at least five years to enable enterprises to consolidate (NTTC 1995:37). Participants suggested that government training programs and short term employment strategies altered employment statistics temporarily but did not actually lead to permanent employment.

Their concerns are acknowledged in the final version of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy and it does not contain numerical targets for growth. Moreover, it recommends that “it is desirable to consolidate those enterprises that have already started” (ATSIC & ONT 1997:2). Similarly, the Northern Territory Aboriginal Tourism Strategy (NTTC 1996:11) acknowledges that it is important to support “existing businesses".
Supporting the diversity of indigenous business aspirations

The Draft Strategy and, to a greater extent, the current *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy* (1997) focus on the need to promote and support the full diversity of indigenous business aspirations. Many community-based enterprises have not been economically sustainable and support for alternative enterprise structures is growing amongst government agencies, state and territory tourist commissions and some indigenous people. Joint ventures are now widely promoted and one of the pilot projects funded through the Draft Strategy was the development of *Guidelines for Tourism Joint Ventures between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Partners* (SATC 1996) to provide advice for indigenous people who are considering becoming partners in a joint venture.

Moreover, awareness of the key role that individuals play in the commercial success of all enterprises is growing. As Burchett (1993:25) suggests, "[n]one are community driven! None rely an amorphous 'community' to get up at 5am to clean a bus or prepare food". The Draft Strategy reiterates:

> Without exception, the commitment, effort and competence of one or two people is vital to the success of a tourism enterprise regardless of whether it is a community, family or individual project (ATSIC 1994b:6).

However, the Draft Strategy stopped short of recommending changes to ATSIC's policy of exclusively funding community enterprises or incorporated bodies of more than five people. While ATSIC's policy is built on the recognition that indigenous social arrangements may be fundamentally different and more community oriented than those of non indigenous Australians; in practice, it has favoured indigenous people living in communities, usually situated in more remote areas, and has excluded those who live and work in other social settings. Molnar (1995:190) also raises this point in relation to the development of indigenous media broadcasting:
ATSIC and DEET prefer to deal with ‘representative’ associations which they can deem as ‘accountable’ rather than smaller groups and individual Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander broadcasters. This distinction fails to recognize that a large number of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders involved in community radio and video are part of small groups or work as individuals.

Furthermore, community-based tourism enterprises begin operation on very different terms than mainstream enterprises since more than 70% of all mainstream tourism businesses employ ten or less people and most begin as very small one or two person businesses and develop from there (CDOT 1992:30).

Some indigenous tour operators at the Alice Springs and Darwin forums criticised ATSIC’s funding criteria. As one participant put it “If you’re an individual you get penalised, if you’re a community you get everything” (NTTC 1995:21). Others voiced their concerns over the pressure they felt to enlarge their operating base and become an incorporated body. As one operator asked “Why should we take on board other people when we’ve worked so hard to get it going?” (NTTC 1995:21). In response to their concerns, the current National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (ATSIC & ONT 1997:10) acknowledges that there are problems with ATSIC’s funding criteria and states that

...funding agencies may need to adjust their normal conditions of funding and management structures, including requirements for particular forms of incorporation.

However, the strategy does not challenge the dominance of ATSIC and DEET, the key government agencies involved in the provision of funding and training for indigenous tourism development. It is difficult for many indigenous people to obtain funding, loans and support from the private sector and therefore they are heavily reliant on the government for these resources. Some indigenous tour operators suggest that this is the real problem, and argue that government agencies are too ‘bureaucratic’ and not commercially oriented. In the words of Judy Freeman, from Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park:
Governments or bureaucracies do not create successful businesses. Successful businesses are created by creative people at the grassroots level who do what they want to do (OND 1993:111).

ATSIC businesses in general have an 87% failure rate (Martin 1995:19, also see Finlayson 1995:4) but ATSIC’s policies are social as well as economic policies and any evaluation of them must take this into account. In some remote communities tourism is the only source of regular work and businesses operate from an extended family base with kin relationships influencing the day to day operation of the enterprise. Although tourism work may not bring a high income, it may strengthen the status of guides and their families and give them access to goods that they would not have otherwise had. It cannot be assumed that these ‘spin offs’ are any less important than the direct economic benefits that tourism may bring. Instead, as Martin (1995:19) suggests, it may be more appropriate to see...

...whether it is possible to facilitate the development of indigenous enterprises which are commercially viable, but at the same time enable distinctive Aboriginal values relating to such matters as work practices and relations, hierarchy and authority, the distribution of profits, and more broadly social viability to be realised.

**Incorporating cultural and economic objectives**

In *Creative Country*, Mercer’s (1997:10) review of ATSIC’s Arts and Crafts Industry Support Strategy (ACISS) he describes the indigenous arts and crafts industry as “simultaneously a cultural and economic phenomenon”, and argues that...

...there is no economically feasible and sustainable development without rigorous attention to the cultural dimensions of indigenous life. And there is no culturally feasible and sustainable development without detailed attention to the economic dimensions (Mercer 1997:22).

Indigenous cultural tourism is also “simultaneously a cultural and economic phenomenon”, although this is not always acknowledged by policy makers. The *Draft National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Strategy* focused primarily on the economic and employment gains of indigenous tourism development and only incorporated socio-cultural objectives in a limited way. By contrast, the *Draft National...*
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Strategy acknowledged that the economic and cultural dimensions of the cultural industries are intertwined and their future development depends not only on the economic value of indigenous cultural products, but on "cultural maintenance," on continuing support for non-commercial, creative cultural activities (ATSIC 1994a:17). The difference in these two approaches is considerable, particularly when we consider their respective strategies share common goals and the industries are interdependent.

However, the final version of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (ATSIC & ONT 1997:19) is more closely aligned with the Cultural Industry Strategy, and states:

If cultural tourism is based on the strength of local culture, it follows that there needs to be a constant reinvestment from tourism to maintain cultural resources.

In recommending that government funding be made available for "cultural revival and maintenance", the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy links the long term economic sustainability of indigenous cultural tourism to the need to support and nurture the resource base (ATSIC & ONT 1997:20).

The lack of coordination between the indigenous cultural and tourism industries is also a problem since the industries are highly interdependent. A review of the mainstream Australian cultural industry undertaken by Stanton Partners (http://www.atsic.gov.au/cultural/drfistr4.html) (21/10/99) found "little evidence of policy and program coordination between folios for Aboriginal affairs, arts, tourism and economic/ regional/ business development". However, this is also a problem that relates to the development of cultural tourism more generally, since cultural tourism bridges the arts and tourism industries. Moreover, Craik (1997:135) suggest that since

...the dynamics of cultural production are about cultural differentiation and elitism, while tourism is about cultural differentiation and access, the gulf between the two threatens to increase, not decrease.
The formation of Aboriginal Tourism Australia

At the Alice Springs forum participants unanimously endorsed the proposal to form a national organisation to represent the interests of indigenous people working in the tourism industry. They suggested that such an organisation would heighten the profile of Australian indigenous tourism nationally and internationally, and actively address some of the unique problems experienced by indigenous people in the tourist industry. As George Trevorrow, from Camp Coorong, in South Australia, commented:

We're not being separatist. We're not being black and white. We've got a lot of intricacies in the industry that other people from outside will never understand (in NTTC 1995:31).

Although the proposal to form a national organisation was fully supported, there was debate amongst the participants about the most appropriate way of making such a body really 'representative'. Participants from Queensland, Western Australia and the Northern Territory suggested that in each of their cases, it would be necessary to have two regional representatives, while Mavis Malbunka from Ipolera Tours said that, from her perspective, it would only be appropriate to send both a man and a woman (NTTC 1995:33). Also, participants highlighted the need to represent the interests of sole traders as well as community organisations, and urban based as well as rural and remote tour operations. Others asked whether it was reasonable to have equal representation from all states and territories when some had a much larger indigenous tourism sector than others. Other participants were concerned about the voting rights of joint ventures when one partner was indigenous and the other was not. The conflicting priorities of the participants illustrate the challenges that are associated with attempts to forge a collective voice, particularly when the products are also very diverse. In addition, some participants suggested that other tourism sector organisations had not been effective and argued that an indigenous tourism organisation faced a greater challenge because of its small base at the grassroots level.

In Canada, a similar representative organisation, the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association (CNATA) was established in 1992. It is estimated that there are over 2000 Aboriginal tourism products and services in Canada and that Aboriginal
tourism employs 8000 people. Although CNATA now has over two hundred members it has had problems with securing government funding and according to a statement by its board, it “has been challenged and continues to be challenged by stakeholders interests in the Aboriginal tourism industry, both internal and external players and perceived stakeholders” (http://www.fnc.ca/cnatalpage.html).

Aboriginal Tourism Australia has operated since December 1995 and is based in Melbourne. It is currently working on issues of copyright and authenticity and is also developing an accreditation system for tourism enterprises that incorporates cultural requirements. It is developing links with the Australian Tourist Commission and it is now a member of the peak tourism industry body, the Tourism Council of Australia (TCA). In 1997 the TCA released a policy statement on Native Title, declaring its commitment to reconciliation and its opposition “to racism in all forms”. The statement also calls for “certainty and clarity” with regard to native title rights and the associated “grants, permits and authorities upon which individual operations are now based” (http://www.tourism.org.au/pr/pr01.html).

Clearly the formation of Aboriginal Tourism Australia has opened channels of communication with the mainstream industry and raised the profile of indigenous concerns. Nevertheless, the long term effectiveness of the organisation will also depend on the size of its membership, its operating budget and the way in which it represents and reconciles the diverse interests of its members. In George Trevorrow’s words:

The next vision we’ve got here is this Association. We don’t want a half baked thing that’s why we want everybody here to have a say... It’s a baby now and we’ve got a lot of growing to do and it can either be a good kid or a really bad kid (in NTTC 1995:39).

The Northern Territory Aboriginal tourism strategy

As I have previously mentioned, state and territory governments are key players in the development of indigenous tourism because they have much of the responsibility for product and infrastructure development. However, they also differ significantly from
each other in the way that they position indigenous tourism products in their respective markets. During the last five years South Australia (SATC 1995), Northern Territory (NTTC 1996), New South Wales (Tourism New South Wales 1997) and Victoria (Tourism Victoria 1998) have released separate indigenous tourism strategies to increase indigenous involvement in the tourism industry and to complement the National Strategy.

In the Northern Territory tourism is the second largest industry and is particularly important because it is labour intensive and creates jobs, in contrast to the largest industry, mining. It is estimated that more than 10,000 people are employed in the Northern Territory tourism industry, from a total population of approximately 180,000. The Northern Territory projects itself to the rest of Australia and to the world, through its iconic natural attractions, most of which are located in national parks. It also promotes the strength and diversity of its Aboriginal cultures. Hall (1995:22) notes that the Northern Territory government has explicitly incorporated environmental and social factors into policy initiatives in order to protect this distinctive product base.

The *Northern Territory Aboriginal Tourism Strategy* builds on experience gained from the preceding decade of Aboriginal tourism development in the Northern Territory and acknowledges that

...issues related to Aboriginal Tourism are not easily resolved; that there is a need to present a realistic picture of the current state and potential of Aboriginal tourism and the opportunities it presents (NTTC 1996:6).

It emphasises that Aboriginal tourism products need to be developed in response to market demand, and suggests that Aboriginal enterprises have failed in the past because earlier approaches were product oriented and as a consequence tourist numbers were not necessarily high enough for enterprises to be economically sustainable (NTTC 1996:4). The *Northern Territory Aboriginal Tourism Strategy* also highlights the 'crucial' role of the private sector and the need to facilitate and support
the continuing development of joint ventures which, it suggests, have proved to be a successful way of increasing indigenous participation in the industry (NTTC 1996:5).

By contrast, the South Australian *Aboriginal Tourism Strategy* (1995) emphasises the major role of government agencies in the development of Aboriginal tourism and mentions the roles of ATSIC, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commercial Development Corporation, the Department of State Aboriginal Affairs and the Aboriginal Lands Trust. It proposes that a regional approach be taken to Aboriginal tourism development linking regional tourism plans to ATSIC regional council plans (SATC 1995:11-12). The South Australian strategy notes that traditional culture and society, early European contact, and contemporary Aboriginal society are all of potential interest to tourists (SATC 1995:6).

In New South Wales *Indigenous Tourism: Product Development Principles* focuses on the need for greater indigenous control over tourism development and states that “any expansion of Aboriginal tourism must be done in consultation with, and in a manner which is acceptable to Aboriginal communities, not imposed from outside” (Tourism New South Wales 1997:4). Bisset et al (1998:7) note that just 39 out of 250 indigenous tour operators in New South Wales were listed by Tourism New South Wales as being Aboriginal owned. Thus, policy recommendations address the roles and responsibilities of non indigenous operators and outline protocols regarding appropriate behaviour and visits to indigenous sites. The strategy also calls for greater recognition of indigenous cultural diversity, and more sensitivity towards “Aboriginal law, customs, beliefs and culture” (Tourism New South Wales 1997:9).

**The Kimberley Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Strategy**

The involvement of regional and local levels of government in tourism development makes indigenous tourism planning and development more complicated. In Western Australia, the Aboriginal people in the Kimberley region have formed the Kimberley Aboriginal Tourism Association (KATA) to drive Aboriginal tourism development in the region and increase Aboriginal representation in the mainstream industry. KATA
has released the *Kimberley Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Strategy*, which has two overall objectives. The first focuses on the development of sustainable Aboriginal tourism in the region and the second aims

...to assist and promote the protection of Aboriginal copyright and ownership of traditional culture and law, and maintain the cultural integrity in the Kimberley on which traditional lifestyles and cultural tourism depends.

The *Kimberley Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Strategy* assigns a formal 'gate keeping' role to Aboriginal elders in ensuring the cultural integrity of tour products. The strategy's product oriented approach to Aboriginal tourism development contrasts with the Northern Territory's more market oriented approach. However, Aboriginal people living in the Kimberley region have not had the same control over tourism development that many Aboriginal people have had in the Northern Territory because Western Australia has not had the same land rights legislation.

**Northern Territory regional initiatives**

In the Northern Territory there is a range of regional tourism plans supporting Aboriginal tourism development. In the Top End, for example, the *Katherine Regional Tourism Development Plan ‘A Commitment to Growth’* (NTTC 1996), the *Tiwi Islands Region Economic Development Strategy* (TLC 1996) and the *East Arnhem Regional Development Tourism Plan* (Higgins 1997) all contain recommendations aimed at increasing Aboriginal participation in the regional tourism industry. In addition, the Jawoyn Association’s current strategic plan, *The Jawoyn Association: Towards Best Practice* (1996) aims to increase tourism employment and enterprise opportunities for Jawoyn, and other local Aboriginal people.

Northern Territory tourism development has a strong regional emphasis and the industry is structurally divided into the Top End on the one hand, and Central Australia on the other. The Northern Territory Tourist Commission has offices in both Darwin and Alice Springs, and appointed officers responsible for Aboriginal tourism in each office. The Top End is comprised of the Katherine and Darwin regions and Central Australia is comprised of the Tennant Creek and Alice Springs regions.
Although the ‘Katherine region’ is recognised as a regional entity in terms of economic planning and development, various stakeholders differ in how they actually define the area, making coordination between them more difficult (Jawoyn Association 1996a:22).

The four Northern Territory regional tourism plans incorporate a SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) analysis to identify priorities for future development at particular localities within each region. The Katherine Regional Tourism Development Plan ‘A Commitment to Growth’ (NTTC 1996b:10) identifies “Aboriginal culture” as one of Katherine’s strengths but “mainstreet impressions/social issues” as a weakness. Although this problem does not necessarily involve Aboriginal people, on occasions the local media represents Aboriginal behaviour in public places as a deterrent to tourism. In one example, from the Katherine Times, journalist, Melita (1997:1) discusses local alderman, Nino Nicefero’s comments on “anti social behaviour” and quotes him as saying “Tourists go away thinking filthy, dirty Katherine”. On the fourth page of the same edition of the Katherine Times, Barbara Zochling, the owner of BZ Tours, a tour company in Hobart, is quoted as saying “The streets [of Katherine] should be cleared of drunken Aboriginals... I know it’s not their fault, it’s the government’s fault for giving them money. Is there anything that can be done about that at all?” (Katherine Times 29/10/97:4).

Other regional economic development strategies in the Northern Territory, such as the Tiwi Islands Region Economic Development Strategy (TLC 1996) and the East Arnhem Regional Development Tourism Plan (Higgins 1997) aim to encourage Aboriginal tourism development. Aboriginal people are in the majority in both regions, comprising 80% of the total Tiwi Islands population of 2,000 people, and 60% of the 16,000 people living in the East Arnhem region.

The Tiwi Islands Region Economic Development Strategy identifies opportunities for the further development of manufacturing, tourism, horticulture, aquaculture/ mariculture, agriculture, transport services and infrastructure, and retailing (TLC
1996:42-47). It specifically highlights the potential for the further development of nature based tourism, noting though, that problems may arise because of a lack of management expertise in family based enterprises, because of local disagreements and because the Tiwi lifestyle is non business oriented and may be compromised “by the pressures of commercial tourism” (TLC 1996:44). The Tiwi Tourism Authority was formed in 1995 and bought out the non indigenous joint venture partner, Australian Kakadu Tours, to give “Tiwi people greater control and equity” (TLC 1996:24). Jimmy Tipungwuti, a Tiwi Tourism Authority representative explains, “[t]he joint venture is a thing that gives you a headache really... The only person who makes money is the person who operates it for you” (in NTTC 1995:88). The Tiwi Tourism Authority’s decision to end the joint venture contrasts with the growing support for joint ventures at national and territory levels of government.

Unlike the Tiwi Islands where Aboriginal people have been involved in tourism for almost twenty years, tourism development is at a very early stage in the East Arnhem region. Tourism has, however, been identified as one possible way of diversifying the region’s narrow economic and employment base, which currently depends largely on local mining and service industries. The *East Arnhem Regional Development Tourism Plan* (1997:5) proposes that tourism development be “relatively low key... based on a bottom up approach with the local community being involved in planning, investing resources and implementing tourism ventures”. It indicates that there is a resistance towards joint ventures amongst some of the Yolngu traditional owners in the region, and notes:

An aggressively pro-development attitude is actually an impediment to integration with Aboriginal interest in tourism; there are cultural protocols and processes or ‘ways of doing things’ which Aboriginal land owners hold to and affirm (1997:21, 46).

The *East Arnhem Regional Development Tourism Plan* proposes that tourism development begin with small-scale, individual community-based products, followed then by an evaluative stage to assess marketing, access, social and environmental impacts and infrastructure planning. On the successful completion of the evaluative
stage, the plan states it should then be possible to develop a regional tourism agreement.

The Jawoyn Association: Aboriginal organisations and tourism planning

Since ATSIC's formation in 1990, it has encouraged local indigenous representation and there are now over 2000 subsidised local associations throughout Australia (Rowse 1996:43). These representative organisations play a significant role in regional economic development, as Ah Kit (1996) explains:

Whether in the Northern Territory - where you will be dealing with 'traditional owners' - or elsewhere in Australia - where you will be dealing with 'native title holders' - you are not dealing with 'communities' as such. You are dealing with us, and our local structures, and this means dealing with the bodies that represent those people - be they land councils, tribal associations or clan groups.

The Jawoyn Association represents the interests of the Jawoyn people, who are the traditional owners of much of the land around Katherine. The Jawoyn have regained approximately 40% of their traditional lands and are now using their land to develop mining and tourism enterprises as a means of achieving greater economic independence (Jawoyn Association 1994:6). The Jawoyn Association’s approach to economic development has received considerable publicity and is often portrayed as a “shining example of a new approach to Aboriginal advancement” (Jawoyn Association 1994:13). The Jawoyn Association has courted this publicity, “for reasons of self esteem as well as commercial advantage” (Jawoyn Association 1994:13).

The Jawoyn people are involved in tourism in several ways. They own Nitmiluk National Park, which they lease back to the Northern Territory government. The Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory (CCNT) manages the park on a day to day basis. The Jawoyn Association has a majority on the park’s Board of Management and receives income through the lease arrangement as well as 50% of all revenue raised in the park. The joint management agreement contains provisions
for Aboriginal employment in the park and the CCNT runs a training course for Aboriginal rangers.

The Jawoyn Association is also a joint owner of Nitmiluk Tours, a mainstream enterprise operating boat tours on Nitmiluk Gorge, which brings in $2 million a year for the Jawoyn people (Ryan 1997). The joint venture was negotiated in 1993 and the other partner, Travel North, is an established local Katherine tour company. Ah Kit (1996) discusses the benefits of joint enterprises for the Jawoyn people at present:

Wholly Jawoyn-owned enterprises will develop over time, but joint ventures are allowing us to make use of the expertise, capital and commitment of our partners.

The Jawoyn Association’s current strategic plan *The Jawoyn Association: Towards Best Practice* (1996), and its preceding strategy *Rebuilding the Jawoyn Nation: approaching economic independence* (1994) place a high priority on the creation of employment opportunities for Aboriginal people, the generation of income from Jawoyn owned land and the development of Jawoyn owned enterprises. In acknowledging that “economic development is not separate from socio-cultural development” (Jawoyn Association 1996:21) the plans explicitly incorporate social goals relating to cultural and language maintenance, hunting and foraging rights and the need to recognise Aboriginal cultural practices in mainstream employment and training (Jawoyn Association 1994).

*The Jawoyn Association: Towards Best Practice* (1996:3) promotes the vertical integration of Jawoyn enterprises, linking “in the bigger commercial enterprises with smaller, community-based enterprises” to “allow family and clan groups to stand on their own feet and be more independent of the Association while remaining under its umbrella”. However, one of the difficulties that the Jawoyn people face is that they are in a minority on their land, making up just 7% of the total population and 38% of the Aboriginal population (Jawoyn Association 1994:6). While recognising that it needs to work closely with the different people and communities within the region, the Jawoyn Association places a different priority on the needs of the Jawoyn people,
the needs of other Aboriginal people who live on Jawoyn land; and the needs of Aboriginal and non Aboriginal people who live in the Katherine region (Jawoyn Association 1996:22).

**Manyallaluk: planning at the community level**

The Manyallaluk community is situated on Jawoyn land, although Mayali, Rembarrnga and Ngalkbon people make up most of the 150 people living there. In 1991, the Jawoyn Association established Manyallaluk Aboriginal Cultural Tours on the old Eva Valley cattle station. Then in 1993 the Manyallaluk community formed the Manyallaluk Aboriginal Corporation, and took over the running of the enterprise from the Jawoyn Association. While the Jawoyn Association encourages community independence, the Manyallaluk community’s ownership of the tour enterprise engendered concern amongst some Jawoyn traditional owners as this comment indicates:

> Are we traditional owners under them? ... if the schedule comes through, have we got any rights? My problem I got is that we get chucked out of here from our own country (Jawoyn Association 1994:24).

Thus, even at the community level the development of tourism is set within, and part of broader processes of negotiation and contestation. The Manyallaluk Aboriginal Corporation has its own business plan and makes decisions regarding the scale and pace of tourism development. One of the most significant decisions that the community has made is to stop tourists visiting the community itself. While not exactly a choice between integrated and enclave development, it is a similar decision. Stopping tourists visiting the community gives privacy that would otherwise be impossible and reinforces the notion that the guides go to work rather than that their lives are simply on display. However, some tourists do not like this restriction, a point I will return to again in Chapter Seven when I discuss tourists’ perceptions of their tour experiences at Manyallaluk. Moreover, because, from a national perspective, the indigenous tourism sector is still small, what happens at Manyallaluk has a ripple effect, influencing the policy and practice of indigenous cultural tourism in other places in Australia.
The gap between policy and practice

In this chapter I have charted the development of indigenous tourism policies in Australia, starting with the commonwealth government's development of a national indigenous tourism policy, then moving on to state and territory polices, then finally examining regional and community level policy and planning. Together, these policy initiatives have identified and addressed many of the problems facing indigenous tourism businesses today, and they have generally emphasised the importance of indigenous choice and control over the pace, scale and terms of development. However, the implementation of policy is difficult, and as Finlayson (1995:6) suggests, the challenge remains to turn "symbolism into practice". Moreover, it is hard to assess the impacts of policy as there have been no national forums since those in Alice Springs and Darwin in 1995, and it is difficult to gain any sort of critical overview of the changes indigenous tourism has undergone during the 1990s.

In the following chapter I look at the representation of Aboriginality and the use of imagery in tourism marketing and promotion. Indigenous people involved in the development of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (1997) were concerned about the inaccurate representation of Aboriginal people and their cultures by the tourism industry. Moreover, as I mentioned in the introductory chapter to this thesis many tourists have had little or no contact with Aboriginal people, thus the stereotypical images of Aboriginal people found in a wide range of touristic and non touristic media are very significant because they help shape tourists' expectations prior to their Aboriginal cultural tourism experience.
CHAPTER THREE
Chapter Three

From postcard to plane: Aboriginal imagery and the tourism industry

Living culture is the term that has to be understood. If you simply dish out to tourists who come in contact with you a notion of a static Aboriginal culture like the symbol on the entrance to the drive of this place, an Aboriginal man standing there with a spear and a naga on, then you really are doing yourself a disservice I believe, to what is really taking place. There is so much change in the air. Aboriginal culture has never been static ... for so long the reality of Aboriginal culture has been treated as some kind of pantomime, some kind of magic or some kind of fiction (Dodson in Office of Aboriginal Liaison 1984:33).

Images of Aboriginal people and their cultural artefacts have long been used to promote a distinctive Australia to the rest of the world. Now, however, the use of Aboriginal imagery has multiplied and diversified. A quick perusal of the postcard racks reveals that the hackneyed image of a nameless Aboriginal man, standing on one leg with a spear in his hand now competes with images of smiling Aboriginal children, painted dancers, bush tucker and vibrantly coloured reproductions of Aboriginal art.

Rojek and Urry (1997:9) describe how tourists have become adept semioticians, decoding information from diverse texts; a process that Rojek refers to as ‘collage tourism’. He describes how people ‘drag’ images from various ‘files of representation’ to create new meanings for sights and asserts that “[i]t should not be assumed that either the factual or the fictional have priority in framing the sight” (Rojek 1997:70, 53). In the first part of this chapter I provide a critical overview of the touristic representations of Aboriginality found in a range of ‘files of representation’ including tourist transport, the internet and tourism brochures. In the
latter part of the chapter I provide a detailed content and semiotic analysis of 163 postcards depicting Aboriginal people and Aboriginal cultural markers. I highlight the prevalence of easily recognisable stereotypes, which through repetitive use, construct Aboriginal people as ‘other’ (O’Barr 1994:26). These touristic stereotypes are particularly powerful because Aboriginal people are rarely portrayed as consumers, families or producers in other promotional contexts (Martin 1993:511). I also draw attention to the changing styles of representation in recent image making. My investigation contributes to the growing body of research examining postcard imagery (Albers & James 1983, 1988, Cohen 1993, Peterson 1985, Edwards 1996).

**Bringing on the new: planes, trains and cultural centres**

Undoubtedly, two of the largest touristic objects “designed and painted in an Aboriginal-inspired contemporary style” are the two Qantas Boeing 747s, *Wunala Dreaming* and *Nalanji Dreaming*. They were designed by Balarinji, a highly successful Aboriginal owned design company that also produces a wide range of quality souvenirs for export and for sale within Australia. In 1994, at the inaugural flight of *Wunala Dreaming*, one of the two Qantas Boeing 747s painted with Aboriginal cultural motifs, the Federal Minister for Tourism at the time, Michael Lee, described the plane as “the world’s largest work of modern art” and a “flying vision of reconciliation” (*Sunday Territorian* 4/9/94:1). His words highlight the economic, cultural and political importance of Aboriginal imagery in the context of international tourism today.

Within Australia, tourists may also catch a train, coach or small plane decorated in Aboriginal designs. The prevalent use of Aboriginal imagery to decorate tourist transport highlights the continuing role of Aboriginality as a marker of what is distinctively Australian, but it also points to a changing style in the representation of Aboriginality, and one that is obviously associated with the high profile of Aboriginal art. Many of these Aboriginal designs are abstract and their appeal is primarily aesthetic. The visual consumption of sites and sights is an increasingly dominant part of even the most utilitarian aspects of the tourist experience and as Rojek and Urry
(1997:3) suggest, the boundaries between culture and tourism (or art and tourism) are no longer distinct. This is evident in the emphasis placed on colour as an aspect of design, as an article about *Wunula Dreaming* from the Qantas web site illustrates:

The natural colours of the country have inspired the artists palette, from the bright reds of Uluru (Ayers Rock) at sunset to the blue lavenders that define the Flinders Ranges, lining the Centre’s desert horizon. And if you’ve ventured into the wetlands of Kakadu, you’ll recognise the lush green apple. 


![Figure 7: Postcard - 'Wunula Dreaming'](image)

A similar preoccupation with the symbolic importance of colour is evident in discussions concerning the designs of Aboriginal cultural centres and other architecturally designed buildings for Aboriginal use. The design of Aboriginal public and private buildings is often a complex collaborative process involving long term consultation and negotiation with Aboriginal people on the part of architects and other designers. Those involved strive to incorporate the practical requirements pertaining to the use of the building while at the same time visually representing Aboriginality through shape, form and colour. For example, Dovey (1996) mentions
that the colours of the Galina Beek Cultural Centre in Victoria “are mostly ochres, yellows, natural timbers and reds”, while Bryant’s (1994:110) description of an architecturally designed house in Arnhem Land in an article in Vogue Living states that “[t]he red-brown colour is similar to pigments used in Aboriginal painting - and to the red oxide dust from the nearby bauxite mines”.

More generally, Aboriginal imagery is appropriated by the tourism industry and used as a sign of the ‘exotic’ in the marketing and promotion of Australian destinations and attractions. For example, tourists can take a Walkabout or Dreamtime tour, stay at the Walkabout Lodge, and relax in the Dreamtime Lounge on the Ghan train. If they travel Qantas business class they can sit in a ‘Dreamtime seat’ which “reclines at the touch of a button to ensure sweet dreams”; that is, if one is to believe the recent Qantas advertisement in The Australian (23/9/98:8). The words Dreamtime and Walkabout are used to construct a particular type of tourist ‘paradise’ that links the tourist experience to the earlier journeys of Aboriginal people through the land. This sense of a continuity of ‘touring’ is evident in the Qantas internet article on Wunala Dreaming which states:

The story of “Wunala” started thousands of years ago with ancient Dreamtime journeys of Australia’s Aboriginal people and continues with the most advanced technology available for your travels.

In a different example, the recent brochure from the Northern Territory Tourist Commission promoting Aboriginal tourism attractions evocatively suggests:

For many thousands of years, Aboriginal people have been travelling this country - their country. Now you too can share in this experience. And there’s no better place to start than in Australia’s Northern Territory... By sharing a campfire, witnessing art, and listening to language and stories, it become possible to see the land, its people - and ourselves - in a new light (NTTC n.d. Experience Aboriginal Culture in Australia’s Northern Territory, p.1).

Both examples construct myths that are demonstratively Australian myths, and focus on the interconnection between Aboriginal and non Aboriginal ways of travelling through, seeing and knowing the land. The popular media also construct versions of this theme in an attempt to capture the attention of the general public and to capitalise
Remedio (1996:11) describes how journalists, photographers and film makers...

...come with their four wheel drives, with satellite dishes attached... with large media budgets... to satisfy the ever-increasing consumer lifestyle and tourist promotional type television programs. They film corroborees in Arnhem Land, pow wows from the first nation people of America, lifestyles from Papua New Guinea, and Africa to suit themselves.

The Northern Territory attracts more than its share of media attention and an endless stream of international and Australian journalists come in search of pictures and stories that capture the essence of the Northern Territory - of which Aboriginal people are an integral part. To illustrate the extent of this media attention, between 1990 and 1995 a total of 470 film and 257 photo permits were issued to journalists and photographers seeking permission to go to Kakadu National Park (Kakadu Board of Management & Australian Nature Conservation Agency 1996:123). Those that applied included natural history documentary film makers, Aboriginal culture documentary film makers, tourism/travel documentary film makers, news of the day film and photo journalists, book publishers, scientists and souvenir production companies.

Special interest lifestyle magazines and television programs increasingly include features on Aboriginal people and their cultures and now representations of Aboriginality can be found in food, travel, geographical, art, current affairs, inflight and four wheel drive magazines, to name but a few. In each case the focus is slightly different to cater for the interests of the particular niche market in question. Moreover, as Dann (1997:399) suggests travel destinations are increasingly marketed alongside other luxury items, and new magazines like *Food and Travel* and *Eatsoup* ("travel, drink, eat") from the United Kingdom, and *Gourmet Traveller* and *Vogue Entertaining and Travel* from Australia package travel and food together. Most of the advertisements in these magazines are for luxury food items, wines, cameras, and four wheel drive vehicles as well as for holidays and accommodation. As Urry (1990:14) points out, in post Fordist society people increasingly construct their identities.
through consumption rather than production and thus the purchase of luxury items is one of the ways that people distinguish themselves from others.

Many of the travel articles in lifestyle magazines mirror the transformation of self that is promoted as a key feature of the tourist experience in tourism brochures (Bruner 1991:240). In the following example, journalist, White, describes how his Aboriginal cultural tour experience changed his outlook on life:

> On the way back to Darwin, we detoured to the holiday development of Fog Bay, called Dundee Shores. Instead of seeing it as a great real estate opportunity as I might have done once, it only looked like a rather tasteless and rapidly encroaching threat to Aboriginal territory. Four days at looking at Australia with the assistance of Aboriginal eyes seemed to have changed my perspective a little (1996:57).

In the second example, Burton Taylor describes a similar transformation of self:

> We glean a new sensibility. By travelling with Aboriginal people through their traditional land, it seems that the spirit of the Australian bush - its animals, plants and natural features - has somehow been imparted in us (1995:31).

Though, as Bruner (1991:248) argues:

> One cannot assume... that what appears in discourse will correspond to what happens in experience... The inferences about changes in the tourist self and native self must be based on expressive data gathered independently of the discursive narratives.

**Armchair travellers: the world wide web**

The internet is part of the “interconnected repertoire of print, celluloid, electronic screens, and billboards” (Appadurai 1996:35) that enables people who live in one place in the world to be in contact with and learn about people who live in different, spatially distant places. Although it is not yet widely used for the marketing and promotion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tourism, there is an increasing amount of information on Aboriginal people available on the internet for people who seek it. As yet though little research has been undertaken to assess the impacts of the
internet on indigenous communities, in terms of either the production or consumption of imagery.

Increasingly, organisations in remote communities have their own websites, which enable new constructions of identity to be presented to a world audience. Two indigenous tourism enterprises with their own websites are the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in Cairns (http://www.tiapukai.com.au) and the Aboriginal Art and Culture Centre in Alice Springs (http://www.aboriginalart.com.au/). Several tourism related indigenous enterprises such as Tobwabba Arts, Maningrida Arts Centre and Yothu Yindi also have websites. In the latter examples, the internet enables Aboriginal people to market and sell their music or arts without leaving home.

What is interesting about some indigenous websites is the amount of information that they provide, and much of this information is general and not simply related to the products that they are marketing. For example, the Aboriginal Art and Culture Centre in Alice Springs is owned and operated by the Pwerte Martne Martne Aboriginal Corporation and its website presents browsers with both written information and photographic images. It has headings that include “History of the southern Arrernte family/community group”, “Aboriginal History”, “Our home, our land”, “Homelands Movement”, “Community members”, “Our community vision”, “Our community needs” and lastly, “Community vision”. The information provided is much more than one would expect to get in a brochure.

Interestingly, the Aboriginal Art and Culture Centre website recycles historically based anthropological knowledge as one element in the construction of Arrernte identity for the outside world. A quote by anthropologist, Stanner, is used to explain the Arrernte people’s contemporary relationship with their land:

No English words are good enough to give a sense of the links between an Aboriginal group and its homeland. Our word ‘home’, warm and suggestive though it be, does not match the Aboriginal word that may mean ‘camp’, ‘heart’, ‘country’, ‘everlasting home’, ‘totem place’, ‘life source; ‘spirit centre’, and much else all in one...
Other non commercial indigenous websites may also be attractive to 'collage tourists'. For example, the website of the Ernabella Anangu School in Central Australia (http://www.nexus.edu.au/schools/Ernabella.html) was established in 1997. It features photographic images and a limited amount of written text. The site depicts named women from Ernabella collecting and eating bush tucker. Viewers can see honey ants and read that: "Honey ants are really nice. You hold on to their heads and bite the body. Sucking out the sweet juice is really fun". The site also depicts women using "axes and files" to make wooden artefacts "to demonstrate their skills and earn money". It is obviously a useful website for school children, but is also structurally similar to a mini cultural tour led by a named Aboriginal guide. The personalised nature of the information such sites convey adds to their sense of immediacy. However, as Danaja and Carew note:

People who are interested in setting up their internet have to understand that its (sic) has both good and bad things for Aboriginal people who live in the remote community... One of the big problem (sic) we face today is copyright. Now we can't stop it if people come across the homepage and print it out and then use it to make money. (http://www.aoiwa.edu/~anthro/fulbright/abstracts/dancarew.html)

Brochures

Brochures are often the first source of information for tourists about a destination or attraction prior to their visit. As tourism is an experiential product and not a material good, it cannot be tried and tested before purchase. Thus, brochures become a vital source of information; a "tool with which the tourists may create their own fantasies, image, selves" (Reimer 1990:503). There is much pleasure in the anticipatory phase of the tourist decision making process and the symbolic content of brochure images feeds the tourist's fantasies of paradise. Mythical themes are interwoven through the written text and the visual images and generate a multiplicity of meanings as tourists with varying ideologies interpret them. These myths facilitate the personalisation of an advertising message thereby strengthening its powers of persuasion.

Stereotypical images of indigenous and ethnic peoples are widely used in tourism brochures, not only in the marketing of specifically indigenous or ethnic tourism
products, but as signifiers of the 'exotic' in the accentuation of the unique aspects of a particular destination (Jorgensen 1992). As Goodall (1988:222) argues:

[The] effectiveness of a destination image is dependent upon the ease of its recognition and its conformity to the predisposition of the recipient. Clarity, simplicity and a minimum of dissonance with pre-existing prejudices are the essence of success.

Moreover, it appears that the accuracy of the images used in tourism advertising diminishes the further the brochure manufacturers are from the subject of representation. As Goodall (1988:224) suggests “[t]he image transmitted for any destination area also relates to the distance(s) separating it from tourist-generating areas”. Burchett (1993:24) concurs

...there is a correlation between the extent of the outlandish claims and the distance between the brochure’s audience and the actual culture being described.

Thus, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and their cultures may be portrayed differently for European and North American tourists than for Australian tourists. For example, the Tiwi Tours brochure produced locally in Darwin promotes the ‘One Day Tiwi Tour’ as an opportunity for tourists to gain “a good overview of a modern day Aboriginal community”. However, as I noted in my Masters thesis, when the same tour is described in the brochure of an international tour company, Kuoni, the Tiwi Tour is described as yet another opportunity to experience “the timeless traditions of the Aborigines” and “see how the Tiwi aborigines follow a lifestyle which has remained unchanged for thousands of years” (Pitcher 1992:62). As this example illustrates, appropriate imagery at the source of tourist productions does not ensure that it will be maintained along the marketing and promotion chain. Often, the local community plays no part in international marketing and is likely to have no idea that tourists are arriving with certain preconceived ideas based on inaccurate representations. As Bruner argues (1991:240) the inequality in power between locals and tourists means that “[t]he practices and behaviour of the tourist and the native are defined for them by the dominant story”.

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In Waitt’s (1997) analysis of the imagery used to represent Australia in the Australian Tourist Commission’s (ATC) international advertising campaign in 1992 he explains that the ATC’s market research identified the main benefits of a holiday in Australia as being ‘fun in the sun’, ‘exotic primitives’, ‘exotic resort’ and ‘outback adventure’. Consequently, the ATC’s marketing campaign featured drovers, lifesavers, beaches, deserts, scantily clad women, tropical flora and fauna, and indigenous men in nagas. Waitt (1997:50) argues that this representation of Aboriginality is

...socially constructed to serve a particular political context and a deliberate economic strategy, that of selling Australia as an escape from civilisation to a primordial, timeless world, and/or a return to Nature where Aborigines as the ‘original conservationists’ live in perfect harmony with their environment...

Similarly, in Simondson’s (1995a:25) analysis of 80 tourism brochures from major players in the mainstream tourism industry, the ATC, Ansett Australia, Qantas, and the state tourism authorities, she found that there were “frequent references to lost and forgotten tribes and concepts of the land as timeless”. Simondson (1995a:30) describes how Aboriginality is constructed in the brochures through a process of temporal and spatial distancing. Thus, Aboriginal people are only visible in representations of the historical period prior to European settlement in 1788, and are invisible in either the 200 year ‘pioneer heritage’ period from 1788 or ‘the contemporary now’ of modern Australia. Moreover, Simondson did not find a single image of an Aboriginal person in any of the brochures for Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. Aboriginal people were only visible in northern Australia. Simondson (1995a:25) concludes:

The image which has been created for tourism advertising purposes does not refer to the actions of Aboriginal people themselves, neither to daily life as it is lived by Aboriginal people, nor to the processes by which Aboriginal people establish a sense of a self identity.

Inaccurate brochure representations can lead to tourist dissatisfaction since “the contrived image of a destination becomes criterion for tourist satisfaction” (Cohen 1988a:30). As the Northern Territory Tourism Development Masterplan (NTTC 1994:55) states -
...the image and much of the marketing of Aboriginal culture is based around a historic picture of an ancient culture, without reference to the contemporary. This can create disillusionment for visitors and Aboriginal people alike.

In response to perceived problems with the misrepresentation of Aboriginal people, the new brochure promoting the Northern Territory’s Aboriginal tourism products, *Experience Aboriginal Culture in Australia’s Northern Territory*, includes contemporary images of Aboriginality and, as Zeppel (1997:23) points out, it presents an ‘Aboriginal voice’. That is, it includes quotations from named Aboriginal people. To some extent, it represents the diversity of Aboriginal people and includes quotes from Gagadju, Arrernte, Anangu, Luritja, Tiwi, Warlpiri. Yolgnu and Yanyuwa traditional owners, custodians or elders. Furthermore, on the inside front cover under the heading “Welcome to our land” it provides a welcome in the Tiwi, Ewadja, Jawoyn and Yankunytjatjara languages and introduces readers to the terms that are often used by Aboriginal people and others to differentiate the landscapes of the Northern Territory – the saltwater, the wetlands, the stone country and the desert.

In Zeppel’s (1998a) comparative study of the content and composition of the South Australian, Queensland and Northern Territory brochures promoting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tourism products she found that non Aboriginal operators market a generalised ‘Dreamtime’, while Aboriginal tour operators provide a more detailed depiction of named sites. Zeppel (1998a:29) also suggests that non Aboriginal operators focus on the tangible aspects of indigenous culture, like rock art and bush food, while Aboriginal owned tours emphasise spiritual links with the land and ongoing traditions.

However, often Aboriginal tour operator’s brochures still use easily recognisable stereotypes to portray Aboriginal people, such as a man in a naga with a spear in his hand. Both Manyallaluk Aboriginal Cultural Tours and Tiwi Tours have had more than one brochure during the 1990s and it is interesting to observe how their brochures have changed. I have included two Manyallaluk examples and three Tiwi Tours examples on the following pages. In the first Manyallaluk brochure the image
is hand drawn and depicts a man and woman in traditional poses, set against a rough outline of a cliff that is also the outline of the northern Australian coast. The image on the front of the second, and current brochure, is similar in composition to the first, but this time it is a photographic image. This time the man is in a guide’s uniform and the women in everyday clothes; however, the images of the man and the two women are obviously originally from different photographs and have been recontextualised against a scenic backdrop. The subjects are not named although the three people work as guides at Manyallaluk. The expressions on the faces of the three subjects are not consistent because they are from different images originally, which makes it a bit confusing. The male guide’s pose and attire is also incongruous since he stands, spear in hand, in his neatly ironed trousers on his own tuft of grass.

The Tiwi Tours brochure has changed several times during the 1990s, partly because the ownership and managerial circumstances of the enterprise have changed. Two of the Tiwi brochures have a brightly coloured border showing a printed Tiwi design. The first brochure depicts three pukumani poles and a pandanus palm against the sunset. Without the pukumani poles this image is very similar to a popular Darwin postcard and is an image associated with the tropics. However, the image is not necessarily one that tourists would identify as specifically ‘Aboriginal’ unless they recognised that the pukumani poles were Tiwi cultural markers.

The second brochure depicts the back views of a clothed white adult male and a naked Aboriginal child walking off along the beach. The tourist towers above the child, who is featureless, like a black cardboard cut out. It is an ambiguous image and while suggesting that tourists will make contact with Aboriginal people, the image does not represent this as an equal exchange. The third and current Tiwi Tours brochure contains a sketch of a semi naked Aboriginal man carving a Tiwi bird. The stylised image does not allow viewers to personalise the image, and instead somewhat unsatisfactorily, focuses their attention on the photographs of the beach and Tiwi art. The Tiwi flag is also portrayed in one corner of the brochure.
Figure 8: Manyalluluk brochure, no. 1.
Figure 9: Manyallaluk brochure, no. 2.
Figure 10: Tiwi Tours brochure, no. 1.
Figure 11: Tiwi Tours brochure, no. 2.
Tour Departs Monday to Friday

After a wonderful scenic flight, you arrive at Bathurst Island. Here you are met by a Tiwi Guide to be taken on a journey through the progressive community of Ngulu, visiting the museum and Early Mission Precinct with its unique Tiwi style Catholic Church. Be taken through the successful arts and crafts centres and see the artists work. You also have the opportunity to purchase Tiwi arts and crafts and screen printed fabric at island prices. Spend time with some Tiwi Ladies enjoying billy tea and damper while they work on their weaving and painting. Join in as they show you their totem dances. Set out for scenic drive through the wilderness of Bathurst Island. Visit a picturesque lookout, which is also the setting of a Tiwi burial site, and learn some of the complex rituals associated with the Pakumans poles (burial poles). Enjoy a scrumptious picnic lunch and visit a local waterhole for a swim (bring swimmers and towel). Explore the bush and coast looking for traditional bush Tucker, bush medicine and natural fibres and dyes before your return flight to Darwin. The tour departs from the Aircrath Counter at Darwin Airport. Please check with your Booking Office for departure times and confirm your tour 24 hours prior to departure as flight times can change.

Price includes return airfares, tour, refreshments, lunch and Land Council entry permit but does NOT include transfers to and from Darwin Airport. TWO DAY CAMPING TOURS ALSO AVAILABLE. PLEASE CONTACT YOUR BOOKING AGENT OR RING TIWI TOURS.

You haven’t seen the Territory until you’ve seen the Tiwi Islands!

Reservations through your Reception, Travel Agent or Phone

1800 183630

Tiwi Tours, Ngulu, BATHURST ISLAND NT 0822
Telephone 08 8978 3630 Facsimile 08 8941 1016
Email: ttaad@tmi.net Web Site: www.austradventure.com.au

ONE DAY TOUR

$260

INCLUDES AIR FARES

Figure 12: Tiwi Tours brochure, no. 3.
Postcards from Darwin

Postcards were first produced in the late nineteenth century and were most popular between 1900 until 1930 (Alloula 1986). Since then they have become ubiquitous; a constant, but changing, source of imagery about other people and places. As Alloula (1986:4) suggests "The postcard is everywhere, covering all the colonial space, immediately available to the tourist, the soldier and the colonist". They are inexpensive, prolific and accessible to everyone, which makes them a particularly interesting subject of study. Moreover,

...taken together, a body of postcards produced or publicly available at a given point of time is not fortuitous; in its entirety, it projects an image of society, a locality, or a people upon the outside world (Cohen 1993:121).

The analysis of postcard imagery is already a fruitful area of research for social scientists, with the work of Peterson (1985), Albers and James (1983, 1988), Cohen (1993) and Edwards (1996) being of particular relevance to this study. In Peterson's (1985) study of 291 postcards featuring Aboriginal people, from the period between 1900 and 1920, he separated the images into romanticism, realism and documentary categories, using the three forms of representation of anthropological subjects identified by Kolodny (1978). Peterson (1985:179) found that 80% of his postcard sample fitted the realism category and noted that most postcards from his chosen period of study featured Aboriginal people in European clothing, usually carrying out everyday activities. They were often presented in direct, front-on poses, either sitting or standing and some of the postcards depicted Aboriginal people living in poverty.

Like Peterson, Albers and James' (1983, 1988) found that most of the early postcards featuring native Americans between 1900 and 1920 were realistic images that captured everyday life. However, as tourism grew and native American people became involved in the industry, as guides and performers, the images changed. Subjects were increasingly posed against scenic attractions, and were often portrayed in 'nature' with easily recognisable markers becoming a key feature of the images. Albers and James (1988:154) suggest that as representations of indigenous and ethnic
people become more stereotypical, image makers increasingly utilised processes of homogenisation, decontextualisation and mystification.

Cohen's (1993) research on touristic representations of indigenous and ethnic peoples is also relevant to this study. He distinguishes between metanymic images, which appear scientific or journalistic, and metaphoric images, which he separates into four intersecting categories: beautiful, exotic, cute and comic (Cohen 1993:43-44). Cohen (1993:55) suggests that as people become more tolerant of other foreign cultures, beautiful and cute images increase while exotic and comic images decrease, a trend that also emerges from my own analysis, and one that I will refer to later in the chapter.

More recently, Edwards' (1996:212) has found that postcard representations of indigenous and ethnic peoples are also changing and argues that

...their juxtaposition and co-existence with more prevalent and traditional representations of the exotic point to the increasingly sophisticated and complex motivations and desires of post-modern tourism and to more complex representational structures and strategies.

Aboriginal people on postcards: a content and semiotic analysis

Content analysis is primarily a descriptive tool and enables the breakdown of overall content into categories of subjects in order to find the frequency and distribution of focal themes contained in a sample of images. It is a useful method for identifying stereotypical representations of a group of people and the markers that are associated with the construction of these stereotypes. However, content analysis is open to researcher bias because the researcher identifies what markers are to be looked for, and thus, unmarked, but nevertheless important features of the images may be overlooked. Moreover, Peterson (1985:144) suggests that large samples of more than 1,000 images are more suited to content analysis. In this study I also uses semiotic analysis to investigate the mythical structures 'beneath the surface' of the images. As Albers and James (1988) note captions help to convey the message of the image and therefore, are also important subjects of semiotic analysis.
My analysis is based on a sample of 163 postcards featuring Aboriginal people and Aboriginal cultural markers. The postcards were collected between 1994 and 1999 and most of them were purchased from shops in Darwin, although some were from other sources, as for example, the six Manyallaluk postcards, which are only available in the Manyallaluk community store. Postcards featuring an Aboriginal subject are not the most common postcards on the racks in Darwin shops and they are outnumbered by images of crocodiles, Uluru and Kakadu National Park, and by the mass produced postcards featuring Australian beach life, where the scene remains the same and only the name of the destination on the front of the postcard changes.

I have not included the many postcards that feature Aboriginal art in my sample, nor have I included postcards that feature rock art exclusively. However, rock art features as a backdrop on some of the postcards and it is also portrayed in some of the images on the composite postcards. I have excluded greeting cards from my analysis, although there are a growing number of greeting cards that are similar in subject and style to some of the postcards.

Of the total sample of 163 postcards, 31 were composite pictures and contained more than one image. I analysed each image on the composite cards separately and thus ended up with a final sample of 201 images. Of the total sample of 201 images, 89% were photographic images, 5% were graphic or pictorial images and 5% were paintings, while the remainder was classified as other. Nine percent of the images were in monochrome, while 91% were colour images.

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</table>
Composite image postcards

Some of the composite image postcards were ‘place’ souvenirs, as for example, “Timber Creek N.T.”, “Katherine Northern Territory”, “Top End Northern Territory”, “Northern Territory Australia”, “Kakadu National Park Northern Territory Australia” and “Uluru”. These types of postcards are metaphorical signposts situating particular localities within the wider location of ‘destination Australia’ and they often portray natural icons as well as Aboriginal people. In the example below, simply titled “Northern Territory”, the only person featured is a naked Aboriginal man with a spear. The other images are iconic landscapes, noticeably devoid of signs of modernity and hence the Aboriginal man is inseparable from the landscape.

Figure 13: Postcard - “NORTHERN TERRITORY”

Caption - NORTHERN TERRITORY, AUSTRALIA. Faces and places of the Northern Territory are as varied as the land itself, Aboriginal, Ayers Rock, Simpson’s Gap, Nourlangie Rock.

Another group of composite image postcards were specifically Aboriginal in theme, with titles like “Australian Aborigines”, “Aboriginal Australia” or even “Aboriginal Australia magic, natural and beautiful”, which is depicted below. The use of the words “magic, natural and beautiful” is an example of mystification and conveys a sense of the extraordinary, of another world. The photographic images on the postcard below suggest that this extraordinariness can be found in the landscape and in the
‘traditional’ indigenous people who live in it. The words “Greetings from Darwin N.T.” are also printed in small lettering on the front, but the two landscape images depicted in the middle of the card are obviously from Central Australia. The caption on the back of the postcard further homogenises Aboriginal people, as it states “AUSTRALIA. A land rich in the variety of its landscapes and in the traditional culture & dreamtime of its Aboriginal people”.

Figure 14: Postcard - “ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIA magic natural & beautiful”

Caption - AUSTRALIA, A land rich in the variety of its landscapes and in the traditional culture & dreamtime of its Aboriginal people.

**Recycled images: the tricks of the trade**

Many of the images on the composite postcards are repeated more than once in the total sample. It appears that there is a pool of well worn images that are used over and over again, and in the case of these images, the photographers are not named. Moreover, when the images are used on postcards they are often inverted, cropped, bordered or the colours lightened or intensified. The image recycled the most often, and used on four different postcards in my sample, depicts three Aboriginal girls in waterhole with waterlilies in front of them. The photographer is not named on any of the postcards featuring this image. I have included two examples of this image below.
The first example is untitled but the caption on the back states "AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES. Aboriginal girls in a Northern Australian lagoon" while the second example is titled "NORTHERN TERRITORY AUSTRALIA" and the caption on the back is identical to the title. When compared to the first the second image has been
inverted and the background has been cropped. Moreover, the border around the edge of the second image and the style of writing gives it a more contemporary style. The three young female subjects do not look directly at the viewer. Two of the girls smile at someone who is presumably watching the photograph being taken and the third girl looks down at the flowers in front of her. The viewer looks slightly down on the girls, which makes it seem as if they are bearing gifts of flowers, somewhat similarly to some Asian and Pacific tourism imagery where flowers and fruit are frequently used as symbols of beauty and abundance. The flowers feminise and exoticise this image, and thus the image contrasts with the more common masculine images of Aboriginality that are more frequently used to represent the Northern Territory.

Albers and James (1988:139) suggest that most postcard images are "relics from the past", which makes the study of postcard imagery a historical undertaking. Many of the postcard images in my sample are obviously old, but like the image I have just discussed it is difficult to identify when they were taken because no information is provided either about the producers of the image or the names of the subjects. However, two postcards from my sample are reproductions of Russell Drysdale’s photographs from his visit to Melville Island in 1956. As the example on the following page shows, these postcards are unusual for their sense of realism. Although they are now part of touristic imagery, the images do not appear to have been constructed for a tourist audience and they have a sense of frankness about them. Nevertheless, the images are more than forty years old and do not necessarily represent contemporary life on the Tiwi Islands more accurately than other seemingly more ‘touristy’ images from the same period.
A further three postcards from my sample are reproductions of earlier travel posters. One depicts the original Qantas logo, a boomerang, designed by Gert Selheim. The other two are shown on the following page. The first is titled “Go North to Adventure” and is a poster from the Captain G Watson Collection and the second is the “Australia 1935” poster commissioned by the Australian Travel Association. Both images portray a naked Aboriginal man with a boomerang or spears and thus have much in common with contemporary tourism imagery, which may be one of the reasons that the images have been reproduced on postcards. The composition, style and written text of these two postcards belong to a past era and this becomes part of the postcards’ appeal. In reproducing the images the postcard company trades on the contemporary postmodern interest in nostalgia. The “Go North to Adventure” postcard depicts an Aboriginal man looking up at the aeroplane flying above. This type of image, which juxtaposes the ‘traditional’ and the modern and uses Aboriginal people to symbolise the past and Western technology to symbolise the future, is relatively common even today. The other image is also stereotypical, using the kangaroo as a sign of Australia. The dominant colours in both postcards are once again the browns and reds associated with the landscapes of Central Australia.
Figure 18: Postcard - “GO NORTH TO ADVENTURE!” (1960) Captain G Watson Collection

Figure 19: Postcard - “Australia” (1935) commissioned by the Australian Travel Association
Some of the postcard images from my sample can also be found in brochures, and in the case of the postcard below, the image is painted on a Darwin bus stop. Other bus stops in Darwin feature paintings of animals, a sunset and the bush. However, in this instance, it appears particularly absurd to have a stereotypical image of a desert man, presumably copied from a postcard, and painted on a bus stop in the tropical city of Darwin where many Aboriginal people live and work. Moreover, although the postcard caption identifies the man as “Central Australian Aborigine Jimmy Walkabout, a member of the Pitjantjara tribe”, even this information is absent from the bus stop, and the image is unanchored, completely decontextualised.

![Postcard - Aboriginal man, Jimmy Walkabout](image)

*Caption* - Central Australian Aborigine Jimmy Walkabout, a member of the Pitjantjara tribe

**Picturing men, women and children**

Table 2, below, presents a breakdown of the representation of Aboriginal men, women and children in the sample, but disregards tourists portrayed in the images. Of the total sample of 201 images, 42% portrayed an Aboriginal man or Aboriginal men, 22% portrayed a child or children, 17% portrayed a combination of men, women and children while just 5% portrayed an Aboriginal woman or Aboriginal women. A
further 14% had no Aboriginal people in them and were either images from a
composite postcard, or images solely featuring a marker, such as beads or bush
tucker. Forty five percent of all images portrayed just one Aboriginal person.

Table 2: Frequency and distribution of images of Aboriginal men, women and children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 person</th>
<th>2-3 people</th>
<th>4 or more</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men only</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women only</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children only</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The small number of images of women and the dissimilarity of the images of women
means that it is difficult to identify stereotypes. Four out of the ten of the images that
portrayed women alone are Manyallaluk postcards that depict female guides working
with tourists. One other image has a similar subject and depicts two women painted to
perform for tourists on Rod Steinert’s “Aboriginal Dreamtime and Bush Tucker Tour”
in Central Australia. A further three of the images of women are from the Kim
Philipsen Collection, which I will discuss later in the chapter. Although the Kim
Philipsen images are recently produced, the Aboriginal women portrayed are
represented as both primitive and exotic.

The photographic image on the postcard presented on the following page is obviously
historical. The image does not have the dramatic quality of the more staged postcard
images of today and the caption also invokes a sense of the past. It states “Aboriginal
with Camel, dog and Lubra at Ayers Rock” and while the photographic image of the
woman has a documentary quality, the use of the word ‘lubra’ in the caption and the
way in which the woman is mentioned after the camel and the dog date the image and
would not necessarily be acceptable to people today.
Table 3, below, shows the distance of the subject in single person images. Overall, portrait shots were most common, making up almost half (48%) of all the single person shots but middle distance shots were popular too, comprising 39% of the images. As the table shows women and children are not portrayed in long distance shots like men are. Long distance images of men usually portray them naked or semi-naked, as part of the landscape.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Portrait</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One man</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One woman</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One child</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%</td>
<td>(48.3)</td>
<td>(38.5)</td>
<td>(13.2)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4, below, presents the frequency of types of clothing for Aboriginal men, women and children in the total sample of images. Of the total sample, 66% of the images portrayed Aboriginal people as semi-naked or in ‘traditional’ costume, a
larger percentage than the 19% who were depicted in everyday clothes. Moreover, 89% of the 'men only' images depicted Aboriginal men semi naked or naked.

Table 4: Attire of Aboriginal men, women and children in postcard images

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Costume</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men only</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi naked (traditional)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>(43.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday (contemporary)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(5.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women only</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi naked</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(3.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi naked</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>(16.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(8.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mixed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi naked</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>(13.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(7.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi naked</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>(66.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(19.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>(14.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The composite postcard below contains two stereotypical images of Aboriginal men. The postcard’s caption states “Northern Territory”, and it appears to be a recently produced postcard although the images themselves are not recent photographs. The image on the left depicts a man in a naga, painted and performing at the Springvale Corroboree, while the one in the middle shows a naked man with a spear. This is an unusual image because it is a middle distance image and the subject’s nakedness and strength are, therefore, overt. The same image also appears as part of two composite postcards (see one example below) in the sample, but in both composite cards the image has been inverted and cropped so it is not obvious that the man is naked.
In other postcards where male subjects are portrayed naked, the subjects are older and their nakedness is used to symbolise the links between an ancient lifestyle and an ancient land. In the postcard below the caption states “CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINE. Captain No. 1, a local resident of Ayers Rock” and the subject is portrayed as an ethnographic type, as a ‘primitive’ specimen in his natural habitat.
Although the images of men in everyday clothes are a minority, they are interesting to examine as well. Like the images of women, this group of images of men is diverse and there is little that links the images together. The Manyallaluk postcards feature male guides in their uniforms, while several other postcards portray stockmen, and have captions like “Well worn riding boots, symbols for an outback ringer”, “Australia Outback Rodeo” and “Drovers move a mob of cattle across the grassy plains of the Northern Territory”. Two other postcard images depict men engaged in art, and together the tourism, station and art images depict the ‘public’ face of Aboriginal labour in the Northern Territory. By contrast, the image below, which is simply captioned “Country men” contrasts with the other postcard images of Aboriginal men. While the men appear to be clothed in stockmen attire, the image
does not use markers to anchor the image in any way. The sharp angle of the camera means that the viewer looks up at the men and accentuates their power. Moreover, none of the subjects look at the viewer and thus the viewer becomes a passive onlooker, witnessing an event that is obviously of emotional significance to the subjects of the photograph. The caption, "Country men", suggests that the photograph may portray the men responding to the positive outcome of a land rights claim, but this can only be surmised.

![Figure 25: Postcard - "Country men"](image)

Although images of men were the majority in my sample, children were also popular subjects and as I previously mentioned, images of children comprised 22% of the sample. Many of the images of children fit with Cohen’s (1993:45) category of cute images which, he suggests, are "structured so as to elicit a ludic sense of merriment in the viewer, by the relatively familiar traits of sweetness or prettiness of the represented image". Furthermore, there were twice as many images of children naked or semi naked as there were images of children in everyday clothes. Most of the images that portray children naked have a desert or bush backdrop and the children symbolically become ‘children of nature’, innocent of the trappings and artifice of
urban life. I will provide several examples of postcard images of children later in the chapter.

**Markers of Aboriginality**

'Ethnic markers', such as costumes, artefacts and weapons are used in tourism imagery to accentuate exoticism and to reinforce the power of stereotypes. As Table 5, below, indicates the most frequently occurring marker in my sample of 201 images was body paint, followed by a naga (man's loin cloth) and then a scarf or headband. All three types of markers were associated almost exclusively with men, although women portrayed at a tourist corroboree also wore headbands in one postcard. Not surprisingly, I also found that spears, didgeridoos, rock art and boomerangs were all used quite frequently as markers.

Table 5: Prevalence of ethnic markers in postcard images

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Freq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Body paint</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head scarf</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spear</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushrucker/hunting</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didjeridoo</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native animal</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Art</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boomerang</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baskets</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ornate head dress</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire lighting</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic animal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uluru</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose pierce</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotus flower</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarring</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockman hat, boots</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The photographs of men wearing body paint are either obviously taken at tourist performances or portray men dressed in nagas, often staging ritual or hunting activities in an outdoor context. As Lewington (1995:39) concludes in her analysis of 37 postcards depicting Aboriginal people:

> The dominant convention used to represent Aboriginality in these postcards is a stereotype of the traditional Aboriginal male, wearing *ngurgas* holding spears or boomerangs and engaged in subsistence or ceremonial activities.

Animals were also used as markers, but in several different ways. Most frequently, animals were portrayed in images of bush tucker and the animals depicted included fish, insects, goanna, wallaby, tortoise, barramundi, python, honey ants, witchetty grub and kangaroo. In these images the animal, fish or insect is obviously dead, although just how dead the animals look varies from image to image. The first example on the following page is a composite postcard comprised of six images. The images portray honey ants, a witchetty grub, a coolamon with bush tucker in it and two images show children eating bush plants. The food is aesthetically arranged for the viewer and the glowing colours of the images make it an aesthetically pleasing and inoffensive postcard. Moreover, the children add to its general appeal.

In other bush tucker images Aboriginal men and children are portrayed carrying or cooking native animals that they have hunted and killed. An example of this type of image is shown on the following page and it is also a composite image. The larger image on the left shows an Aboriginal man carries a spear and a dead kangaroo, while two of the smaller images show another man preparing and cooking a kangaroo. The third image shows a kangaroo cooking on the coals of a fire. In all of the photographs the men are wearing everyday clothes and in the larger image the man carrying the dead kangaroo has blood all over the front of his shirt. The photograph does not appear to be a recent image or to have been taken with a tourist audience in mind. It has a metonymic or documentary quality, which is also highlighted in the informative style of the caption, which states: "Traditional Kangaroo Hunting and Cooking. Although rifles have largely replaced spears, Aboriginal men still hunt kangaroos,
dividing this meat in the traditional manner”. Once again though we do not know who the subjects are or where they are from.

Figure 26: Postcard - “Uluru”

Caption - The ancient monolith of Uluru and the country around it belong to Aboriginal people, the Pitjantjara and Yankunytjatjara. The young people learn about bush foods from their elders (photo. Stan Breedon)

Figure 27: Postcard - hunting, preparing and cooking a kangaroo

Caption - Traditional Kangaroo Hunting and Cooking. Although rifles have largely replaced spears, Aboriginal men still hunt kangaroos, preparing, cooking, and dividing this meat in the traditional manner (photo. Kerry Williams)
The other group of images featuring native animals are those that use native animals to represent Australia. In this set of images the animals are sometimes baby ones and they are often portrayed with an Aboriginal child, as in the postcard below. This postcard is from a recently released series of postcards titled “Shapes of Australia”, that feature readily identifiable iconic Australian images like, for example, a glass of beer, Uluru, a kangaroo and a boomerang. All the postcards are in cut out form and the images are more ludic. The postcards depict Australia as a kind of tourists’ playground and in contrast to many of the other postcard images in the sample that recontextualise Aboriginality in remote Australia, these images do not.

![Postcard - Aboriginal child with kangaroo, Shapes of Australia](image)
Postcard companies

As the table on the following page shows, the postcards in my sample were produced by forty two different postcard companies - nine Northern Territory companies, twenty eight other Australian companies and nine international companies. Twenty percent of the postcards were produced in the Northern Territory, 75% in the rest of Australia and 4% internationally. The two companies responsible for the largest number of postcards in the sample are Desert Images and Aboriginal Australia Arts. The postcards from these two companies have only been available in Darwin in the last two years, and while the subjects of the images produced by each of these companies are sometimes similar, their styles are quite different. Furthermore, it is interesting to look at how the contemporary representations of indigenous people from these two companies are similar to, or contrast with, older representations. As Thomas (1994:31) argues “[s]ympathetic representations of the present have a great deal in common with earlier manifestly primitivist discourses”.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Australia Arts</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desert Images</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu Color Vue</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray Views</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney G Hughes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barker Souvenirs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gungardaparr</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve Parish Publishing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamotte Editions</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectors Cards</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manyallaluk</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory Souvenirs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James P Sylgo Publishing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portal Aird</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Philipsen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Gallery of Victoria</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advance Australia Post Age</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACME cards</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Int.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femme du Flame</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Card Australia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Int.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Arts Agency</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Souvenir</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postcard Factory</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(None)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Australia Trading</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todd River Arts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobwabba Art</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzie Thomas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANAR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portfolio Gallery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Int.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Shot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia Post</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Oswald-Jacobs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Country Picture Company</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn Woods</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tushita</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Int.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davric</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth Nymph Design</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Mail</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aust.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Desert Images postcards are all reproductions of Alastair McNaughton’s photographs and they comprise 8% of all of the images in the sample. Desert Images is a Western Australian company and beneath the caption on the back of each postcard it states “Royalties are paid to the Aboriginal communities”. Some of the postcards also state that the photographs were taken in the Western Desert regions of Australia, while others do not indicate where the photograph was taken. McNaughton’s photographs are all black and white and 88% of them portray Aboriginal children, with just two depicting Aboriginal men and none depicting women. Only one postcard identifies the name of the subject, and then only as ‘Christopher’.

McNaughton’s photographs of children fall into Cohen’s cute category, and have a similar style to Heidi Smith’s black and white photographs of children from the Tiwi Islands. Several of the photographs portray Aboriginal children holding Australian animals including a baby wombat, baby kangaroo, koala and baby emu, which accentuates the cuteness of the images. Some of McNaughton’s images are obviously highly staged and the inclusion of animals such as koalas in the photographs, although they are not found in the desert regions, obviously increases their appeal, particularly for international tourists. McNaughton’s other photographs of Aboriginal children show them playing and have titles like “Hide and Seek”, “Mudlarks” and “Desert Acrobats”. In these ‘action shots’ the children frolic happily. Toys and bikes are absent from the scene, thus the images convey a sense of a simpler and more ‘natural’ life. In some photographs the children wear everyday clothes, while in others they are naked. The two postcards on the following page are examples of each type of McNaughton’s photographs. The first features a child with animal and is captioned “Baby emu”, while the second portrays children at play and is captioned “Desert Acrobats”.

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Figure 29: Postcard - "Baby emu"

(photo. Alistair McNaughton, co. Desert Images)

Figure 30: Postcard - "Desert Acrobats"

(photo. Alistair McNaughton, co. Desert Images)
In contrast to the monochrome images of the Desert Images series of McNaughton’s photographs, the Aboriginal Australia Arts series of postcards is very brightly coloured. The postcards have large white borders and “Aboriginal Australia” is written in the border of each one. The photographer is named on the back of each postcard. Most of images are highly staged and tourists are clearly visible in some of the images. The prevalent and consistent use of colour and cultural markers suggests that the postcards have been produced to appeal to a global market.

The captions on the postcards are also distinctive. They are often lengthy and make generalised rather than specific statements about Aboriginal people, thus homogenising Aboriginal culture. Several captions include phrases like “at one with the land” or with “the earth, the Mother”, “keeping the culture alive” and the “Survival of the culture”. Such phrases accentuate the spiritual ‘sharing and caring’ aspects of Aboriginal culture and as such are examples of mystification.

The two examples on the following page illustrate the common features of the Aboriginal Australia Arts series of postcards. They are both colourful and obviously meant to be aesthetically appealing. The captions focus on the continuity of Aboriginal traditions. However, the boomerang depicted in the first postcard is highly decorated and ornamental in appearance, and does not resemble one that would be used in daily life. Like the Desert Images series, the Aboriginal Australia series also contains several images of children. One Aboriginal Australia postcard depicts a child with a baby kangaroo, while three others are portrait images of Aboriginal children with their faces painted. They can generally be classified as ‘cute’ images, although some might better fit Cohen’s category of the ‘exotic’ because the mystification of the image is designed to accentuate the mystery and wonder of Aboriginal culture. In the example provided on the following page the caption states “The face of Aboriginality of today combines all the hope of the future with a deep respect for the traditions of the past”.

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Figure 31: Postcard - Aboriginal man, Aboriginal Australia Collection

Caption - The water lilies are a food source for Aboriginal people. It is also a place for the water birds to gather. The warrior uses the Boomerang to hunt water birds (photo. Nino Ellison, co. Aboriginal Australia Arts)

Figure 32: Postcard - Aboriginal child, Aboriginal Australia Collection

Caption - The face of Aboriginality of today combines all the hope of the future with a deep respect for the traditions of the past (photo. Peter Lik, co. Aboriginal Australia Arts)
Capturing the image: the producers

As Table 7 on the following page indicates, the artist or photographer responsible for the image was not named on 40% of the postcards. Forty different artists or photographers produced the remaining 60% of the images. Amongst the artists and photographers who produced the postcard images are several well known photographers of the Northern Territory, including Wayne Zerbe, Gunther Deichmann and Steve Parish. Alastair McNaughton, Kim Philipsen and Edwina Flershannon’s were the three artists or photographers who were responsible for the most images. The three sets of postcards are all recent additions to the postcard racks; however, they contrast considerably with each other, which highlights the increasing diversity of content, composition and style in contemporary postcard representations of Aboriginality. I have already discussed the postcard series of McNaughton’s photographs and will now discuss Philipsen and Flershannon’s postcards.

Kim Philipsen was responsible for 5% of the postcards in the sample. His images are not photographs but black ink sketches of Aboriginal men, women and children. The images do not reflect contemporary Aboriginal lives but look like copies from old images. All but two of the images are portraits, and Philipsen calls himself “The Travelling Portrait Artist”. Philipsen promotes his postcards on his website where he provides an introduction to himself:

Kim was born in Denmark just after Christmas on December 28th 1964. A traveller from the start, Kim recalls good feelings during long beach walks at age 5. At 12 his family moved to Spain where he saw his first artist drawing portraits on the street. He was deeply impressed by this form of art and wanted to learn it. His burning desire to travel the world was his teacher. At 21 he went to the Philippines and studied under a famous Filipino artist who took him up to the hills to meet the natives. Kim does landscapes, seascapes and still life but his greatest love is the portrait. Kim tries to capture the story in the face. To Kim he greatest stories appear on the native peoples’ face. Kim travels between Denmark, Thailand, and Australia where he spends most of his time these days. He started a gallery in Brisbane when only 22 years old and also one in Denmark two years later. From this he learned important marketing skills that have enabled him to make a living from his drawings as he travels in the world and learns The Story of the Face. (http://ann-nt.altnews.com.au/kim/reka5.htm) 30/11/99.
Table 7: Photographers and artists - the producers of the postcard images

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photographer/artist</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not identified</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>(39.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alastair McNaughton</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Philipsen</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(4.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwina Flershannon</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne Zerbe</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(3.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerry Williams</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(3.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig Lamotte</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(3.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Lik</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barry Skipsey</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penny Tweedie</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda Wright</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stan Breeden</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nino Ellison</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James P Sylgo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunther Deichmann</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steinward</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell Drysdale</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom O'Flynn</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Kruger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaine Pelot Kitchener</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axel Kayser</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Abbott</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn Woods</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris Simpson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colin James</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Campbell</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gert Selheim</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heidi</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Oswald-Jacobs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Northfield</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juno Gemes</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaye Lessing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nick Brokensha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rosie Wurlungurrrkur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stan Cawood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve Parish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve Strike</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry Johnson</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne Peckham</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Ogden</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
One third of Philipsen’s images in the sample portray Aboriginal women. One titled “'Trucanini' Female Aboriginal Tasmania”, portrays the subject wearing clothes but in the other two the women are naked. The postcard above is titled “Young Tjingili Woman” and is reminiscent of older colonial images that eroticise women, but through the representation of their primitivism. Aboriginal women are not usually represented in this way. As Simondson (1995:b) points out, there is a “striking absence of sexual and erotic images of Aboriginal women”.

Figure 33: Postcard - “Young Tjingili Woman”

(artist Kim Phillipen, co. The Travelling Portrait Artist)
In most of Philipsen's images the subjects are in profile and look out of the image away from the viewer. In my sample, the images contain several stereotypical markers of the primitive - nakedness, bearded men, a humpy, a spear, and a nose bone. Philipsen also makes postcards from his sketches of Maori people and American Indians and his images are an example of a kind of contemporary primitivism. They objectify indigenous people and invoke a sense of a 'disappearing world' because the people portrayed are spatially and temporally distanced from contemporary life.

Flershannon's photographic images comprise 4% of the total sample and in contrast to Philipsen's, they portray Aboriginal people in a contemporary setting. Flershannon's photographs were taken at the Barddiy'wanga String Festival in Darwin, an annual event for Aboriginal women weavers from across the Top End. The festival also includes a fashion parade and a concert evening, and Flershannon's photographs reflect this blending of old and new ways. In the example below, titled "Hunting Baskets of the Inland - Arnhem Land NT", a young Aboriginal woman is pictured carrying a woven basket. While the smile of the subject invites a positive response from the viewer the image is largely metonymic and informs rather than persuades.

Figure 34: Postcard - “Hunting Baskets of the Inland - Arnhem Land NT”

(photo. Edwina Flershannon, co. Gungardaparr-Gama RrrAMA)
Postcards and alternative messages

In our image drenched contemporary world, postcards have also become a popular form of ‘takeaway’ advertisements, and are used to promote movies and other consumer products. They can also be symbols of resistance to ‘speak back’ to the viewer and purchaser, as in the case of the postcard image of the Aboriginal flag. Edwards (1996:212) points out that some contemporary postcard images of indigenous people have a sense of immediacy and realism and may serve as “markers of the authenticity of the encounter not culture”.

The Body Shop’s “Reconciliation for all Australians” postcard was freely available during its “Thumbs up for Reconciliation” campaign, which was held during National Reconciliation Week, between 25th May and 8th June in 1999. This campaign encouraged people to visit The Body Shop stores and put a thumb print in ink on a piece of paper in support of the reconciliation process. The postcard features a composite image and together the images symbolise the diversity of contemporary Australia. As everyone featured on the postcard is smiling and physically close to each other the image is also celebratory. The text on the back is much longer than captions usually are. It presents The Body Shop’s corporate view on reconciliation, as well as describing its contribution to the reconciliation process. The caption states:

The Body Shop believes that business is an integral part of the community and true reconciliation cannot be achieved unless all Australians make reconciliation a reality in their communities, workplaces, institutions and organisations... The Body Shop supports indigenous communities around the world to sustain their culture and environments. In Australia, The Body Shop has set up an annual Enterprise Development Workshop for young indigenous Australians and Pacific Islanders; developed a Tea Tree plantation with the Hopevale Community; sponsored the first ever green outstation in Cape York, and has seed funded the development of an indigenous business centre.
While The Body Shop postcard is not directly concerned with travel and tourism it does portray a sense of cosmopolitanism that is common to many contemporary touristic and non touristic texts. The Body Shop postcard constructs a particular vision of the future, a vision that is also encapsulated in the owner of The Body Shop, Anita Roddick’s introduction to David Maybury-Lewis’s glossy coffee table book *Millennium: Tribal Wisdom and the Modern World* (1992:viii). Roddick writes that the purpose of the book is not to “field a team of Rousseau-like noble savages in an assault on the arrogant perceived wisdom of the West”, but to “put paid to prejudice by compelling us to make new connections. After all, the subtitle [of *Millennium*] embraces both tribal wisdom and the modern world”. Roddick’s statement is an example of one form of contemporary representation of indigenous people where indigenous cultures become a global resource and are used to signify the richness and diversity of global culture. As Roddick suggests:

Diversity is strength. A rich and varied pool of different cultures encourages us to examine the way others live and to learn about ourselves. And we must learn to respect and cherish the differences, especially now that societies are so much more multicultural (in Maybury-Lewis 1992:viii).
Roddick is one of a growing number of mainly Western people who travel to the homes of indigenous and ethnic peoples for work related purposes. During my fieldwork I also encountered travellers who wanted access to indigenous knowledge and material goods and who hoped to profit from their travels by transforming and packaging what they had acquired into consumer products that they could market in their home countries. However, as MacCannell (1992:28,29) critically comments

...the encounter between the tourist [including the tourist with a work related purpose] and the ‘other’ is the scene of a shared Utopian vision of profit without exploitation… ‘capitalist economists’ dream of everyone getting rich together… even intellectuals can trick themselves into finding it (‘profit without exploitation’) where it does not exist.

By discussing The Body Shop postcard I have highlighted the “more complex representational structures and strategies” (Edwards 1996:212) that are central to contemporary image making today and I have shown how the boundaries between work and tourism, and between business and pleasure, are increasingly blurred. The commercial success of The Body Shop aptly illustrates the influence of aesthetic cosmopolitanism on consumption today.

In this chapter I have also drawn attention to the influence of new technologies on the representation of Aboriginality in a range of touristic and non touristic texts and to the changing composition, style and message of some of the more recent images. However, I want to stress that the older stereotypical representations of Aboriginality are still common and influential. In the following chapter I also discuss older and more recent forms of representation, but this time in relation to the construction of the Manyallaluk attraction and to the delineation of space and place. I draw attention to the central role of image making in the demarcation of boundaries and the differentiation of the extraordinary from the ordinary for tourists and other visitors.
CHAPTER FOUR
Chapter Four

A trip to Manyallaluk: a ‘really top’ place

You coming Manyallaluk you learn properly because the place really top. You learn right up from beginning to end (Peter Bolgi, Manyallaluk guide).

Today we stay in one place and work because we’ve got a good job, a good house. Long time ago we useta bin moving around everywhere (Manuel Pamkal, Manyallaluk guide).

One afternoon, in 1996, while I was staying at Manyallaluk, an army tank came rumbling in along the dirt road. As it drew to a halt kids from the community ran over to have a look. The defence personnel on board the tank were surprised and obviously did not expect to find a community of over one hundred people, a shop, a telephone, and tourist facilities with good, hot showers. They were taking part in a military exercise across the Top End and explained that the map they were using actually made no mention of Manyallaluk, and only referred to the ‘abandoned’ Eva Valley cattle station. The information was obviously well out of date and perhaps they would have been better prepared carrying a tourist map of the Northern Territory!

This anecdote may bring a wry smile to some, but it illustrates the fluidity associated with a sense of place and the significance of maps and place names as time bound carriers of meaning. From a local Aboriginal perspective Eva Valley was never abandoned, however, the failure of successive white pastoralists to make a living from the station did signal its fading importance as a site for this type of enterprise. Since then the cattle have gone, and the Jawoyn people have reclaimed their traditional country and have changed its name to Manyallaluk. Moreover, the development of tourism at Manyallaluk has literally put it on the map, and it is now both a home - a local and lived in space, and a tourist attraction - a ‘non-home’ place.
for tourists who come seeking "landscapes to observe, activities to participate in, and experiences to remember" (Lew 1987:554).

In this chapter I describe the development of tourism at Manyallaluk and the associated changing conceptions of space and place. I am guided by Merlan's (1998:71) observation that "some Aboriginalist accounts emphasize the meanings ideally associated with place" but "leave contemporary spatial practices, ways of living in a place that are vitally relevant to its ongoing construction, insufficiently examined". I begin by describing Manyallaluk's location, firstly, as a site within the traditional country of the Jawoyn people, and secondly, as a tourist attraction in the Top End of the Northern Territory. I look at how the layered Aboriginal and European histories of the region have engendered different ways of conceptualising the landscape as it has "moved on, as the 'wild' landscape became the 'frontier' and then the 'outback' and finally 'settled' Australia" (Morphy 1993:209).

Rojek (1997:52) defines a tourist sight as a "spatial location which is distinguished from everyday life by virtue of its natural, historical and cultural extraordinariness". Manyallaluk, like many indigenous tourism attractions, is situated in a peripheral location distant from the centres of political and economic power where most tourists live. The landscapes of these peripheral locations are often dramatic and appear vast and unspoilt because relatively few people live in them. From this perspective, they are 'extraordinary' places and a counterpoint to an increasingly urbanised world. As 'places on the margin' they become sites of difference - "signifiers of everything 'centres' deny or repress" (Shields 1991:276). Moreover, the economic restructuring and associated loss of jobs that has occurred in many remote and rural areas is accentuating their economic marginalisation. People are increasingly turning to tourism as a way to earn a living, and in Australia, the Commonwealth Government's Regional Tourism Program funds tourism projects in these areas to boost regional development. As Selwyn (1996:10) suggests, "tourism may be said to be both an outcome and an expression of the relation between centres and peripheries".
Remotely situated tourism enterprises also have expensive operating costs because fuel, transport and labour costs are high. Moreover, they are often expensive and difficult to get to. This problem is accentuated in the Top End where the wet season makes it impossible for some Aboriginal cultural tours to operate for the whole of the year. Obviously this is a disadvantage in economic terms; however, it may be advantageous in other ways, giving Aboriginal people and the land a respite from tourists and providing time to maintain ceremonial and other cultural responsibilities.

This chapter also describes the development of the Manyallaluk attraction and examines the spatial structure of the site. The Manyallaluk community has decided not to allow tourists into the community area, thus, creating an overtly touristic space and accentuating the boundary between front and back regions. MacCannell (1976) first applied Goffman's distinction between front and back regions to the study of the socio-spatial structure of tourist settings, and perhaps too simply, associated back regions with the 'intimate and real' and front regions with 'show' (MacCannell 1989:94). Nevertheless, MacCannell’s model is useful for thinking about the way tourism settings are structured, and as Chapter Seven shows, some tourists seek ‘authenticity’ in the non tourist area – the back region, and are dissatisfied when they are not allowed to visit the community homes. Lastly, I look at how Manyallaluk has developed a reputation as an ‘award winning’ or ‘model’ enterprise and I explore what this means.

The chapter draws on a range of historical and contemporary non tourist and tourist texts to trace the changing representation of the Manyallaluk site, looking particularly at maps, signs and names. MacCannell (1989:41) describes a tourist attraction as an “empirical relationship between a tourist, a sight and a marker” and maps, signs and names are common markers that direct the tourist gaze. As Crawshaw and Urry (1997:179) comment “it is the visual images of places that give shape and meaning to the anticipation, experience and memories of travelling”.

Maps are common items of tourist paraphernalia and are found in guidebooks, brochures and on postcards, as well as being readily available as separate items.
However, tourism academics have largely overlooked them as subject of inquiry. Tourists use maps to find specific attractions, to structure distance and travelling time, or as Cooper (1994:144) suggests, to mark the “centres of ‘pilgrimage’” and “explain the ritual sequences”. More generally, maps and their keys help tourists to think about the landscape, climate, history and the people of a particular locality. They do not simply represent facts, and must be examined as ‘highly codified texts’, selectively including and omitting information, through the use of symbols, colour, decorations, typography and written text (Seaton & McWilliam 1995:38, Barnes 1992:243). Moreover, different maps of the same location provide clues to the changing representations of space and place - something that is particularly relevant in the Northern Territory, where land use and boundaries indicating patterns of land ownership have changed considerably during the last one hundred years.

**Manyallaluk: Jawoyn country**

Today, the name Manyallaluk is used to refer to a site of significance, to an Aboriginal community, to the land that the community is situated on and to the community’s tour enterprise. The traditional owners of the country that is now called Manyallaluk are the Jawoyn people, and the name Jawoyn is used to identify a language, a people and a country. The focus of Jawoyn country is, and has been, the Katherine River and the area where the Katherine township is situated today (Jawoyn Association 1994:17). Prior to European settlement, the Jawoyn would camp along the river in the dry season and move up into the higher country in the wet (Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory 1993:5). The map on the following page shows the location of the Manyallaluk site and other Jawoyn sites of significance.

Merlan suggests that there is a difference in the density of knowledge of country between old and young Jawoyn people today. Older people remember when they “useta walk all around” and know the sites of their country well and the connections between them (Merlan 1998:92-94). They link each Jawoyn clan, or mowurrwur, to a particular site within their country (Merlan 1998:80-81). However, as Jawoyn people
have become more settled, younger people do not know their country in the same way and this has led to a “reduction in the differentiation of named places and the connections among them” (Merlan 1998:95).

Figure 36: Sites of significance for the Jawoyn people

(Source: CCNT 1993:10).

Like other Aboriginal place names, the name Manyallaluk, is associated with particular events in the journey through the landscape of a figure from the Dreaming (Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory 1993:5). As Morphy (1993:236) suggests, these place names signify the spiritual force that lies beneath the surface of the earth and that has the capacity to produce the present in the form of the past, to enable new trees to grow, new people to be born, yet the names and ceremonies reunite the new with the old, blurring distinctions and collapsing generations.

Some older Jawoyn people, Merlan (1998:97) notes, are named after particular places that they are closely associated with. She mentions an elderly Jawoyn woman, Nancy Manyala, who was named after the Manyallaluk site because she was born there. Tourists who visit Manyallaluk are not allowed to visit this site but the frog icon is
reproduced on the side of the Manyallaluk tour vehicles, and on guides’ badges, which can also be bought from the community shop as souvenirs. The frog icon is also a dominant feature on the map that is included in the Manyallaluk brochure. This map is colourful and extremely simple and provides the bare minimum of information necessary for tourists who are driving to the attraction.

Figure 37: Map from Manyallaluk brochure

Finding Manyallaluk

Manyallaluk is also marked on the map below, which is from “Australia’s Northern Territory”, a free brochure published by the Northern Territory Tourist Commission. This map is more detailed and situates Manyallaluk in the Northern Territory, in the “Katherine Region” and near to the well-marked town of Katherine, a regional centre and tourist hub. The four Northern Territory Tourist Commission regions are clearly shown on the map, as are the national parks. This map shows Aboriginal owned land, although not all tourist maps do. Colour is often used on tourist maps of the Northern
Territory to differentiate the green tropical Top End from the drier desert areas of Central Australia, as it is in this one.

Although the town of Katherine has a much larger population than that of Tennant Creek on this map the two towns are marked identically. Darwin, Katherine, Tennant Creek, Alice Springs and Ayers Rock/Uluru are all similar on the map, metaphorically becoming well-spaced staging posts along the main highway where tourists can stop to purchase refreshments and find accommodation. Moreover, the map only shows the Northern Territory and beyond its borders is blank space, apart from Kununurra and Lake Hopkins, two sites close to the borders.

Figure 38: "Australia's Northern Territory" (Source: NTTC)
The Stuart Highway is a key feature on most tourist maps of the Territory and is the main road linking Adelaide, Alice Springs and Darwin and was named after the explorer, John MacDouall Stuart. Early explorers, Leichhardt (1845) and Gregory (1855) travelled near to where Manyallaluk is today, but it was Stuart who first crossed country that was to become the Eva Valley Station and then Manyallaluk. On the 8th July 1862, he named Fanny Creek after the first daughter of John Chambers, his deceased friend and patron and then crossed and named the Katherine River, after Chamber’s second daughter, Katherine. Stuart (1865:387) described the country as “good for pasturage purposes; in the valley it is of the finest description”. Morphy (1993:236) suggests that “European place names record the actions of human agents who played a role in transforming the country, in ‘opening’ it up for future development”, and indeed, Stuart’s favourable description of the land in this area was welcomed by settlers in the south and influenced the decision by South Australia to annex the Northern Territory in 1863 (Davis & Prescott 1992:64).

Recently, the Stuart Highway has been renamed the Explorer Highway as part of the Northern Territory Tourist Commission’s Strategy for the Tourism Drive Market. While the road’s new name is not thematically different, it is less specific and more immediately evocative for tourists who are unfamiliar with the history of the region. The Australia’s Northern Territory Tourism Drives Bulletin No 1 (1997) describes how the Explorer Highway, together with the Pioneer’s Path and Nature’s Way, have displays that feature stories about explorers, early settlers, crocodile shooters, buffalo hunters and goldminers - all “courageous people [who] opened up this amazing country”. The displays are designed to “provide interesting and informative information for travellers and to help capture the Territory’s spirit of adventure”.

The map of the Explorer Highway, on the following page, uses colour to differentiate the desert from the tropics but it omits boundaries designating national parks or Aboriginal owned land, although it has several of the better known four wheel drive routes marked, such as the Tanami Road, which go through Aboriginal land. Manyallaluk is not marked on the map of the Explorer Highway and tourist displays
that commemorate the lives of explorers and European settlers usually celebrate the white male’s encounter with the landscape of the Northern Territory.
The decision about what heritage to display and what not to display is always a political and contested one. Ah Kit (1994:18) points out that when Aboriginal heritage is included in commemorative displays, it is usually rock art that is featured because “[i]t is seen as primitive and ancient, part of a nebulous ‘Dreamtime’ that is uniquely Australian”. By contrast, he argues, more recent Aboriginal history is often omitted from displays because it is a “living heritage” which confronts tourists “with a shared history of colonialism in the Northern Territory - and it makes them uncomfortable” (Ah Kit 1994:19). However, set against the dominant narrative are alternative histories, and commemorative events celebrating these histories, such as the strike of the Gurindji people at Wave Hill in 1966 and the anniversary of Northern Territory land rights, now attract small numbers of tourists and some media coverage.

**The last frontier**

The Northern Territory is often promoted as ‘the last frontier’. A trip to the Northern Territory is a trip to the Never Never or the Outback and an opportunity for adventure. Tourism advertising constructs the Northern Territory as

...the “wild state...sparsely populated, with red deserts in the centre, the tangled tropics to the north, rare animals roaming free and the ancient traditions of Australia’s original inhabitants still an important part of the cultural landscape (Gregory’s Australian State Tourist Map Series No. 549).

An advertisement for the Northern Territory published in *The Australian Living North* (1983:65) states that “Its never tame”. A decade and a half later, the current catchphrase is similar: “You’ll never never know if you never never go”. Both advertisements rework the term ‘Never Never’, made popular through the book *We of the Never Never* (Gunn 1908), an autobiographical account of early settler life on the Elsey Station, near the town of Mataranka which is located less than one hundred kilometres from Manyallaluk.

The postcard map of the Northern Territory on the following page depicts the Northern Territory in this way. The animals far outnumber the people and out of the
four people portrayed one is a white stockman and the other three are naked or nearly naked Aboriginal men in ‘traditional’ poses.

The Bush Tucker Man, Les Hiddens and Troy Dann, are modern day adventurers who, through their books and television programs, encouraged Australians to travel and ‘explore’ Outback Australia. The increase in four wheel drive tourists has further ‘opened up’ the more remote parts of Central and Northern Australia and a growing number of magazines cater for this group of tourists. In 1995 there were one million four wheel drive vehicles on the road in Australia (Bishop 1996:259). Moreover, sales of four wheel drive vehicles have nearly doubled during the last four years (Schulz 1999:42). George Seddon’s (1997:221) satirically titled poem “Stock men” depicts
the stream of city dwellers who head off in their four wheel drives to 'consume' the Outback:

**Stockmen**

Winter in Perth, and the Claremont cowboys,
The Joondalup Jackeroos, are out again,
Heading North in their Nissan Patrols,
Beyond Daydream and Cue, beyond Youenmi,
Cutting up the Tanami Track.
Moleskinned from R.M. Williams in City Arcade.
Thoroughly outfitted,
They ride the range in their Rangeriders
Unmoved by Black Deaths in Custody
(Not my problem, mate)
Nor a brutal past
(I wasn't there, was I)
Lured, perhaps by a desert mirage of She,
Now Mrs Paul Hogan the Second
And no longer inviting rescue,
They lacerate the thin skin of the desert,
A casual cat-o-nine-tails across its bare back.
This second violation of the land
Worse than the first, because so trivial.

There are also many four wheel drive tours in the Northern Territory, which provide tourists with an 'off the bitumen' experience. The Manyallaluk two day tour is one such tour and takes tourists to some of the numerous art sites that are tucked away in the rugged escarpments right through Manyallaluk and on into Arnhem Land. The brochure states that tourists on the two day tour will “travel bush tracks into the stone country viewing ancient rock art sites rarely seen by outsiders”. The tour encourages a romantic gaze, a sense of being relatively alone and in ‘nature’ and contrasts with the tourist experience at rock art sites in Kakadu National Park, where tourists gaze collectively at ‘the largest art galleries in the world’. A journalist’s description of a tour in Arnhem Land that is similar to the Manyallaluk two day tour, illustrates the privileged position of the viewer at sites like this:
Unlike rock art sites elsewhere, we weren’t separated from them by high fences to prevent vandalism and the stones used to grind the ochre were still resting in their hollows, not stolen by greedy souvenir hunters (Burns 1996:165).

A recent article from *The Bulletin* (Schulz 1998), titled “Sacred Sights” describes an “expedition” into a remote area of Manyallaluk to look for a large art site that some of the older members of the Manyallaluk community can remember visiting when they were young. The trip was also the subject of a television documentary and the expedition team consisted of an Aboriginal guide, a driver, an archaeologist, a journalist and a film crew. The article describes the country visited on the ‘expedition’ as “never surveyed or scientifically explored on the ground by modern Australians” and evocatively suggests that the rocky escarpments “would have sheltered nomads from the sun in the dry season and from the monsoonal rains in the wet” (Schulz 1998:23). Like the Manyallaluk brochure, the article accentuates the romantic gaze through its emphasis on the rarity of the experience; however, it also echoes the earlier explorer histories with its emphasis on discovery:

For 10 days we probed the secrets of this gorge-carved land, recording the rock art treasures tucked away under billowing sandstone canopies – art, that, possibly, had never before been seen by European eyes... In another nearby shelter a massive seven-metre long painting of a spirit figure dominated, while other shelters produced finely painted animal figures, mythical creatures and lonely burials... The discoveries were made in the nick of time, as Arnhem Land is about to experience an enormous increase in human activity (Schulz 1998:23).

A majority of tourists who visit Manyallaluk are on one day tours and do not ‘go bush’. Instead, they spend a day at the main tourist site, which is situated one kilometre from the Manyallaluk community houses. As I will explain, the trip to the Manyallaluk site and the site itself generates diverse and conflicting readings because of the way past and present histories are visible, yet unevenly incorporated in the attraction. Moreover, as a minor attraction set within a much larger regional ‘system of attractions’, Manyallaluk is ambiguously positioned. As Massey (1994:156) suggests “a sense of place, an understanding of ‘its character’...can only be constructed by linking that place to places beyond”.

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Heading off the Stuart Highway

Like many Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, Manyallaluk is spatially separate from the main tourist towns and located well off the main roads. The first sign to Manyallaluk is set back in the scrub on a big bend on the Stuart Highway, fifty kilometres south of Katherine. As the photograph below shows, the sign has a stereotypical image of a ‘traditional’ Aboriginal man and woman on it and the same image was used on the original Manyallaluk brochure, although the brochure has since been changed. The sign warns tourists that alcohol is banned and advertises caravan and camping sites, and coach facilities. Soon after the sign, there is a turn off on to a smaller bitumen road, the Central Arnhem Road, which heads out through Barunga and Bulman, and eventually to Nhulunbuy on the Arnhem coast. This turn off is the first in a series of thresholds, and when tourists take the turn off they enter a predominantly Aboriginal space.

Figure 41: Photograph of first sign to Manyallaluk, on the Stuart Highway
Most Aboriginal people who lived in this area first saw Europeans in the 1870s, when settlers began arriving from the south, and the site of the overland telegraph station was established on the southern bank of the Katherine River (Forrest 1989:5). By 1881 all of the land in the Top End was taken up under pastoral leases, but it was not until the 1930s that most of region was actually settled. From the 1870s right through until the 1940s there was considerable conflict between pastoralists and Aboriginal people over land, and Aboriginal people were forced, sometimes violently, from their traditional country (Forrest 1989:10).

The Manyallaluk turn off is fifteen kilometres along the Central Arnhem Road, just before the small town of Maranboy and the larger community of Barunga. There is a small police station at Maranboy, as well as some old mining machinery, which is a visual reminder of its livelier past. When tin was discovered at Maranboy in 1913 it was to have a much greater impact on the lives of many Jawoyn people than the presence of the early pastoralists. Some older Jawoyn people who are still alive today can remember seeing Europeans for the first time at Maranboy (Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory 1993:7). By 1929 there were approximately 70 non Aboriginal people and 270 Aboriginal people living there (Ellanna et al 1988:162).

The Maranboy mines attracted Mayali people, whose traditional country is near Oenpelli, Ngalkbon people, whose country is around Mainoru station and Rembarrnga people, whose country is in the Bulman area (Ellanna et al 1988:169). Some Aboriginal people left the pastoral stations in the Waterhouse area because they were treated violently by pastoralists, while others came to Maranboy to gain access to European goods. Others came from Arnhem Land to participate in ceremonies, and then stayed on to work in the mines (Yeuralba Mining Display, Manyallaluk). Most of the people who now live at Manyallaluk are Mayali or Ngalkbon descendants of the Aboriginal people who moved into the area at that time. The map below depicts the traditional country of the Jawoyn people and neighbouring Aboriginal groups.
The Maranboy mines operated until 1946 (Northern Land Council 1982:69) and led to intense contact between Aboriginal and non Aboriginal people, and between different groups of Aboriginal people. Leprosy, malaria and venereal diseases spread, and gambling and excessive alcohol consumption were common. New businesses, such as a bakery and brewery, were established to cater for the needs of the new settlement and Aboriginal people moved around, working at the mines at Maranboy, the sawmill at Kamoya Springs, at Guymanluk (Joe’s garden) at Bamyili, or doing stockwork, fencing and timber cutting at Eva Valley station. Although the lives of Aboriginal people changed dramatically, Merlan (1998:88) suggests that Aboriginal involvement at Maranboy was not entirely negative since Aboriginal people lived

...under conditions of Aboriginal numerical superiority and intense sociality, where they carried on, among other things, a thriving, perhaps even intensified, ceremonial life.

In 1924 a small mine was established at Yeuralba, which was situated on land that is now part of Manyallaluk, and tin, wolfram and copper were mined there until 1960.
This remote site was only viable because of Aboriginal labour and at any one time there were less than ten non-Aboriginal miners living there and about fifty Aboriginal people. Both Aboriginal men and Aboriginal women were employed; the men were paid five shillings a week to work down the shafts and the women paid three shillings a week to stay on the surface washing the ore (Yeuralba Mining Display, Manyallaluk).

In 1994 the Northern Territory Department of Mines and Energy erected a display about the Yeuralba mines in the Manyallaluk tourist area. The display panels include written and pictorial information and focus on local Aboriginal involvement in the mines. As the photograph below shows, the display is well cared for and has a shade cloth covering it and there is some old mining machinery next to it. However, little attention is given to the display on the tours although tourists may wander over to have a look. The written text of the displays may be one of the reasons the display is overlooked by the guides, but most tourists also show little interest, perhaps because they associate mining history with the history of European settlement.

Figure 43: Photograph of mining display in Manyallaluk tourist area
During World War Two many defence personnel moved into the Katherine region and there was a rapid development of infrastructure to cater for their needs. Many Aboriginal people also moved to Katherine during this time. At the end of the war, the government established two permanent Aboriginal settlements in the area, one at Beswick (1948), which is now called Wugularr and one at Bamyili (1951), which is now called Barunga. The settlements were supposedly set up for training purposes, although Merlan (1998:88) suggests they were little more than "rural holding pens", established to keep Aboriginal people out of Katherine. Nevertheless, Bamyili became as important meeting place for Aboriginal people with as many as 500 people visiting the settlement for ceremonies between 1953 and 1955 (Ellanna et al 1988:175).

Each year since 1985 Barunga has held a three day sports and cultural festival, which attracts Aboriginal people from all over Australia as well as a growing number of domestic and international tourists. It is supported by the Jawoyn Association and includes dance, art and craft displays, sport competitions and performances by Aboriginal and non Aboriginal bands and solo artists.

And on to the dirt road

Tourists who go to Manyallaluk turn off at a small sign just before Maranboy and do not actually visit Maranboy or Barunga. Just after the turn off another sign warns tourists that alcohol is prohibited (see following page). It is thirty five kilometres to Manyallaluk from the turn off and the road is dirt. In the dry season a cloud of dust may indicate that there is another car in the distance but more often than not the visitor has the road to herself. The first time I visited Manyallaluk I wrote about this part of the trip in my field notes, saying:
The road in from the turn off is dirt. It is already dusty although it is only the beginning of the dry season. The corrugations and potholes are bad. The country is flat and dotted with low trees and small termite mounds. The road is fringed by waist high spear grass that is just starting to brown and dry off (Field notes, 27/4/94).

For some international tourists this may be the first time they have driven on a dirt road, and a few tourists have commented to me about this part of their experience, usually suggesting that the road should be sealed, better sign-posted or that the brochure should warn tourists of the length of time the trip from Katherine to Manyallaluk takes as they had expected to do it in a much shorter time.

![Figure 44: Photograph of sign displaying alcohol restrictions for the area](image-url)
For some tourists each bush, tree, termite mound and corner will seem indiscernible from the last, while others may 'see' the view through their windscreens differently and sense that the landscape is 'lived in'. They may notice the odd bit of rubbish on the side of the road or vehicle tracks heading off into the bush. Occasionally, a termite mound has been given a face, small stones and sticks pressed into the earth to serve as eyes and a nose. Tourists may see some wild donkeys, but mostly birds are the only visible wildlife.

The arrival scene

After thirty five kilometres in the dust, the visitor eventually drives over a ramp and past some fences - a sign, perhaps, that they are getting somewhere! The road then winds down a small hill and past a water pump, before emerging in front of the old Eva Valley station buildings set amidst green watered lawns.

![Figure 45: Photograph of station buildings from point of arrival](image)

Tourists are confined to the tourist area and signs tell them that they are not allowed to visit the community homes, which are situated one kilometre further along the road. This boundary, or threshold, formally separates the front and back settings and
the only glimpse tourists catch of the homes is a distant one from the top of the escarpment above the tourist area on the morning bush walk of the one day tour. This view from the escarpment is a recent addition to the tour brought about partly by tourists’ complaints that they did not see the local homes. From the escarpment tourists also see the endless expanse of trees beyond the homes and the guides explain that what they can see is Arnhem Land. In a sense then, the end of the community becomes another threshold, and a ‘gateway’ to Arnhem Land. The map on the following page illustrates the spatial structure of the Manyallaluk site.

Figure 46: Photograph of view of Arnhem Land from the escarpment
The station was first called Eva Valley in the 1930s when a man called Farrar obtained the leases for the land. The name Eva Valley came from the naming of Eva Creek, which was probably named after the daughter of J.S. Miller. Little is known about Farrar's time at Eva Valley, but oral tradition suggests that he had a reputation for extreme violence towards Aboriginal people when he worked on the Arafura Station in north east Arnhem Land (Forrest 1989:14). In 1947, just after the war, Bob Thompson, a Maranboy tin miner, purchased the station. He built a homestead, head stockman's house, butchery, a blacksmith's building and stable, and in 1954, wrote to the Lands Department saying:
At the rear of the homestead I have a large garden from which I have been taking excellent crops of vegetables and fruit, mango trees and banana trees have also borne crops (Forrest 1989:15).

The old station buildings form the visual centrepiece of the tourist area today. Historian, Forrest (1989:15), describes the buildings as

...notable for their ingenious mud and concrete wall construction technique and for their spatial arrangement which gives the complex very pleasing aesthetic value.

Some of the Mayali and Ngalkbon people who live at Manyallaluk today remember Old Bob Thompson and his fruit and vegetable garden well. Their parents moved to Eva Valley to do stock work and fencing for Thompson. Reggie Miller, one of the Manyallaluk guides, first came to Eva Valley with his grandfather as a small boy, and describes Old Bob Thompson as “a good bloke” who “useta give them extra tea, sugar, tobacco when they were going to have a ceremony”. The guides also tell tourists about Old Bob Thompson and his garden and sometimes share their memories of working cattle during the time that he owned the station. When the guides show tourists one of the bush fruit trees, the “Billy Goat Plum”, they explain that the European name came from Thompson. As Marion Galawonga, one of the guides at Manyallaluk, told some tourists:

This one here is the Billy Goat Plum. It has a bitter taste, not a sweet taste. We call it amala from our language, because we don’t have it in English they tell us that an Englishman from England came here and lived here and found Aboriginal people and taught them English and how to wear clothes and all that. He had a plum tree in his yard and also goats so he called it Billy Goats Plum. His name was old Bob Thompson. He’s passed away now.

By the 1960s Thompson was grazing approximately 1,500 head of cattle on the station, although the estimated carrying capacity was 3,500 (Jawoyn Association 1996:184). Although Thompson built the station up considerably it was only marginal economically, and cattle were hard to muster because the property had several sources of permanent water. In 1968 Thompson sold Eva Valley, and three years later it was sold again. By the early seventies Eva Valley was no longer worked as a cattle station, and once again, became an essentially Aboriginal place.
The 1980s: a time of transition

Reggie Miller describes much of the 1970s and 1980s as a “quiet time” at Eva Valley and explains how he stayed on with a few others to “look after the place”, living in some small makeshift homes that are still part of the community today. Social security payments were first paid to Aboriginal people in 1966 and according to Reggie Miller, those who stayed on at Eva Valley were able to collect their payments after the Northern Land Council came down and made the necessary arrangements.

In the late 1980s there were between twenty and thirty five people living at Eva Valley although housing was poor, there was no electricity or telephone, and people had to go to Barunga or Katherine for shopping and health care (Resource Assessment Commission 1990:37). A report from Northern Building Consultants (1990:4) written at that time described Eva Valley as

...typical of a remote area ‘minor’ Community, where the provision of services, facilities, housing and infrastructure are provided on an adhoc annual funding basis with little knowledge of the intentions and aspirations of local people and little evidence of forward planning.

In 1987 there was no formal work at Eva Valley, although there were eight adults working part time making artefacts (Ellanna et al 1988:223). However, the lack of employment at Eva Valley was partly compensated for by the availability of natural resources, and people from the community regularly hunted for kangaroos, wallabies, goannas, cattle, buffalo and also fish and turtles in the creeks (Northern Land Council 1982:57). Ellanna et al (1988:220) noted that “the eldest male and leader of the community proudly continued to hunt game (including kangaroos, wallabies, cattle as well as smaller game) with traditional technology” and was teaching his sons to do the same.

During the 1980s the Jawoyn people were actively involved in reclaiming much of their traditional country under the Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act of 1976. On June 10th 1981 they lodged a land claim for country that included the Eva Valley
station, but subsequently this version of the claim was not accepted and another claim was finally lodged on February 20th 1985. In the meantime, in 1984, the pastoral lease covering the Eva Valley station was purchased on behalf of the Jawoyn people by Kronus Pty Ltd, a company set up by the Aboriginal Development Corporation. A year later, in 1985, the Jawoyn Association was formed to represent the interests of the Jawoyn people and the association began looking at suitable business enterprises to set up on Jawoyn owned land to help local communities move away from their dependency on government funding.

In 1988 the whole of Eva Valley station was handed back to the Jawoyn Aboriginal Land Trust, however, the western portion of the property was then incorporated into Nitmiluk National Park, leaving the remaining 2,000 square kilometres of land as inalienable Aboriginal freehold. The Jawoyn Association chose not to include the whole of Eva Valley in Nitmiluk National Park because its present form of title as inalienable freehold “protect(s) the current and potential economic activities of the area that may be precluded under a park regime” (Jawoyn Association 1994:22). As it stands now, the Jawoyn Association can develop business enterprises in the way that it wants, and can protect possible future negotiations over mineral exploration leases that currently exist over parts of Manyallaluk.

In the Jawoyn (Katherine Area) Land Claim the authors describe how Aboriginal people who are not Jawoyn have special rights of use and occupancy in parts of Jawoyn country, and also sometimes ritual obligations over particular places. A senior Jawoyn woman claimant discusses the attachment some non Jawoyn people have to their Jawoyn ‘home’ in this way:

niyam-gula na-ginba gawu-m-budiyi gIRRung dara
warrunggan wakay girranbo nen
gawu-m-dum-gapurla-yi-n niyarngula gawu-m- budiyi

(Some live here (from distant places, i.e. Mayali, Ngalkbon etc.) they will not leave again, no; later perhaps their eyes will become dim (i.e. they will grow old) here, they (will) stay.) (Northern Land Council 1982:43).
Non Jawoyn people living at Manyallaluk are also clear about their position, and explain to tourists that they are not Jawoyn and that their own traditional country is elsewhere. In Reggie Miller’s words:

This country Jawoyn. This is not my country. My country a long way... bush... Arnhem Land. Our parents came here. We’re here now.

**Developing a tour enterprise: a Jawoyn initiative**

In 1988 the Jawoyn Association established Jawaluk Pty. Ltd. to assist with the development of an Aboriginal operated tourism enterprise on Jawoyn country. That same year the Aboriginal Development Commission (ADC) employed Mingatjuta Consulting Services to carry out a baseline study assessing the type of tourism development possible in the Barunga - Eva Valley - Wugularr area. The consultants looked “for a way in which the communities would benefit from tourism, but would not be tied to the daily grind of a seven day a week tourism enterprise” and recommended that a joint venture arrangement with a mainstream operator would be the most suitable enterprise structure (Mingatjuta Consulting Services 1988:5).

The consultants also identified four possible products: a 100 site caravan park and camping ground at Eva Valley, a weekly (or twice weekly) art and craft market at Eva Valley, a day tour operation to scenic places on Beswick Reserve and Eva Valley, and extended soft adventure tour operation in the Eva Valley/Katherine River area. However, Eva Valley was the only site where tourism development got past the planning stage. Since Manyallaluk began operation in 1991 it has established each of the products recommended in the original consultancy, apart from the art market, although the consultant’s report did state:

The one well developed skill of tourist interest is the high standard of art and craft work performed by the residents of Beswick, Barunga and Eva Valley (Mingatjuta Consulting Services 1988:5).
In 1990 Jawaluk approached Terra Safari Tours, a Darwin based Northern Territory tour company, to assist with the development of a tour enterprise at Eva Valley and the training of local people, with the aim that they would eventually run the enterprise themselves. The enterprise was not set up as a joint venture, and instead, the Jawoyn Association employed Murray Dennis, from Terra Safari Tours, as the first manager. Murray spent 1990 making sure the necessary infrastructure was in place and the community was connected to power and the telephone, a house was built for the tourism manager, roads were upgraded, and the local spring was dammed to make a small pool in the tourist area. Then in 1991 Murray Dennis moved to Manyallaluk with his wife and children, and that year the first one day tours began.

Altman and Finlayson (1993:39, also see Finlayson & Maddon 1994:272) draw attention to the issue of Aboriginalisation versus localisation of the workforce in indigenous tourism enterprises. This is also an important issue at Manyallaluk, where many community members have poor literacy skills, particularly the middle aged and more senior people who are also key tourism workers. In the initial stages of the development of tourism it was necessary to bring in a manager plus two or three guides from outside, and to date, non Aboriginal people have been appointed to these positions because the community has been wary of employing an Aboriginal person from elsewhere. As Manual Pamkal, a Manyallaluk guide explains to the tourists:

The tourism is run and owned by Aboriginal people. There are a few whitefellas we've got working in the office. They're here to teach Aboriginal people so it can be run by ourselves...especially office work...we're learning.

However, the role of white advisors adds to the complexity of community-based tourism. The manager’s job is a difficult and demanding one because it involves not only managing the tourism enterprise, but overseeing CDEP and community development as well. Since the tour operation began at Manyallaluk, there have been three different managers, two with a longstanding commitment to the Northern Territory and one from interstate. The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Industry Strategy (ATSIC 1997:27) notes that there is a problem with the
‘burn out’ of advisors in the indigenous arts industries, and the roles and responsibilities of an indigenous tourism enterprise manager are similar. Both types of managers are required to establish and maintain links between the producers and the consumers of culture-based products and they also have a great influence over product development. However, special problems arise because of the generalist nature of tourism work. Brian Rooke, a tour operator in Arnhem Land, comments:

It’s no good to be an expert at one thing… You’ve got to know a bit about mechanics, a bit about the bush, and a bit about culture to make something like this work *(Aboriginal News 1991, 7(2):4).*

Managers of community-based enterprises have the additional responsibility of training community members for a range of tourism jobs. At Manyallaluk, two non Aboriginal guides were employed as trainers and as tour vehicle drivers because most of the Aboriginal guides either do not have their driving licences or are not eligible for D class licences because they have previous alcohol related driving offences. Although the non Aboriginal guides who were hired were experienced Northern Territory guides, some had not had any formal guide training themselves, which is not at all uncommon in the Northern Territory, but it does have implications when untrained people are placed in training positions. Thus, the training issues of community-based enterprises cannot be examined without also paying attention to training needs within the mainstream industry as well.

**Starting the tours**

The Manyallaluk Mission Statement, below, guides the overall direction of the development of tourism at Manyallaluk and like the Jawoyn Association’s strategic plan it incorporates economic, social and cultural goals. Significantly, its final statement highlights the role of cultural tourism in the education of the young. In the following chapter I will describe how young people are involved in the tours, and often accompany their parents or aunts and uncles on the tours.
The Manyallaluk Mission Statement

We promote and develop tourism in order to maximise the economic and social benefits for the Manyallaluk Community.

We work towards demonstrating leadership, professionalism, creativity and excellence in all that we do.

We are committed to a quality visitor experience and to conserve Manyallaluk's unique and genuine cultural environment.

We develop at a pace that creates comfortable and long term employment for the Manyallaluk Community.

We work towards Jawaluk being totally operated by the Aboriginal people at the Manyallaluk Community in the true meaning of self-determination and management.

We be committed to passing on our cultural knowledge to our children.

After offering just the one day tour for two years, a four day walking tour was introduced in 1993, and then a two day tour with an overnight bush camp in 1994. The longer tours include the one day cultural tour to provide every tourist with an introduction to Aboriginal culture and to give them an opportunity to interact with a group of Aboriginal people, since the longer tours are only accompanied by one or two Aboriginal guides. However, the four day walk was stopped in 1996. Aboriginal guides were reluctant to lead this tour, primarily because it involved being away from home for three days, but possibly also because the tour was very demanding on guides. It not only involved close, prolonged contact with tourists but also required a range of pathfinding, hospitality and organisational skills. In 1996, two five day tours were introduced, each departing from Darwin, one visiting Litchfield and the other visiting Kakadu National Park, on the way to Manyallaluk. These tours were introduced with the aim of capturing a share of the Darwin market, however, after a change of management at the end of 1996 they were also stopped.
In 1994 a 16 site caravan park was constructed, but it has not proved popular with tourists yet and only 159 campers and 25 caravanners stayed at Manyallaluk during the whole of 1996. In retrospect, the initial consultant's recommendation for 100 caravan and camping sites was clearly too optimistic and it is likely that the dirt road deters people from towing their caravans to Manyallaluk. It is also possible that the caravan and camping facility has not been marketed widely enough. Clearly though, there are advantages to building up the number of tourists staying overnight, since it is a 'value adding' product, increasing the yield from each tourist.

Table 8, below, shows the quarter yearly tourist numbers for the one, two and five day tours and also for special tour groups from July 1994 until September 1996. The numbers are taken from booking records, which were available for this period. In 1995 and 1996 Manyallaluk received approximately 1600 tourists annually (excluding camping and caravanning, and non paying visitors). The one day self drive tour attracted the largest number of tourists overall and accounted for nearly 40% of all visitors in the year from July 1995 to June 1996. The dominance of this tour is an indication of the importance of the self drive market to Manyallaluk.

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<tr>
<td>Apr-Jun 1996</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>254</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>180</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>%</strong></td>
<td>(16.3)</td>
<td>(38.8)</td>
<td>(10.7)</td>
<td>(2.7)</td>
<td>(1.3)</td>
<td>(14.0)</td>
<td>(11.7)</td>
<td>(4.5)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul-Sep 1995</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>604</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>357</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>3746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>%</strong></td>
<td>(9.5)</td>
<td>(31.4)</td>
<td>(6.3)</td>
<td>(1.9)</td>
<td>(1.5)</td>
<td>(13.9)</td>
<td>(22.2)</td>
<td>(10.3)</td>
<td>(2.9)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table also shows the fluctuations in tourist numbers from different sources. In 1992 and 1993 tourists were brought in by Terra Safari Tours, a local tour company that had already been operating tours in the area. However, Terra Safari tourist numbers subsequently dropped off and direct bookings for Manyallaluk's own tours grew. Also, during 1992 and 1993 Connections Tours, which operates coach tours for tourists aged 18 to 35 years old stopped overnight at Manyallaluk on a regular basis. Although the charge for each passenger was not high, it did bring a steady income which was particularly valuable in the off peak season. However, Connections Tours decided to stop visiting Manyallaluk in 1995 without giving a reason. As these events highlight, it has been difficult for Manyallaluk to consolidate some of its markets. While this is to be expected in the formative years of the enterprise it makes forward planning difficult. Moreover, if special groups are to be catered for it may be necessary to develop and hone a more condensed product suitable for large groups who simply want a brief introduction to Aboriginal culture. Obviously too, if these groups are comprised of younger tourists selecting more active components for a half day tour may also be important.

From my analysis of the booking records I found that 57% of all tourists who visited Manyallaluk were direct bookings. Table 9, below, shows the range of sources of Manyallaluk's bookings. Direct bookings are more profitable because they do not involve commission payments to intermediaries such as travel agents or other tour operators. However, as Grekin and Milne (1996:85) point out, a reliance on direct bookings may also indicate that links with the mainstream industry are poor. In their study of indigenous tourism in the North West Territories, Canada, Grekin and Milne found that 80% of all bookings were direct bookings, a larger proportion than at Manyallaluk. The Katherine Regional Tourism Association and Travel North, which are both in Katherine, were the two main sources of Manyallaluk's bookings. As Table 9 shows, tourists also booked through a range of accommodation establishments, particularly backpacker hostels, which indicates that they are important sources of information and advice for tourists as well.
Table 9: Sources of Manyallaluk’s bookings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of bookings</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>(56.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine Regional Tourism Association (KRTA)</td>
<td>(10.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel North</td>
<td>(7.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kookaburra Lodge*</td>
<td>(3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darwin Regional Tourism Association (DRTA)</td>
<td>(3.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventure Center</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other bookings (includes Northern Territory Holiday Centre, Northern Territory Tourist Commission, Youth Hostel Association, All Australia Tours, Darwin City Lodge*, FOC, Frogs Hollow*, Knotts Crossing*, Northern Gateway, Melaleuca Lodge*, Northern Territory Tours, Top End Travel, Shady Lane Caravan Park*, Globetrotters, Tour Continental, Pacific Express, Walkabout, Buffalo, Redlands, Last Resort*, Wereldcon, Kununurra Tourist Bureau, RAC Victoria, Travelbag, Elkes Backpackers*, Flight Centre, RAA South Australia, Low Level Caravan Park*, Northern Territory Travel Service, Melanka Lodge*, Northern Territory Travel, ITO, Beagle*, Thomas Cook</td>
<td>(17.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Accommodation establishments

Community development and CDEP

After the tourism enterprise was established, other Aboriginal people, mostly relatives of those already living at Manyallaluk, came to live in the community and the population rose rapidly from around 45 in 1990 to between 100 and 145 in 1994. This placed added pressure on community resources and at one stage during 1995 there were 143 people living at Manyallaluk in eight houses. However, several community homes were built during 1996 and 1997. Two of the homes were constructed by community members employed under the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) and were made out of locally produced mud bricks. Despite the difficulties of balancing community development and the development of the tourism enterprise, Manyallaluk became "a good place to live". As Manuel Pamkal, a guide, explained to some tourists:
People want to stay here and work. It's got restricted area for alcohol. Other places they're drinking too much and fighting too much. We've got lots of jobs... garbage run, creche, multi purpose centre, buffalo catching, mud brick machine to make own house, fencing... Tourism is a really big one for us.

In 1993 the Manyallaluk community formed its own corporation and took over the running of the enterprise from the Jawoyn Association; a goal originally identified in the Mission Statement. In July 1994 Manyallaluk established its own Community Development Employment Program (CDEP). CDEP is an ATSIC program that now funds approximately 260 CDEP organisations and 32,000 participants throughout Australia, two thirds of which are located in remote areas (http://www.atsic.gov.au/). Under CDEP, a community receives a block grant equivalent to the unemployment benefits of its members, plus a fee for administration, which it is then able to use to provide part time wages for community members who are employed on a range of community projects. Critics have argued that CDEP is a poverty trap, that it locks "communities into a monoculture" (Bernardi 1997:44), and that it does not lead to formal employment, which is one of the main aims of the program (Altman & Smith 1992:7).

The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (1997:12) states:

While CDEP is a useful tool in developing tourism enterprises, it is not considered appropriate for CDEP to be the main source of funding and employment.

However, CDEP is vital to some community-based indigenous tourism enterprises like Manyallaluk. It enables them to operate with a much larger pool of employees than would otherwise be commercially possible, and it allows for flexible and culturally sensitive work patterns. In 1996 Manyallaluk had 51 people employed under CDEP, 35 men (69%) and 16 women (31%). CDEP employees worked as tour guides, in the store, creche, buffalo domestication program, mud brick building, office, mechanical workshop and on general gardening and maintenance. Also, the caravan site and other concreting jobs were carried out through CDEP, but in these
instances Manyallaluk put in their own tender and won the contract to carry out the work.

Thirteen people were employed to work permanently in tourism as guides, although other people also worked in tourism on a casual basis. Without CDEP, it would only be commercially possible to have one or two guides on the one day tour, but with CDEP tourists who visit Manyallaluk can interact with a group of guides. The guides are split into two groups that are basically extended family groups, and each group works seven day on and seven days off, which gives people time to continue with art and craft production and other family business in their weeks off. Each guide group has a guide supervisor, whose wage is topped up with income from tourism and guides who work longer hours also have their weekly earnings topped up.

It seems unlikely that the Manyallaluk enterprise will be self supporting in the near future, particularly since Manyallaluk’s population has increased so rapidly during the 1990s (Jawoyn Association 1994:34). Although the enterprise is not yet profitable, there have been other indirect economic benefits from tourism. For instance, the income of the community owned shop rose steadily between 1992 and 1995 and although only a small amount of that income came directly from tourists, profits from the shop were used to upgrade the cool room and purchase a community vehicle. Moreover, in 1995 approximately $13,000 of the shop turnover came from artefact sales and most of this income is from tourists.

It may be possible to broaden the economic base at Manyallaluk through the planned development of artefact and souvenir production and through the development of recreational tourism products, perhaps special interest tour groups such as bush walkers, which may only required limited input on the part of the Manyallaluk guides. As Altman (1995:22) suggests in his study of indigenous tourism at the Seisa community, Cape York, it may be more appropriate to aim for “reduced dependence” on government intervention.
Also the qualitative impacts from regular employment and heightened esteem are difficult to measure, but are very important. A core group of guides at Manyallaluk have worked constantly in tourism since the beginning of the 1990s, suggesting that they enjoy their work and are committed to it. Several of the guides are also skilled artefact producers and earn money through the sale of their work at the community shop. Significantly too, the community now has greater political leverage because, since tourism started, several of the guides have become councillors on the Barunga-Manyallaluk Council.

Tidy Town awards

Since the Manyallaluk tour operation began in 1991 the community has won several Tidy Town awards, and they are displayed to tourists and other visitors in the community shop. The guides at Manyallaluk often talk with pride about how hard they have worked “to clean the place up” and have told me that others who are thinking of starting tour enterprises must be advised about the hard work involved in keeping a place clean. There is very little rubbish lying about and the community has gone to great lengths to develop a way of attaching the bins firmly to the ground and fitting them with wire mesh tops so that dogs cannot tip them over. Undoubtedly, the lack of rubbish at Manyallaluk pleases many tourists, both by enhancing the visual qualities of the place and by signalling that the community is ‘environmentally aware’, although some tourists’ comments still indicate that the facilities at Manyallaluk are not as clean and well maintained as they would like.

Since tourism primarily involves the visual consumption of landscape the presence of rubbish can spoil the scene. As Argyrou (1997:159) suggests in his article on littering in Cyprus, litter is “ultimately an eyesore that spoils a good picture” and concern for litter becomes possible “when the world can be kept at arm’s length” and “one can begin to constitute the world as spectacle”. Similarly, Leong (1997:79) discusses how Singapore has been cleaned up for tourists:

> Beyond the health correlate, cleanliness represents aspirations of upward social mobility and the ‘ civilising process’ of taming those habits that are
deemed boorish and backwards. A tightly controlled society is symbolised by cleanliness and orderliness.

Many signs scattered along the sides of the roads in the Northern Territory publicise an approaching Tidy Town award winner, and in the context of remote Australia, such awards also symbolise that the town has been ‘tamed’, particularly since rubbish can be difficult to dispose of in rural areas.

**Tourism awards**

Manyallaluk has won several Northern Territory and national tourism awards and is in the ‘Hall of Fame’ after winning the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Award at the national level for three consecutive years. These awards are organised annually and are run, firstly, at a state and territory level, and then state and territory finalists for each category are entered in the national awards. Similar competitions are organised in other areas of the cultural and service industries and while such awards encourage ‘quality and excellence’ they actually regulate the standard of products because entrants have to meet set criteria. Entrants are asked questions about their business goals, marketing plans, staff development, customer service and product development and are asked to provide evidence of how they have improved in each area.

Furthermore, winners benefit from the extensive promotion that usually accompanies the award ceremonies. In a sense, the tourism awards are similar to the codes of conduct I discussed in the previous chapter because they regulate the quality of the tour products, but from the perspective of production rather than consumption. At Manyallaluk, there is little doubt that winning the awards has boosted community self esteem. Along with the Tidy Town awards, the tourism awards are displayed in the shop and I have often seen guides show them to tourists and other visitors. In addition, the awards have been used as evidence of Manyallaluk’s success in the community’s dealings with government departments and in marketing and promotions. Importantly, they have attracted the positive attention of the media, as the following extract from the *Weekend Australian Magazine* attests:
As the international community seeks to promote better understanding of indigenous peoples, a pioneering tourism enterprise in the Northern Territory is forging a bond between Aborigines and the rest of the world. Manyallaluk... is the first major cultural venture in Australia, owned and managed by Aboriginal people (24/9/94:21).

**Not one place but many**

In this chapter I have described how Manyallaluk has been a site of exploration, of mining and of European pastoral enterprise, of Aboriginal self determination, and most recently a site for tourism. I have explained that the Jawoyn traditional owners care about and plan for their country, while other Aboriginal people who have moved to Manyallaluk from elsewhere have made it their cherished home. I have tried to show that the three dimensions of the site - the country or "nourishing terrain" (Rose 1996), the community and the tour enterprise cannot be easily compartmentalised, and together generate diverse, and sometimes conflicting, myths of place. In the next chapter, I describe the Manyallaluk one day tour, as well as two other one day cultural tours and I highlight the key role of the guides in the interpretation of the site and in the production of the tour experience. As Crang (1997:146) asserts:

> Tourist places are not just imagined places, they are also performed places; and tourism employees are not just actors on stages, they have to act out that stage.
CHAPTER FIVE
Chapter Five

Tours, guides and ‘true stories’

... We need young people to work in tourism. Myself and Reggie we really like to work for tourists... meet people from other places. It's good to share our culture. We really like to share with black and white (Manuel Pamkal, Manyallaluk guide).

I started this tourism to give youse a good history of all of the Aboriginal culture, what was in the past. I'm here if you want to know anything. I'm here to tell you all (Bill Harney, Jankangyinya Tours, in Harney & Wositzky 1996:192).

Images of Aboriginal cultural tours are widely used in Australian tourism advertising. These images are usually colourful, sometimes spectacular, and often portray Aboriginal guides 'sharing' aspects of their culture with tourists in outback Australia. Like all tourism experiences, however, there is a gap between the image and reality. In this chapter, I describe and analyse the production of Aboriginal cultural tours and I show that the notion of sharing disguises the complexity of the exchange between the guides and tourists, and the work involved in the construction and performance of the product. As Crang suggests, tourism work is the "deep acting of emotional labour" whereby "the products of labour are cultural representations and the labour itself involves the mobilisation of culturally meaningful selves" (1997:148, 154).

I begin the chapter with an overview of Aboriginal cultural tour products and I then describe the important role that guides play in their production, and in directing the tourist gaze (Crang 1997:152). Then to illustrate the points I have raised, I describe three different one day Aboriginal cultural tours in the Top End; examining their content, the tour narratives of the guide or guides and the way in which the guides
perform and interpret aspects of their ‘culture’ and ‘country’. My discussion is based on qualitative data collected as a participant observer on the Manyallaluk One Day Cultural Experience, the Tiwi Tours One Day Tour and Bill Harney’s Jankangyina One Day Safari.

In the final part of the chapter I situate the production of Aboriginal cultural tours in a broader context and examine the processes involved in the representation of tradition and the past at indigenous cultural tourism attractions. This approach to Aboriginal cultural tourism has been largely overlooked by tourism researchers in Australia, but internationally researchers have explored this subject and looked at how indigenous involvement in the display and interpretation of culture for tourism purposes can become a form of political capital (de Burlo 1996, Tilley 1997). As Keesing (1989:19) suggests:

> Across the Pacific, from Hawaii to New Zealand, in New Caledonia, Aboriginal Australia, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea, Pacific peoples are creating pasts, myths of ancestral ways of life that serve as powerful political symbols.

**The product: an interpretation of ‘culture’ and ‘country’**

Cultural tours vary a great deal and range from half day to longer ‘immersion’ style tours that are of several days in length, such as Desert Tracks in Central Australia or the Bush University Tours run by the Ngarinyin people in the Kimberley. They usually enable tourists to come in direct contact with Aboriginal people and are often participatory, giving tourists an opportunity to collect and taste bush foods and medicines, visit sites of significance, try arts, crafts and ‘traditional’ skills, and listen to Dreamtime stories. Thus, sensory experiences and talking are part of the attraction of Aboriginal cultural tours, as is the visual appreciation of the setting and the people within that setting (Crang 1997:150).

As I mentioned in Chapter Two, the first Aboriginal cultural tours were established in the Northern Territory during the early 1980s after Aboriginal people successfully ‘won’ back land through the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* after it
was passed in 1976. The security that successful land claims brought traditional owners encouraged them to look at ways of using the land for economic development and one of the possibilities was running cultural tours. In 1993, at the opening of the "Indigenous Australians and Tourism" Conference in Darwin, Sol Bellear (in OND 1993:19) highlighted the strong link between land rights and the development of Aboriginal tourism -

... it is land which will form the bedrock of Aboriginal involvement in the tourism industry. Our attachment to the land, our knowledge of it and the way we use it will be the basis of our investment in the tourism industry... In the Northern Territory and Northern Australia, tourism and land go hand in hand; that is why people come here. And the land is inextricably linked to the people.

Thus, Aboriginal cultural tours usually feature a display and interpretation of 'country', either by traditional owners or by Aboriginal people who have strong ties with the country, as in the case of the Manyallaluk community, where Mayali, Ngalkbon and Rembarrnga people who have lived at Manyallaluk for a long time have developed a cultural tourism enterprise with the consent and support of the Jawoyn traditional owners. Since Aboriginal cultural tours are land-based, they focus on the display and interpretation of regional cultures, because, as Dodson explains "[o]ne aspect of our customs... is that we do not allow anybody to speak on behalf of anybody else's land" (Dodson 1994:80). This means that Aboriginal cultural tour guides do not discuss the way Aboriginal people in other regions use natural resources in any detailed way. For example, when talking about the fruit of the pandanus, the guide on the Jawoyn bush tucker walk, simply commented "maybe another tribe eatem you know", and in another example from Manyallaluk, a guide referred to other possible sources of wax by saying "Lajamanu and Alice Springs maybe they get the wax from spinifex".

As Maria Morgan, an Aboriginal tour operator from the Kimberley suggests, there are practical implications of working "according to your culture" (in NTTC 1995:38). On the one hand, it is not possible to organise a pool of guides to cover a large area because one Aboriginal guide is not interchangeable with another. Moreover, Aboriginal guides in northern Australia who work in this way have limited job
opportunities because they are regionally bound. On the other hand, local Aboriginal guides are in an advantageous position because, as O'Donoghue suggests, they have “an understanding and knowledge of their country which can never be duplicated by non indigenous tour guides” (in ATSIC & ONT 1997:25). Moreover, they have rights of access to sites and sights that are off limits to Aboriginal people from elsewhere as well as to the general public.

**Front stage work: guides as the producers of Aboriginal cultural tours**

On guided tours, the guides themselves are part of the attraction. As Holloway (1981:391) observes,

> from the moment when the guide introduces himself to the passengers [or tourists] to the time he takes his leave, he is almost constantly on public view and must maintain his 'idealized performance'.

Cohen (1985) suggests that the guide’s role comprises instrumental, social, interactionary and communicative components, with the latter component becoming increasingly important in contemporary tourism as tourist interest in more experientially and educationally-based tourism products is growing. The perceived quality of guides is a key determinant of tourist satisfaction with Aboriginal cultural tours (Pearce 1989, Hughes 1991) and the communicative role of guides is vital because many tourists have little firsthand knowledge of Aboriginal culture. Aboriginal cultural tour guides must be able to select, interpret and provide information about a site and may also have to deal with a language barrier, since English is often not a guide’s first language and many international tourists are not competent English speakers either.

Humour is an important, and often overlooked, element of an Aboriginal cultural tour guide’s narrative. When a tour is participatory much of the humour is centred on tourists’ attempts to perform skills that the guides perform with ease. Thus spear throwing, didgeridoo playing and fire lighting often amuse tourists and the guides. Tourists sometimes register their amusement about their failed attempts at particular skills in the visitors’ book. For example, a German tourist wrote “I’d have to be a
vegetarian if I had to spear my own meat” (8/7/95) and similarly, an Australian tourist commented “I don’t think we would be a threat to wildlife with a spear” (4/7/94). In another example a Dutch tourist described fire lighting: “When I saw you making fire I thought ‘no sweat’. After I tried it about five times I’ve learned something about patience” (14/6/92). In these instances the humour comes from the contrast and tourists play at being ‘Aboriginal’ and are often surprised at their lack of success.

On shorter tours like the Guluyambi Cruise in Kakadu National Park guides lead tour groups of up to twenty five tourists at a time and the tour lasts less than half a day. In situations like this a guide cannot establish a personal relationship with each of the tourists and often uses humour and a light hearted spiel to entertain the tour group. However, in these situations it is also more likely that humour is based around easily recognisable sexist or racist stereotypes. On the Guluyambi Cruise many of the jokes focus on the contrast between the present and the past. On the day that I went on the cruise as a participant observer, the three guides, who were all men, commented on how lucky Aboriginal men were in the olden days to be able to have twenty one wives, and also made jokes about women who play a didgeridoo growing a beard.

Many Aboriginal cultural tour guides in the Northern Territory lack formal training and rely on their local knowledge which can cause difficulties on occasions when special interest tourists demand other types of knowledge, or a more contextual interpretation of Aboriginal culture. Almagor (1985) describes the conflict between urban, white South African tourists and their black guide on a tour of the Moremi Wildlife Reserve in Botswana where regulations require that tourists have a guide accompany them even if they did not want one. The gap in socio-economic status between the tourists and the guide was marked and the tourists took little notice of the guide’s directives. They dismissed the guide’s utilitarian knowledge of nature, and he was unable to answer their requests for the names of sub-species of flora and fauna, nor was he able to read maps or give the English names for things. Thus, far from enhancing cross-cultural understanding, communication between the tourists and guide reflected the wider neo-colonial inequalities between white and black South Africans.
Comments to tourists from Aboriginal cultural tour guides suggest that the educational dimension of their work is very important to them. As Richard Miller, a guide from Manyallaluk remarked to the tourists: “You’re here to learn our culture, you haven’t just come for a holiday”. The role of teacher is not new to Aboriginal people and as I have suggested earlier in the thesis tourists are just one amongst several types of visitors who visit Aboriginal communities in search of particular kinds of knowledge and experience. However, the amount of prior knowledge tourists have about Aboriginal culture is variable, as is the focus of their interest. As Sam Lovell, a pioneering Aboriginal cultural tour operator from the Kimberley, points out: “They’ll be following you around whatever you do, asking questions. You have to be like a walking encyclopedia” (in NTTC 1995:10). Similarly, Manuel Pamkal, a guide from Manyallaluk comments “For tourism you’ve got to know everything”.

Moreover, the educational dimension of the work of Aboriginal cultural tour guides is directed towards two audiences - tourists and their own young people, and on many of the tours that I have been on Aboriginal guides were accompanied by their children. For example, on Inkiyu Tours in Arnhem Land the Aboriginal tour operator was teaching his son to tread carefully and look out for snakes and crocodiles. Bill Harney too, had his nine year old son with him, who he referred to as the “Little Lighting Man”. Bill explained to the tourists that

... all the smaller kids they like it in the bush, before other kids grow up in town they don’t know nothing about the bush. They lost the culture, its gone and everybody, everything is dying off in this country... it’s very bad. That’s why we’re just bringing them out and showing them and explaining so that they can understand. We hope it can continue on, you know. But maybe it might die out altogether.

Similarly, Manuel Pamkal, from Manyallaluk remarked:

We know because we’ve bin born in the bush... Peter, Reggie, other tour guides. Young people didn’t born in bush, born in hospital. We try to pass the story to the young people so they can know everything.

Passing on knowledge to tourists can be difficult for Aboriginal cultural tour guides because they have to build bridges between Aboriginal and Western systems of
knowledge. As a participant observer on Aboriginal cultural tours, I found that tourists often tried to start conversations with guides by asking “How many...” or “How much...” For example, how many people live here? How far is it to the next town? How many children live here? How old is the oldest member of the community? How many notes does the didgeridoo have? How many languages do you speak? How many species of trees do you have? How many seasons do you have? From a western perspective, these types of questions may be utilised as ‘icebreakers’ in a conversation, but Aboriginal cultural tour guides often find such questions “too hard” to answer. As Watson and Wade Chambers (1989:32) suggest...

[It] is often difficult for Westerners to understand, the number system is involved in Aboriginal life only secondarily. Little hangs on the functioning of number, which is to say number does not carry the deterministic weight nor the aura of objectivity and inevitability that it carries in non Aboriginal Australia.

As ‘nature brokers’ Aboriginal cultural tour guides also have to deal with the obvious differences between Aboriginal and non Aboriginal ways of classifying the natural environment and talking about the relationships between things within that environment. Aboriginal people have a different relationship with land, plants and animals which, Dodson (1997:43) suggests, is both “profoundly spiritual” and “profoundly practical”. On a tour at Manyallaluk, a young guide Brenda Pamkal, began the bush tucker walk with the statement “All the trees that you see here have two languages”. Her statement can be understood to mean that she will be giving the Mayali and Ngalkbon names for the trees because most guides at Manyallaluk speak Mayali or Ngalkbon, but her comment also suggests that the plants themselves can communicate and are invested with knowledge.

The tour narratives of Aboriginal cultural tour guides do focus on what plants ‘tell us’. In one example, a guide explains: “When galbut (grevillea) flower that means we know the crocodile and turtle and emu start nesting eggs. They’ve got eggs coming up. When flower all finished that means they’ve got young ones”. The knowledge that plants ‘hold’ is passed on from parents to children but it is also acquired by Aboriginal people through detailed observation of the natural environment. Thus, a
Manyallaluk guide, links the green plum to the mango: “Same bark like mango... when mango have a flower this one will... they all going to ripe same day... close cousin of the mango”. As Isaacs (1987:13) explains

> Every child learns the importance of such actual signs. The winds, the blooming of the plants and the seeding of the grasses, rather than a fixed calendar of dates and months, herald the changes of the seasons.

However, tourists often want to contextualise what they hear from the guide and may ask questions aimed at facilitating this outcome. For example, they might ask what month a particular plant flowers. Guides cannot always answer this type of question, although they do use ‘Christmas time’ as a shared seasonal marker, as in the following example:

> Green plum... is one of the foods we like to eat at Christmas. Long time ago all the people didn’t know what about Christmas, only knew when it had flowers on it and it is time for that season, time to collect it, dry it and store it for the wet season.

The struggle to find common understandings is also obvious in discussions about how bush fruits look and taste, particularly since, in the Top End, most tourists visit in the dry season, between June and September, while many fruits ripen in the wet season, and therefore they must learn about the fruits from what guides say. The guides from Manyallaluk base their descriptions of the fruits on their personal experiences. Thus, the red apple “stings you when you eat a lot and its always near the river” and the white apple “they didn’t store...once its white its really soft”. By contrast, the guides on the Jawoyn bush tucker describe these two types of fruit in a more formulaic way. These guides have completed a ten week training course and have learnt to follow a certain pattern when talking about the qualities of the fruits. Thus, the red apple is “size of tennis ball, red when ripe, edible and tastes bitter”, while the white one is “size of a marble, white when ripe and edible and tastes like lemon”.

Sociologist, Hollinshead (1996b:309) emphasises the importance of attuning “visitors to the inner dreaming that is Aboriginal spirituality”, and suggests that
... it is the mythology of the Aboriginal ‘Dreamtime’ stories and legends that will prove to best offer the kind of new or authentic experience so increasingly sought after by travellers today (Hollinshead 1988:187).

The frequent questions from tourists on Aboriginal cultural tours about the ‘meaning’ of Aboriginal dance and paintings support Hollinshead’s comment. Many tourists seek a deeper understand of Aboriginal cultural products and are not content to appreciate them purely from an aesthetic perspective.

However, during my fieldwork, I found that Aboriginal cultural tour guides were selective about the information they passed on to tourists and were reluctant to talk about Aboriginal beliefs in a detailed way. Bill Harney makes it clear to tourists that he can only tell them the ‘open stories’. Speaking along similar lines, Sam Lovell insists “You can only tell them so far, you can’t go into all the customs of Aboriginal law, of man and woman” (pers. com 5/5/1995) and “you can’t show them secret places; you should never do that” (in OND 1993:43). In Moscardo and Pearce’s (1989:391) study of tourism on the Tiwi Islands they also found that there was “widespread support for teaching visitors about lifestyle and aspects of daily life but little support for teaching visitors about ceremonies or aspects of religious life”.

At Manyallaluk, most guides have little knowledge of written accounts of regional history, and do not use dates and European measurements of time much in their everyday life. Thus, the tours do not present a chronological history, linking dates to people and events. While tourists generally have some understanding that Aboriginal people consider the Dreamtime to be the ‘beginning’, and often ask questions about its meaning, the guides at Manyallaluk have said to me that questions about the Dreamtime are “too hard”. Mussolini Harvey, a Yanyuwa man makes a similar observation:

White people ask us all the time, what is the Dreaming? This is a hard question because Dreaming is a really big thing for Aboriginal people (in Rose, 1997:27).

In the following section I describe three different Aboriginal cultural tours in the Top End. Threaded through each of the narratives are references to “a long time ago”, to
the early settler days, to the present and to the future. Much of the content of the tours covers similar ground, but it is often interpreted in contrasting ways, which in turn influences the tourist gaze. On all of the tours the guides allude to the apparent differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and it is these differences that forms the core of the attraction. As Crang (1997:152) suggests: “Identity politics are at the heart of tourism labour processes” and these three tour narratives illustrate the way in which aspects of Aboriginal life such as gender relationships, law, education and food customs are used to strengthen the boundary between Aboriginal and European or white Australian identities.

The Manyallaluk one day cultural experience

The ‘one day cultural experience’ is the core tour at Manyallaluk. Over three-quarters of all tourists visiting Manyallaluk choose this tour and it is also a component of all of the longer tours. The one day tour is composed of five loosely differentiated parts - ‘meeting and greeting’, the morning bush tucker walk, lunch, the afternoon’s ‘hands on’ activities, and at the end of the day, a visit to the community shop. There may be as many as seven guides on the one day tour and perhaps several children, particularly if it is a Saturday or a day in the school holidays. Hence, tourists have plenty of opportunity for interaction with Aboriginal people, in contrast with the longer tours that are only accompanied by one or two guides.

On a tour day, the guides begin work before the tourists arrive, preparing food, cleaning the amenities block, lighting the fire, and raking and tidying the tourist area in readiness for the arrival of the tourists around 9.00am. Tourists arrive either by self drive vehicle or by the Manyallaluk tour vehicle after being picked up from their accommodation in Katherine at around 7.00am. When the guides see an approaching vehicle one or more of them walk up to the car park to ‘meet and greet’ the tourists. At this stage, they often shake hands with the tourists and introduce themselves by name. The guides and tourists then walk back down the gently sloping hill to the tourist area where they are offered a cup of tea from the billy which is boiling away on the open fire. Other guides in the tourist area who have not met the tourists
introduce themselves. The tourists usually then take a seat on a log under a huge mango tree while they wait until all the tourists have arrived. Sometimes a guide will provide a brief introduction to the community and to the tourism enterprise.

During this waiting period, there is often an air of expectation and at times tension, since for tourists the tour has begun, they have crossed a boundary and entered 'tourist time', but for guides the tour has not yet formally started because the tour group is not complete. Guides chat to the tourists and each other while tourists sometimes appear uncomfortable, perhaps because they are unsure of what is about to happen. The two features of this 'meeting and greeting' stage that differentiate this tour from some others are, firstly, that tourists' and guides' names are all known after the initial introductions, and, secondly, that the organisation of 'time' is clearly in the hands of the guides rather than the tourists. Guides may affirm this in their conversations with tourists, as for example, when Marion Galawonga's remarks: "While you are waiting for me to have my tea, you can look at what is on the table".

Although tourists are clearly in a marked tourist space, the early morning scene is a cacophony of activity that tourists may read in a variety of ways. People come and go in vehicles ferrying cold water and other necessities from the office. Guides are not necessarily visibly distinct from other local people; some may wear a Manyallaluk guide shirt, others may not. From a visual perspective, processes of cultural editing seem relatively unimportant at Manyallaluk in contrast with some other Aboriginal cultural tourism attractions where costumes and the careful editing of objects accentuates the boundary between local and tourist worlds. While the lack of attention to visual detail at Manyallaluk may not suit some tourists, problems can also arise at attractions where cultural editing is more rigorous. An Indonesian journalist described to me the discomfort he felt when he went to visit another Aboriginal cultural tourism attraction where, as the tourists arrived, the Aboriginal women hastily took of their jumpers, to become bare breasted in readiness for the start of the tour performance.
Even on tours, the Manyallaluk guides are the first to acknowledge that the creative borrowing of useful objects has had a positive impact on their lives. The women tell the tourists that basket weaving is easier with needles than a bone and the men talk about the usefulness of guns for hunting. As Peter Bolgi comments:

Very hard in the olden day, very hard. Now we sometimes use European guns - very easy. In the olden days sometimes two to three days you can go hungry.

Marion Galawonga shows tourists how water can be found in a Melaleuca tree and comments that it is good to know about the tree “if you get bogged”. While telling tourists a Dreamtime story around the campfire, Darryl Miller uses a bird book and a torch to better illustrate the bird that the Dreamtime story is about. Although these examples appear to present a ‘best of both worlds’ scenario: it must be remembered that this is a tourist performance taking place within a controlled touristic space.

After the ‘meeting and greeting’ phase on the Manyallaluk tour, the tour group is led off on a bush tucker walk, usually by one or two of the guides. Trees and plants are pointed out to tourists during the walk; the exact itinerary changing with the seasons and according to who is leading the tour. The bush tucker walk is not simply a visual spectacle. Sometimes it is hot and thirsty weather and the flies are sticky. Tourists often wear shorts and their legs get scratched walking through the dry bush. Sometimes they are given bush fruits to taste and sugar cane grass to chew.
Guides make a cup from paperbark and scoop water so tourists can taste the water from the running spring. Perhaps most memorably for the tourists, a guide plucks a nest of green ants from the tree and quickly rubs his or her hands together to kill the green ants. The tourists are then asked to smell the astringent lemony scent and are offered a dead ant to taste.

Figure 49: Photograph of green ants
During the walk, the uses and preparation of each of the trees and plants are also explained. In the following example Marion Galawonga tells the tourists about the ironwood tree:
The ironwood... the ironwood we use for everything. Men make spear blades out if it and digging stick. It's a hard wood and termites can't come in. Men dig roots and pull it out and get hard wax, cuppai. Have to scrape it up and heat it up in the fire and wax comes out. Once juice comes out they rub it very fast and put it on a stick. It's like a big bowl... can take it back and use it for womera. Men used to use it a long time ago in long beard... use the wax when its hot to pull out beard hairs.

Women scrape bark inside... really sticky and use it for sores. Rub it around to keep it dry... a couple of days later it dries slowly.

The leaves are a special one. Anybody dies we have a special spirit dance and ceremony, only for ironwood leaves. When someone dies other people in that house move out. We don't live here when someone dies... part of our rule and that's been happening a long time ago and we're still doing it now. A couple of weeks or one month then elders decide and make corroboree. Ladies, men, even young ladies put a big bunch in the house... smoke goes all around. After special dances then get red ochre, manya, when that's all done everyone knows its alright and we can go back. Last year a local boy, my nephew had an accident. He used to go into the store and buy things. We put red ochre all around the store... smoked it because it was important for the people to go there and buy food.

Also we use leaves for different meat for different flavour, because a long time ago we didn't have any salt and pepper. Our grandparents and our mother and father when they were out in the bush used to put leaves on for flavour. Right leaves to roast each kind of meat. Ironwood leaves for roasting flying fox. Put it in coals on top of leaves and cover with paper bark... That's what we use ironwood leaves for, ok?

Figure 51: Photograph of Reggie Miller showing tourists the ironwood tree
Marion’s detailed explanation highlights a common theme in the narratives of Aboriginal cultural tour guides more generally. That is their focus on the clear division between men’s and women’s activities. The Manyallaluk guides have told me that the bush tucker walk works best when there is a man and a woman guide because then it is possible to tell tourists about both men’s work and women’s work, but for practical reasons, this does not always happen and while some men are willing to carry out women’s work for tourism purposes, others are not. On the tour, men usually carry a woomera to point to sights along the way, while women carry a digging stick and a hooked stick for collecting pandanus. Collecting pandanus and digging for yams and roots are ‘women’s work’ and when there is not a woman leading the bush tucker walk these activities may be left out.

The Manyallaluk guides often personalise knowledge illustrating the information they provide by referring to their personal experiences. Marion illustrates her discussion of the uses of the leaves of the ironwood tree by recounting what happened when her nephew died, and while talking about this she also points out the red ochre line still smeared around the shop. By personalising information the guides’ contemporary cultural practices serve as evidence of ‘a living culture’. As Marion tells the tourists, “that’s been happening a long time ago and we still doing it now”.

Figure 52: Photograph showing red ochre smeared along the shop wall
Associated with the construction of 'a living culture' is a narrative technique which links “a long time ago” to the present through references to the guides’ parents and grandparents. Thus Peter Bolgi tells the tourists

> My grandfather used to get wax, put right in the middle and put cockatoo feather in whisker... used to look good, lots of people in Arnhem Land still do that.

In selectively choosing to focus on the continuity rather than discontinuity in Aboriginal cultural practice the guides emphasise the enduring aspects of their culture and the strength of Aboriginal cultural beliefs when compared to non Aboriginal society. Moreover, Manyallaluk guides often emphasise to the tourists that particular cultural practices are still strong in Arnhem Land. As many of the guides’ parents and grandparents came from Arnhem Land originally, the connection between Arnhem Land and strong culture also strengthens their own ‘right’ to be guides and to teach others about their culture. As Marion Galawonga emphasises to the tourists:

> With our rules, just to let you know, we don’t change it. Whatever rules were here from the beginning we have to stick to all the time... I know with white men they change the rules all the time.

Continuity is also emphasised in the guides’ references to teaching their own children and in their children’s appreciation of bush foods. The women talk a lot about how their children like to eat bush foods. For example, Marion Galawonga, explains “The way we cook it [bush turkey] is juicy and the meat is soft and our children like it a lot”. The men tell the tourists “Aboriginal kids we teach them how to survive”.

The history of contact between European and Aboriginal people that is presented and interpreted on the one day tour is that which is within the ‘living memory’ of the guides. Fences and cattle yards are pointed out, Old Bob Thompson’s mango and lemon trees are too, and of course the guides talk about what each of the station buildings was originally used for. Reggie Miller, who was born at Manyallaluk often begins the morning bush walk at the pop up sprinklers and talks about how the grass is watered each day to keep it green. I have often seen him raking the tourist area and while the sprinklers may seem an unusual addition to the tour, they signify the
changes that have occurred at Manyallaluk since the tour enterprise started in the 1990s. Reggie speaks positively of these changes and even told me that he really likes the young tourists on Connection Tours because they "lively up the place".

At the end of the morning bush walk, tourists usually have a cold mug of water while they watch the women scoop handfuls of self-raising flour from a big bulk tin to make the damper for lunch. Flour and powdered milk tins are re-used in numerous ways, to hold water and dyes in and for collecting items from the bush. Sometimes while the women are making the damper they explain how it was made in the ‘olden days’ out of the ground seeds of the water lily. While the kangaroo and beef steaks are cooking on the barbecue, tins of beetroot and pineapple are opened, and bowls of previously sliced lettuce and tomato are laid out. When lunch is ready, tourists help themselves first, followed by the Aboriginal adults and children. Sometimes at lunch some of the male guides sit with the tourists but mostly the male guides sit a little way away, as do the women and children but in a different area. This means that the tourists are left to talk amongst themselves.

After lunch guides demonstrate a range of activities for the tourists including basket weaving, fire making, spear throwing, painting and didgeridoo playing. Tourists are encouraged to participate and this engenders a ludic atmosphere, in contrast with the more educational focus of the morning bush walk. Both tourists and guides find it amusing when it is difficult for tourists to learn the skills that guides carry out with apparent ease. As well as this playfulness, guides and tourists are brought into closer physical proximity while they learn these new skills. For example, the male guides assist the tourists with their spear throwing, often putting their arms around a tourist’s shoulders to help them steady and aim the spear. An old cardboard box is used as a target for the spear throwing and most of the male guides join in with the tourists and try to hit the target.

The influence of gender is most marked during the basket weaving. The women describe it as ‘women’s work’ and although they ask male tourists to participate, on occasions there is awkwardness when male tourists do join in. At the same time,
because there is a large group of guides at Manyallaluk there are always anomalies in the guides' behaviour. I have seen Peter Bolgi, one of the senior guides at Manyallaluk show a group of American high school students how he can strip pandanus and laughingly explain how he has helped his wife with the weaving in the evenings. While he joked about his skill at "women's work", he always stresses that younger men and boys should not carry out these tasks.

![Figure 53: Photograph of Peter Bolgi seated on chair, stripping pandanus leaves](image)

The afternoon's activities finish before 4.00pm and then one or more of the guides accompanies the tourists to the shop where the tourists are shown Manyallaluk's tourism awards and the artefacts. Members of the community make all of the artefacts and often guides show the tourists the artefacts that they have personally made. After
browsing and then possibly purchasing an artefact tourists who are leaving say their farewells and head off either in their own vehicle or in the Manyallaluk tour vehicle.

Figure 54: Photograph showing locally made artefacts in the shop

Bill Harney's Jankangyina one day safari

Bill Harney was one of the first Aboriginal tour operators in the Northern Territory. His mother was Ludi Yibuluyma, a Wardamna woman, and his father was Bill Harney, a well known Northern Territory author and story teller who was the first ranger at Uluru. In *Born under the paperbark tree* (Harney & Wositzy 1996:196) Bill sees a continuity between his father’s life and his own -
... old Bill Hamey he had the knowledge of everything and he wrote a book about what he saw, and he didn’t go to school... I haven’t been to school, but I went to the university in the bush, under the tree, beneath the stars. The lifestyle I went through, I reckon it’s fantastic.

During his life Bill has had many jobs in the Katherine region, working as a stockman and a fencing contractor before establishing himself as a tour operator in 1987. More recently, in the latter part of the 1990s he has reduced his tourism work and concentrated on his painting, which he describes as “the best business, a good job". He comments:

If I’d known I could get $4000 a painting I wouldn’t have been running around picking up beer cans! I thought the painting was just nothing. I didn’t know it’s big money (Harney & Wositzky 1996:194).

Bill Harney’s tour begins when he picks tourists up from either the Transit Centre or from their accommodation in Katherine. Bill dresses neatly in stockman type clothes and greets the tourists cheerfully as they board the tour vehicle. Bill is light skinned and on the day that I took the tour, a German tourist asked me “Is he really an Aborigine?’”

Bill no longer organises his tours independently and now has an arrangement with local tour company Travel North whereby it markets his tours and manages the business side of his tour operation. Bill takes tourists in a Travel North vehicle and Travel North also arranges the tourists’ lunches. Once all the tourists are in the tour vehicle, Bill drives out along the Victoria Highway towards Western Australia. He takes the tourists to Willeroo Station, a drive of 150 kilometres and along the way Bill tells the tourists about “how it was in the past in this country... the history of the explorers, the highway, the Aborigines, the Vesteys and the Duracks”. He describes how there “were a huge number of Aborigines living all over Australia” and tells of the contribution Aboriginal people have made to the economic development of the region. He invokes an image of the early days of European settlement as a period when Aboriginal and European people journeyed across the country for many reasons.
In the morning section of Bill's tour, he takes tourists to visit several art sites that depict the 'Lightning Brothers', and he tells the tourists some of the non secret Dreamtime stories which relate to the sites. Bill has a printed synopsis of a story in Japanese, French, German, Italian and Swedish to give out to tourists who come from these countries. He talks about the interest archaeologists have shown in the paintings and how they have been carbon dated but qualifies his statement, saying:

We say Aborigine been here all the time, right since the beginning when everything was changed. They lived here in the bush, all their lives in the scrub or jungle you could call it.

Figure 55: Photograph of Bill Harney and his son telling an 'open 'story' from the Dreamtime
Like the Manyallaluk guides, Bill draws attention to the boundaries between men’s and women’s responsibilities and explains that there are men’s and women’s sacred sites. Bill explains the custom of older men marrying younger ‘promised wives’ and says that it is preferable because two young people together fight a lot.

Walking through the bush to various art sites Bill is alert to possible animals, insects or plants that he can show the tourists. Although he talks a lot about bush tucker and medicine his tour does not focus on them specifically, rather they are discussed in reference to the richness of Aboriginal life. In the following example taken from Bill’s tour narrative, he uses the metaphor of a supermarket when talking about bush foods. It is a powerful metaphor and its meaning is readily accessible to tourists:

When we go back I might show you sugar leaf, you get that sugar off the leaf. I should have picked up the tea leaves along the road for bush tea. We got good tea leaves, we got tea, sugar everything in the bush, including medicine and all. The whole lot... like a supermarket in the bush. (laughs) Like a supermarket in the bush.

Similarly, Anderson (1994:55), an anthropologist, likens travelling through the Daintree and Bloomfield forest with the Kuku-Yalanji people to a shopping trip:

People, channelled by cultural prescriptions according to gender and age, are constantly on the look-out for ‘products’. It’s amazingly like a shopping expedition.

After visiting the art sites, Bill drives to a camp he has made where his overnight tours stay. With pride, he explains how he constructed the camp himself - the wooden beds cut out of local timber, the table and the bush toilet. There are various objects for tourists to look at - a didgeridoo, a pair of buffalo horns, a long neck turtle shell and a fresh water crocodile skin. There is also a waterhole near the camp that tourists can swim in.

Lunch consists of individual portions of pre-packaged bread, meat and salad, accompanied by individual orange juices. On the tour that I was on, an American tourist asked Bill if he recycled the plastic lunch containers. Bill replied that he had collected so many of them that he didn’t know what to do so he had begun throwing
them away. His answer did not appear to satisfy the tourist entirely. Moreover, the pre-packaged lunch also jars with the written message in the brochure, which suggests that tourists will explore

... the surrounding bushland to learn about 'bushtucker' and 'bush medicine' and how these early recyclers made use of the abundance of this seemingly barren landscape to provide their daily necessities (my emphasis).

Contemporary tourism marketing often represents Aboriginal people as the "original conservationists" and romanticises and essentialises the relationship between Aboriginal people and their land (Larritt 1995:242). Bill Harney’s tour challenges this representation, unwittingly, in the above example with the lunch containers, but also knowingly in his alternative ‘reading’ of the landscape. On his tour, Bill shows the tourists the view out over his country from the top of a rocky outcrop near one of the art sites. On the day that I went on his tour, he had the following conversation with a tourist:

Bill: Quite a nice scenery, you can see all over, Katherine way and Darwin way, because it’s real open.

Tourist: Is that why you didn’t like the place [Washington, USA] with so many trees?

Bill: Yeah, yeah. I like it open where you can see for miles the buffalo or the kangaroo coming.

As the conversation indicates, Bill had previously commented unfavourably about the number of trees in Washington and in this conversation he reiterates his appreciation for an ‘open’ landscape. The tourist expresses some surprise at Bill’s point of view. Similarly, the guides at Manyallaluk tell tourists that ‘burning off’ is ‘cleaning up’; however, some tourists find the burnt landscape devastating. Some tourists’ aesthetic interest in the land and their conservationist values are very different to the way some Aboriginal people appreciate the land and what it can provide.

After lunch Bill plays the didgeridoo and lets the tourists have a try as well. He talks about the experiences he has had in life, describing his earlier years:
I was a stockman when I grew up. We had two ways. Through the dry season we’d be out chasing cows. After we’d finished in the wet, we’d go out on foot, walking around here, and live the traditional way, Aboriginal way.

He discusses his trips to the USA and Germany, and comments to the German tourists that he really enjoyed eating German bread during his stay. He talks about his hopes for the future and his plans to develop tourism and artefact businesses to create jobs for young people and mentions the problems they face now with drugs and alcohol. It is a long way back to Katherine and in the middle of the afternoon the tourists board the vehicle and head back the way that they have come.

**Tiwi Tours One Day Tour**

The Tiwi Islands are situated off the coast of Darwin and the Tiwi Tours one day tour begins with a flight from Darwin to Bathurst Island. On arrival at the small airport on Bathurst Island, the tourists are met by a guide. They then board a tour vehicle to travel into Nguiu, the largest town on the Tiwi Islands. At the time that I went on the tour as a participant observer, the main guide was a white Australian man and a younger, Aboriginal trainee guide, who was also male, accompanied him. The non Aboriginal guide was living on the Tiwi Islands while he worked as a guide and he played football for one of the local Tiwi football teams. Thus, he was familiar with the local lifestyle and knew many Tiwi people. However, as I shall explain his narrative style and the focus of his interpretation were different to those of the Aboriginal guides on other cultural tours that I have been on.

The morning of the Tiwi one day tour is spent in Nguiu, visiting the museum and the church firstly, then Bima Wear and Tiwi Designs, where tourists are able to purchase clothing and artefacts. The tour brochure describes Nguiu as a “progressive Aboriginal community” and from the window of the tour vehicle the tourists see the homes that some of the Tiwi people live in. On the way past the community homes and public buildings the guide provides an overview of the population of the Tiwi Islands:
Nguiu is the name and some twelve to thirteen hundred people live here and that's well and truly more than half the population of the Tiwi people. There is some seven to eight hundred people over on Melville Island. There's two communities over there - Garden Point and Snake Bay. So all up there's around 2000.

His introduction contrasted significantly with the introductory information provided on other Aboriginal cultural tours because of his focus on number based 'facts' and also, he used the English, rather than Tiwi names for Milikarpiti and Pularumpi (Garden Point and Snake Bay).

![Figure 56: Photograph showing inside church at Nguiu, Bathurst Island](image)

The narrative style of the non Aboriginal guide also differed from that of other Aboriginal guides because he provided so much verbal information. For example, in the church, he spoke at great length about the contact history of the Tiwi people,
beginning in 1644 with Abel Tasman's visit to the region, and mentioning the dates and names of various explorers that sailed near to the Tiwi Islands from then on. He spoke of contact between the Tiwi people and the Macassans, and then described the introduction of Catholicism on the Tiwi Islands, saying:

Obviously the Tiwis weren't Catholic forever. Whatever their religious beliefs were before they were purely their own thoughts, they were not a mass of people... What we've actually got now is a merging of the Catholic church and the Tiwi culture.

The history he presented was stylistically similar to textbook history. That is, it was a part of, not an alternative to, the dominant national discourse. The guide's tour narrative was balanced to some extent by the tourists' visit to the museum where the exhibits focus on a more localised, community-oriented history. At the museum the young Aboriginal trainee guide told a Dreamtime story which was the only time that he took the main role on the tour. This confined his role to the presentation of the traditional while the non Aboriginal guide presented all of the contact history and discussed contemporary Tiwi life.

On the Tiwi tour the guide's role incorporated interactive as well as communicative dimensions. That is, as a non Aboriginal person, he became a mediator between the tourists and the local Aboriginal people (Cohen 1985). For example, at the beginning of the tour the guide outlined the day's activities and prepared tourists for their morning tea with the "Tiwi ladies":

We've got the Tiwi ladies who've got this little camp set up on the cliff overlooking the Beagle Gulf which is what you flew across this morning to get here. And there is some characters among those three...

A little later in the tour, he again mentioned the approaching morning tea:
The ladies up there will be getting it ready for us. There's no worries about taking photos, it's just a matter of asking 'specially if you want to do a portrait. We've got one old lady up there ... I mentioned her a little bit earlier - she's a funny old stick, every now and then some days she's a little bit odd, but don't let that worry you, every now and then she has a bad day. She's been doing these teas since 1982 so if she has a bad day we can't sack her otherwise we don't have morning teas.

Even during the morning tea the guide maintained his mediating role, questioning the three Aboriginal women about their painting and weaving. He referred to the women as 'she', saying, for example, "so what she's actually doing..." or "when she dyes the pandanus that's the colour you get". Thus, the women were objectified and far from a 'sharing' of information, interaction between the tourists and the Tiwi women was confined to an uni-directional question and answer format.

The Tiwi tour also presented and interpreted Tiwi gender relationships as part of the tour attraction. The non Aboriginal guide described how, in the past, Tiwi marriages were arranged between older men and their 'promised wives' who were much younger than them. He then went on to link changes in this practice to a Catholic priest, Father Gsell, who had one hundred and fifty Tiwi wives, many of whom, the guide suggested, were escaping from their prospective husbands. The guide related the events in a sensationalist style, suggesting that it was plainly obvious young women would want to escape from husbands that "could have a dozen or twenty wives". He also described how the women were punished if they ran away:

The punishment is a spearing in the leg and what they do is put a spear in your calf muscle - a big wound, the idea of course is that its going to stop you from running away, from walking even, so they can keep you still and maybe whack some sense into you.

The main protagonist in the story was Father Gsell, not the Tiwi women, and his role as an agent of change was spoken of positively:

And so Father Gsell would take them with glee, so eventually he had 150 wives. Now the pope found out about these 150 wives and he wanted to have a meeting with Father Gsell and in fact demanded a meeting. Now obviously they were only wives in the Tiwi eyes and not so much in ours. It wasn't as if he had a nice big house with one room for each wife or anything along those lines but once he explained to the pope what he'd been doing the pope said
he'd done the right thing but asked him to refrain from buying anymore wives.

The guide's emphasis on the pope's acceptance of Father Gsell's action influences the way tourists understand the story.

The afternoon of the one day Tiwi tour is spent on Melville Island where the tourists have lunch and a swim at Taracumbie Falls. The lunch consists of sandwiches, a cool drink and fruit. Over lunch, tourists have an opportunity to talk informally with the guide and discuss various aspects of Tiwi life. On the day that I was a participant on the tour, the guide spoke positively about the development of Tiwi businesses such as Tiwi Designs and Bima Wear and emphasised that the Tiwi people were in control. However, he suggested that the Tiwi people had some problems managing their finances:

There are a lot of industries here on these islands that people like myself have got people employed at and obviously they want it to be that eventually they run it totally. Its not that they don't have control at the moment but that they want to be 100% in control... they've got the right idea as far as where they want to go. Its a matter of wanting this and wanting that and wanting this and wanting that and not actually having enough money to get all those things. Sometimes they run out and get something, and when they get it there's nothing to pay it back with.

To further support his comment, he used an anecdote to suggest that Tiwi people receive too much government money:

...a Tiwi guy I was working with... he's got eight kids and his unemployment cheque once a week is staggering. You know most people don't earn that much in a week.

In the afternoon, the tour visits a Tiwi burial site where the guide provides a brief overview of Tiwi burial rituals and the production of Pukumani poles. The burial site is in the 'bush' and the guide also discusses past and present hunting practices. The tour ends at the airport and the tourists wait for their flight back to Darwin.
The presence of an Aboriginal guide does, it seems, enable an alternative and oppositional voice to be heard. As Manyallaluk guide, Manuel Pamkal, explains:

When you go everywhere you can see a lot of European guides. This is a place that you come and learn true story from a lot of Aboriginal people like myself. You learn history, bush tucker, stories. Other place you might see painting but its not true... This place number one.

These ‘true stories’ may be based on recent memories or on the lives of Aboriginal people a long time ago. They do not usually directly concern the spiritual aspects of life but Aboriginal beliefs are mentioned contextually, as part of everyday life.
‘true stories’ are part of a ‘living history’ of people and place that is added to day by day. For example, the guides at Manyallaluk sometimes tell tourists about the small Tiwi pukumani pole near the waterhole, which was erected in memory of a Tiwi child who drowned in the waterhole when he was attending a meeting of Aboriginal people at Manyallaluk.

The presentation of ‘living history’ also extends to the explicit incorporation of the ‘story’ of the Manyallaluk tourism enterprise. Indeed, on all three of the tours that I have discussed in this chapter the guides explained to tourists why tourism had started, what had happened since it began and even what might happen in the future. Tourism work, like station work, is one of the ways that Aboriginal people become visible in contemporary Northern Territory society, as the postcard images I discussed in Chapter Three also indicate.

In the telling of other ‘true stories’ guides select aspects from the past to tell tourists about, and in doing so they reinvent and celebrate traditional life. However, their use of the present tense and personalisation make the stories from a long time ago largely indistinguishable from the stories of the recent past and it is difficult for tourists to actually know how recently particular aspects of a past way of life stopped. Moreover, as I have said, guides highlight the chain of learning from their grandparents to their parents and then to themselves and this legitimises the stories they recount. In this example Peter Bolgi talks about learning to hunt:

> Education for Aboriginal kid... how to throw a spear, how to go hunting... maybe uncle, cousin, grandfather, showed us, even how to walk. For hunting you have to walk slowly with your toes through the grass. Its alright when its sandstone because they can’t hear you.

The Manyallaluk guides often blur the boundaries between the past and present when they compare the ‘traditional’ education of Aboriginal children a long time ago with the classroom education of non Aboriginal children today. For example, Peter Bolgi tells the tourists: “Rock painting is education for Aboriginal kid... That’s bin my education”. Likewise, a guide from Guluyambi Cruise said to the tour that he was leading “European children sit in front of the television but Aboriginal children used
to sit in front of the rock”. The slippage in tense creates a boundary between Aboriginal and non Aboriginal ways of life that is not really there.

In Povinelli’s (1993:126) study of the ‘history of work’ at Belyuen, she too suggests that the “distinction between what they experienced as children and what the precolonial olden days were like” is blurred. Similarly too, in Tilley’s (1997:86) study of the small Nambas show in Vanuatu he describes how the show conveys a “feeling that the past is a lived present day reality [and there is] a sense of conflicting temporalities pervading the entire structure of the show”. He concludes:

Through constructing their past they are better able to talk about themselves to themselves and secure a place in the global future... the production of a performance... can simultaneously evoke a vanished past and constitute an imagined future (Tilley 1997:87).

Recent tourism theorists have charted the shift from ‘naturalistic’ to ‘symbolic’ conceptions of tradition and have showed how traditional cultures are constantly being reinvented and reworked in the present. Both Sofield (1991) and de Burlo (1996) draw attention to the connection between the display of naghol for tourists and the revival of interest in ‘traditional’ culture in Vanuatu. They suggest that the performance of naghol for tourists has enhanced the political power of the communities involved. While this is also something that is happening at Manyallaluk, the Aboriginal cultural tour product is not spectacular in the way that naghol is, and, as I have indicated, the rigorous visual cultural editing that occurs at many other indigenous tourism attractions does not occur at Manyallaluk. Thus, much depends on the skills of the Manyallaluk guides who construct and reinforce community identity through their interaction with tourists.

In the next chapter I turn my attention to the tourists who visit Manyallaluk. I describe their socio-demographic and travel characteristics, and their interest in a range of Top End attractions. Tourists are not just onlookers; rather they are actively engaged in the production of the tour experience. As Rojek and Urry (1997:14) comment “[t]here is no evidence that sites are universally read and passively accepted by visitors”.

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Chapter Six

The consumers: who visits Manyallaluk?

It seems, thereby, that while the industry is working upon assumed knowledge, indigenous groups and communities are themselves largely working upon next to no knowledge about the shape and character of the visitation that gazes or seeks to gaze upon them (Hollinshead 1996:319-320).

As with many forms of special interest tourism, there is very little published data on the tourists themselves... [and] the demand for ethnic travel... is still poorly understood (Harron & Weiler 1992:85)

One of the key factors that has driven Aboriginal tourism development since the 1980s has been the frequently alluded to ‘large and growing demand’ for Aboriginal tourism products, particularly amongst international tourists. Research conducted by the Australia Council found that almost half of all international tourists who visited Australia were interested in seeing and learning about Aboriginal arts and culture (Spring 1990, 1993). These findings are often cited as evidence of high international demand for Aboriginal tourism experiences; however, the 1993 survey also found that there was a greater demand for passive, exhibition or shopping-based Aboriginal tourism experiences than for those which were more active and participatory. While 24% of tourists intended visiting a shop specialising in Aboriginal art and craft, and 16% intended visiting an art gallery or museum especially to see Aboriginal art, only 4% intended talking to an Aboriginal person about their art or customs and 5% intended going on a tour that showed aspects of Aboriginal culture (Spring 1993:3-4).

Little research has been undertaken to assess domestic demand for indigenous tourism products, although domestic tourism contributes 75% of all tourism earnings in Australia (CDOT 1992:30). However, an AGB McNair (1988) study conducted in Victoria to assess demand amongst tourists from Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia found that 44% of the sample were either interested or very interested
to learn more about Aboriginal culture and heritage. Moreover, the Northern Territory was more strongly identified with Aboriginal tourism products than other Australian destinations (see also AGB McNair 1996). As Finlayson (1994:274) argues “the cultural expression of Aboriginality has been established in the public's mind by Aboriginal culture in remote Australia”.

However, optimistic estimates of international and domestic demand have not translated into large visitor numbers at many Aboriginal cultural tourism sites and established enterprises such as Manyallaluk Aboriginal Cultural Tours and Tiwi Tours are far from inundated with tourists, each attracting approximately 2,000 tourists annually. Is this because Aboriginal tourism products have been developed without reference to market needs, as the *Northern Territory Aboriginal Tourism Strategy* (NTTC 1996:11) suggests? Or are there other reasons why Aboriginal cultural tours have not attracted more tourists?

These questions cannot be answered without accurate data on tourist participation in and satisfaction with Aboriginal cultural tourism products at a range of sites. In this chapter and the next, I provide a detailed descriptive and analytical examination of the tourists who visit Manyallaluk, drawing attention to the range of tourists, the diversity of their attitudes and perceptions, and the associated difficulties that arise in matching product to demand. My analysis is based on data obtained from a questionnaire I distributed to participants on one, two and five day tours at Manyallaluk during 1996 and 1997. My research findings contribute to the small, but growing body of quantitative and qualitative research examining the tourists who visit Aboriginal cultural tourism attractions (Moscardo & Pearce 1989, 1999; Hughes 1989, 1991).

**The Manyallaluk survey: aims and methodology**

During the early stages of my fieldwork in the tourist season of 1994 I visited many Aboriginal cultural centres, festivals and cultural tourism enterprises in the Top End. I went as a participant observer on day tours run by Manyallaluk, Tiwi Tours, and
Jankanginya Tours, as well as several half day tours and bush tucker walks. I also interviewed tourists I met on the tours about their tour experiences. These data collection techniques yielded rich qualitative data on the attitudes and perceptions of tourists, but did not provide descriptive quantitative data on the tourist group as a whole making it difficult to link particular tourist perceptions to an identifiable segment of the market. In response to this need I implemented a questionnaire at Manyallaluk, as an alternative but complementary data collection technique. Although questionnaires can be intrusive, and filling them out may make tourists “mindful of their attitudes and prejudice”, they are a suitable data collection method in the post-travel phase of the tour experience when tourists have had time to think about and reflect on their experiences (Pearce 1988:45, 50).

When I first approached the guides and the manager at Manyallaluk about conducting a questionnaire the manager was not convinced that the survey findings would be worth the extra effort required to implement a questionnaire. It was not that he was against my proposal; rather, it was not one of his priorities, particularly since a visitors’ book was already used to collect tourists’ comments. At the end of each tour, tourists were taken to the shop by one or more of the guides, where they were asked to fill in the visitors’ book. Those that did usually wrote brief comments as well as their names and where they were from. From my observations, most of the comments in the visitors’ book were positive, and for the guides and the manager at Manyallaluk they were an affirmation of tourists’ satisfaction with the tours. Pages of the visitors’ book were also photocopied and used as evidence of tourist satisfaction in Manyallaluk’s entries into the Northern Territory tourism awards. However, the visitors’ book was inadequate for research purposes because tourists did not provide consistent, detailed information on themselves and often omitted where they were from.

I was eventually given permission to personally administer a pilot questionnaire (see Appendix 1) during the 1995 tourist season and on the completion of the pilot questionnaire a further decision would be made as to whether a larger survey was necessary. I conducted the pilot study between April and September 1995. As I
mentioned previously, there are two different guide groups at Manyallaluk. Since they work a week in turn, I distributed the questionnaire for a whole week at a time, making sure to represent the two guide groups equally and to have a spread of tourist responses from throughout the season. During the weeks when I was administering the questionnaire I was staying at Manyallaluk and went on the tours as a participant observer, enabling me to see how variations in the tour product influenced the tourist responses on a particular day. It also meant that I knew each of the tourists personally and was therefore able to think about how their comments related to their behaviour.

At the start of each tour when the guides and tourists informally introduced themselves I would also introduce myself and explain that I was studying Aboriginal tourism in the Top End. Often during lunch tourists would tell me where else they had been and would ask me questions about other Aboriginal tourism attractions. At the end of each tour I gave each person a questionnaire and a pen and would sit with them on the benches in the tourist area while they filled out their questionnaires. The tourists were very co-operative and no one refused to fill out a questionnaire, but they were often rushed, particularly when they had to return to Katherine in the Manyallaluk tour vehicle.

The final pilot study sample consisted of 113 fully completed questionnaires and recommendations based on the findings from the pilot study led to some immediate minor alterations to the content and the style of delivery of the one day tour and proved useful to the guides and the manager. The findings were also included in Manyallaluk's entries into the Northern Territory tourism awards to show that Manyallaluk was undertaking market research. However, the sample size was too small to provide detailed marketing data and it was decided that the questionnaire would be altered slightly to improve the quality of tourists' responses and then distributed to tourists during 1996 and 1997.

The final questionnaire consisted of 33 questions (see Appendix 2). The questionnaire asked the tourists about the date and length of their Manyallaluk tour, their socio-demographic characteristics, their travel arrangements, their interests and activities
while in the Darwin/Katherine region, their source of information about Manyallaluk and their prior knowledge of and interest in Aboriginal culture. The questionnaire also asked the tourists about their perceptions of, and satisfaction with, their tour experiences and the findings from those questions are presented in the following chapter. The majority of the questions were multiple choice, requiring a tick to indicate the correct response. Four of the questions were open-ended with space provided for more lengthy responses. Six questions used a Likert type scale for tourists to indicate their level of satisfaction with several components of the tour.

As I mentioned above, one of the problems with the pilot study was that tourists were rushed and tired at the end of the day. Pearce (1988:46) warns of the problems of fatigue with one shot post tour questionnaires and suggests that it may be two to three days after the tour experience before attitudes consolidate. During the 1996/1997 survey period, in recognition that tourists needed more time to fill out the questionnaires, the questionnaires were placed in stamped self-addressed envelopes and distributed to the tourists by the guides at the end of each tour. The tourists could then complete them in their own time and post them back to Manyallaluk from anywhere in Australia. All costs for postage and stationery were paid for from my Northern Territory University research allowance.

The questionnaires were anonymous so tourists could not be identified personally and they were distributed to tourists aged fourteen years and older on the one, two and five day tours. A couple or group completed some single questionnaires and when this happened, I entered the data as representative of more than one person only when all of the details of each of the tourists in the group were provided in full. Otherwise the questionnaire was entered as a single response. A few questionnaires were filled in by tourists on special length rather than standard tours, but for the purpose of analysis half day tours were included with one day tours and three day tours with two day tours because in each case they have a similar content. I analysed my data using STATA Statistical Analysis Package Version 5. No pilot study questionnaires were included in my statistical analysis; however, I have quoted pilot questionnaire responses to illustrate tourists' attitudes and responses. When quoting from the
questionnaire responses the letter Q precedes the number allocated to a completed questionnaire. Numbers Q1 to Q113 relate to pilot questionnaire responses, while numbers Q114 to Q694 relate to the 1996/1997 questionnaire responses.

**Omitting school groups: a note**

I did not include special groups of school students in the 1996/1997 study because they do not usually experience a standard tour product at Manyallaluk. However, visits to Manyallaluk by high school groups from Japan and the USA, and from primary and secondary school groups from Darwin, Katherine and nearby Barunga suggest that, with targeted promotions, it may be possible to develop this market in the future. Little research has been carried out to assess the size, characteristics and needs of this market, although Bisett et al (1998:6) point out that school groups have been the dominant market for Aboriginal tourism attractions in New South Wales.

**The sample**

Of the final sample of 581 questionnaires, 78% of tourists were on one day tours, 16% on two day tours and 6% on five day tours. When I checked the booking records for 1996 I found that 80% of all tourists were on one day tours, 14% on two day tours and 6% on five day tours, suggesting that the distribution of questionnaire responses according to tour type was representative of the Manyallaluk tourist group as a whole. During the first five months of the survey, from July 1st to November 30th 1996, and the period for which I have accurate booking records, over 50% of the total number of tourists on one, two and five day tours returned completed questionnaires.

**Socio-demographic profile of tourists visiting Manyallaluk**

Previous market research has found that international tourists are the ‘dominant’ market for Aboriginal tourism products (SATC 1998:1) and that demand is highest amongst tourists from the USA/Canada and Continental Europe (Spring 1993:1). As Table 10 indicates, the Manyallaluk survey results support these findings. Of the total sample, 66% were international tourists and 34% were domestic tourists. The three
major international markets were the UK, comprising 15%, the USA/Canada comprising 12% and Germany comprising 10% of all respondents. Half of all the tourists were from Europe and, as Table 10 shows, tourists came from a wide range of European countries as well as from the UK and Germany. Less than 3% of the Manyallaluk respondents were from the Asian region, supporting research findings that suggest that the demand for Aboriginal tourism products is not high amongst Asian tourists at present (SATC 1998:9). The Manyallaluk findings are similar to Moscardo and Pearce's (1999) results from their recent survey of tourists visiting the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in Cairns. They found that 70% of a total sample of 1,556 tourists were international tourists but, in contrast to the Manyallaluk sample, a larger proportion of tourists at Tjapukai were from the USA/Canada (34%) than from Europe/UK (27%).

Table 10: Origin of tourists visiting Manyallaluk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin of tourists</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>International</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>(15.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>(9.6 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>(5.9 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>(4.8 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(3.4 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(2.2 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(2.2 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(2.2 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>(4.0 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe sub total</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>(49.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>(10.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(1.7 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America sub total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>(11.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(2.5 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other International</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(0.9 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total International</strong></td>
<td>381</td>
<td>(65.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domestic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>(10.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW/ACT</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>(10.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>(4.6 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Dom</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>(8.4 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Domestic</strong></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>(34.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>581</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From a further coding of tourists into English speaking and non English speaking tourists according to the main language spoken in their country of residence I found that over half of all international tourists came from a country where English is not the main language (see Table 11 below). While it is possible that some of these tourists understood English well, it is also likely that a considerable number of them may have had problems understanding the tour guides at Manyallaluk, an issue which I will raise again when discussing tourist satisfaction in the following chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language/country of origin</th>
<th>Int (n=381) (%)</th>
<th>Dom (n=200) (%)</th>
<th>Total (n=581) (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>166 (43.6)</td>
<td>200 (100.0)</td>
<td>366 (63.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>215 (56.4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>215 (37.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>381 (100.0)</td>
<td>200 (100.0)</td>
<td>581 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Victoria and NSW/ACT were the two largest domestic markets, each comprising nearly 11% of the total sample. Almost 5% of all respondents were from within the Northern Territory. Some of the responses from NT visitors indicate that they did not consider themselves to be tourists because they were on day excursions from Katherine or Darwin for work related purposes or were accompanying interstate or overseas visitors. However, I have included visitors from the Northern Territory in the sample for several reasons. Firstly, Top End attractions like Manyallaluk are marketed to local visitors in the newspapers and on the television, particularly in the off season months when the relative economic contribution of these visitors can be considerable. Secondly, from conversations with local visitors during my early fieldwork I became aware that many of them were originally from interstate and only expected to stay in the Northern Territory for a few years and thus were interested in seeing as much as possible during their stay. Thirdly, local visitors who have heard about and maybe visited Manyallaluk may make an important indirect contribution to the success of the enterprise through ‘word of mouth’ promotion to other Territorians, interstate and overseas visitors.

In Table 12, following, the origin of the Manyallaluk questionnaire respondents is compared with the origin of visitors to the Katherine region, based on statistics.
obtained from the Bureau of Tourism Research’s Domestic Tourism Monitor (1995/1996 and 1996/1997 financial years) and International Visitor’s Survey (1996 and 1997 calendar years). As the table shows tourists from within the Northern Territory comprised 14% of all domestic tourists who visited Manyallaluk, but 39% of all domestic tourists who visited the Katherine region, while 31% of domestic tourists visiting Manyallaluk were from Victoria and New South Wales respectively, in contrast to the 12% of domestic tourists who visited the Katherine region from Victoria and the 19% from New South Wales. Thus, local tourists from within the Northern Territory were under represented at Manyallaluk while tourists from Victoria and New South Wales were over represented, suggesting that demand for Aboriginal tourism experiences may be relatively low amongst Northern Territory tourists and higher amongst tourists from New South Wales and Victoria. However, the Bureau of Tourism Research sample needs to be treated with caution because of its small size.

Table 12: Origin of tourists visiting Manyallaluk compared with regional visitor statistics from the Bureau of Tourism Research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>International</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manyallaluk (n=200)</td>
<td>Katherine region* (n=272)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total (%)</td>
<td>Total (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>62 (31)</td>
<td>33 (12.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW/ACT</td>
<td>62 (31)</td>
<td>51 (18.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>27 (13.5)</td>
<td>105 (38.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>49 (24.5)</td>
<td>83 (30.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                  | Manyallaluk (n=381)               | Katherine Region** (n=828)         |
|                  | Total (%)                         | Total (%)                          |
| UK               | 89 (23.4)                         | 116 (14)                           |
| Germany          | 56 (14.7)                         | 231 (27.9)                         |
| Other Europe     | 144 (37.8)                        | 317 (38.3)                         |
| USA              | 59 (15.5)                         | 36 (4.3)                           |
| Canada           | 10 (2.6)                          | 34 (4.1)                           |
| Asia             | 15 (3.9)                          | 79 (9.5)                           |
| Other            | 8 (2.1)                           | 15 (1.8)                           |

* Source: Bureau of Tourism Research, DTM visits database Katherine region 1995/96 and 1996/7 financial years

** Source: Bureau of Tourism Research, International visitor’s survey, Katherine Region 1996 & 97 calendar years
As the table shows, the origin of international visitors to the Katherine region, based on the International Visitor’s Survey findings, also differs from the origin of international tourists in the Manyallaluk sample. The high proportion of tourists from the rest of Europe is consistent in both samples; however, tourists from the United Kingdom comprised 23% of all international tourists who visited Manyallaluk compared to 14% of all international tourists who visited the Katherine region. The trend is almost the reverse for German tourists since they comprised 15% of all international tourists visiting Manyallaluk but 28% of international tourists visiting the Katherine region. Asian tourists comprised 4% of all international tourists visiting Manyallaluk but made up 10% of tourists visiting the region, which suggests that Asian tourists are comparatively less interested in visiting an Aboriginal attraction, a finding that supports previous market research findings relating to tourist demand for Aboriginal cultural tourism experiences.

As the following table indicates, 64% of the Manyallaluk questionnaire sample were female tourists while 36% were male, confirming previous market research which has found that demand for Aboriginal tourism experiences is higher amongst women than men (Ryan 1997, SATC 1998). The Manyallaluk findings are also similar to the results of Moscardo and Pearce’s (1989) survey of 598 participants on Tiwi Tours undertaken in 1988. They found that 67% of respondents were female and 33% were male. Interestingly, the ratio of female to male respondents was also 2:1 in a survey of visitors to the 24th Annual Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council (ENIPC) Artist and Craftsman Show at Santa Clara Pueblo in the Southwest of the USA, suggesting that gender may be a key contributing factor in market demand for indigenous tourism experiences in countries other than Australia as well (Turco & Riley 1998:174).

Research also suggests that demand for cultural tourism (Foo & Rossetto 1998) and educational tourism (Kelly 1997) is higher amongst female than male tourists. Craik (1997:132-133) too suggests that the “[p]leasures and knowledges of cultural tourism entail more feminised qualities than usual encounters with sights and sites”. It would seem then that the greater demand for indigenous tourism amongst women might be
associated with the higher demand for other forms of ‘special interest’ or ‘new’ tourism amongst female tourists generally.

Table 13: Socio-demographic profile of international and domestic tourists visiting Manyallaluk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Int</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Dom</th>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>(62.7)</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>(65.5)</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>(63.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>(37.3)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>(34.5)</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>(36.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-24</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>(15.5)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(10.1)</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>(13.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>(35.3)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>(21.2)</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>(30.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>(17.9)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>(27.8)</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>(21.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>(17.1)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>(21.2)</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>(18.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>(8.7 )</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>(14.1)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>(10.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>(5.5 )</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(5.6)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>(5.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travelling companions</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>(23.1)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>(12.1)</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>(19.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>(40.7)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>(31.3)</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>(37.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>(7.6 )</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>(26.3)</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>(14.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With adult family</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(9.2 )</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>(15.2)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>(11.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With friends</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>(19.4)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>(15.2)</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>(18.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managers &amp; Admin.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>(6.0 )</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(8.5)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>(6.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>(46.2)</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>(50.5)</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>(47.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professionals</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>(6.3 )</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(4.0)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>(5.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradespersons</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(2.1 )</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1.0)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(1.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad. Clerical &amp; Service</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(2.9 )</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(1.5)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int. Clerical, Sales, Serv.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(5.2)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(9.0)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>(11.6)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(6.5)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>(9.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>(8.1 )</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(6.0)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>(7.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other informal</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>(11.6)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>(13.0)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>(12.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over half of all the Manyallaluk questionnaire respondents were aged 25-44 years old, although Manyallaluk attracts tourists of all ages. International tourists were likely to be younger than domestic tourists, with one half of all international tourists aged under 35 compared to less than one third of domestic tourists, while domestic tourists were more likely to be in the 35-54 age group. The graph in Figure 58 depicts the distribution of female and male tourists for the international and domestic markets. Female tourists outnumbered male in all age groups except in the category representing international tourists who are over 55 years old where the proportion of female to male tourists is equal. The high concentration of young female tourists amongst international visitors is particularly pronounced.
The pie graphs on the following page illustrate the composition of the travel party for international and domestic tourists. Although 38% of all tourists were travelling with a partner, the composition of the travel party differed considerably between international and domestic tourists. Forty one percent of international tourists were travelling with a partner compared to 31% of domestic tourists. International tourists were also more likely to be travelling alone (23%) or with friends (19%) than domestic tourists, 12% of whom were travelling alone and 15% with friends. On the other hand, domestic tourists (42%) were much more likely to be travelling with other family members than international tourists (17%). Over one quarter of all domestic tourists were accompanied by children, compared with 8% of international tourists. An AGB McNair (1988) survey assessing domestic demand for Aboriginal tourism products in Victoria found that there was a high interest in Aboriginal cultural experiences amongst family groups, particularly those with children at or close to school age.
The questionnaire asked respondents to state their occupation. Their responses were sorted according to their occupational status, and their occupations were coded using the Australian Bureau of Statistics classification system (ABS 1986, 1996). Nearly three quarters of the sample were in formal employment, 9% were tertiary students and a further 7% were retired. Previous market research by AGB McNair (1988) found that demand for Aboriginal tourism products was slightly skewed towards upper socio-economic groups; however, the skew is marked at Manyallaluk where half of all respondents were professional people and international and domestic tourists were similar in this regard. Education Professionals (university professors, lecturers and school teachers) were the largest professional group and accounted for 14% of the total sample, with more than 1 in 10 respondents indicating that they were school teachers. The other two largest groups of professionals visiting Manyallaluk were Health Professionals (doctors, physiotherapists, nurses) who accounted for just over 10% of the sample and Social, Arts and Miscellaneous Professionals (lawyers, economists, artists) who accounted for 9% of the sample.

Other studies have also found that interest in indigenous tourism is relatively high amongst teachers and other Education Professionals. In Foo and Rosetto’s (1998:22) study of the characteristics and motivations of international tourists who visit cultural...
tourism attractions in Australia, they found that teachers, lecturers and students comprised 10% of all visitors to cultural attractions, while they made up 7% of all inbound tourists to Australia, suggesting that they had a higher interest in cultural tourism than other international tourists. Teachers were also the largest professional group in a small study of visitors on a residential course at Lake Condah in Victoria in 1988 and comprised one third of all respondents (Victorian Tourist Commission 1988). Likewise, in Turco, Riley and Lee’s survey of tourists attending the ENIPC Arts and Crafts Show in Southwest USA they found that 16% of respondents were educators (in Turco & Riley 1998:174).

Travel characteristics of the tourists who visit Manyallaluk

The travel characteristics of the Manyallaluk survey sample are presented in Table 14. Three quarters of the respondents were visiting the Darwin/Katherine region for the first time. Not unexpectedly though, domestic tourists (36%) were more likely to have previously visited the region than international tourists (20%). Over 90% of international tourists indicated that they would visit one or more of the three listed northern Australian tourist destinations (Uluru, Cairns and the Kimberley) compared to 41% of domestic tourists. Seventy percent of international tourists planned to visit Uluru, 61% to visit Cairns and 30% to visit the Kimberley. Uluru was also the most popular of the three destinations for domestic tourists (33%) followed by the Kimberley (23%) and Cairns (10%).

International and domestic tourists differed significantly in their stated main purpose for visiting the Darwin/Katherine region. As Table 14 illustrates, 81% of international tourists indicated that their main reason for visiting the region was to have a holiday compared to 65% of domestic tourists, while domestic tourists (13%) were more likely to be visiting friends and relatives than international tourists (5%) and were also more likely to be visiting the region for business reasons (7%) than international tourists (2%). Interestingly however, 7% of both international and domestic tourists indicated that the main purpose of their visit to the Darwin/Katherine region was educational. An ‘educational purpose’ did not include attending a conference since a separate
optional answer category was provided for this purpose on the questionnaire. Written comments from tourists suggest that tourists with an educational purpose included those with formal goals related to study and work as well as those with less formal educational goals.

| Table 14: Travel characteristics of international and domestic tourists visiting Manyallaluk |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| First time visit to region                   | Int (n=381) (%)  | Dom (n=200) (%)  | Total (n=581) (%)|
| Visited region previously                    | 77 (20.2)        | 71 (35.5)        | 148 (25.5)        |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visited other north. Aust. Destins*</th>
<th>Uluru</th>
<th>Cairns</th>
<th>Kimberley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uluru</td>
<td>266 (69.8)</td>
<td>65 (32.7)</td>
<td>331 (57.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairns</td>
<td>232 (60.9)</td>
<td>20 (10.1)</td>
<td>252 (43.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>113 (29.7)</td>
<td>46 (23.1)</td>
<td>159 (27.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Purpose of visit to the region               | Int (%)          | Dom (%)         | Total (%)        |
| Holiday***                                   | 309 (81.1)       | 128 (64.6)      | 437 (74.5)       |
| Visiting friends/relatives***                | 17 (4.5)         | 26 (13.1)       | 43 (7.3)         |
| Educational trip                             | 28 (7.3)         | 15 (7.6)        | 43 (7.3)         |
| Business*                                    | 9 (2.4)          | 13 (6.6)        | 22 (3.8)         |
| Other                                        | 18 (4.7)         | 16 (8.1)        | 34 (5.7)         |

| Part of organised tour                       | Int (%)          | Dom (%)         | Total (%)        |
| Independent                                  | 327 (85.8)       | 172 (86.0)      | 499 (85.9)       |

| Found out about Manyallaluk                  | Int (%)          | Dom (%)         | Total (%)        |
| Brochure                                     | 79 (20.7)        | 62 (31.0)       | 141 (24.3)       |
| Guidebook                                    | 97 (25.5)        | 12 (6.0)        | 109 (18.8)       |
| From family/friends/tourists                | 32 (8.4)         | 39 (19.5)       | 71 (12.2)        |
| Tourist information office                   | 50 (13.1)        | 19 (9.5)        | 69 (11.9)        |
| Part of tour itinerary                       | 43 (11.3)        | 19 (9.5)        | 62 (10.7)        |
| Travel agent                                 | 40 (10.5)        | 16 (8.0)        | 56 (9.6)         |
| Newspaper/magazine/TV                        | 5 (1.3)          | 13 (6.5)        | 18 (3.1)         |
| Other                                        | 35 (9.2)         | 20 (10.0)       | 55 (9.5)         |

# Percentage greater than 100 because tourists visited more than one region
* Chi2 test score significant p< 0.05, ** Chi2 test score very significant p< 0.01, *** Chi2 test score highly significant p < 0.001

**Holiday** - highly significant difference between int. & dom. tourists (chi2(1) = 19.8589, Pr = 0.000)

**Friends & relatives** - highly significant difference between int. & dom. tourists (chi2(1) = 13.9508, Pr = 0.000)

* Business purposes - significant difference between int. & dom. tourists (chi2(1) = 6.1636, Pr = 0.013)

Eighty six percent of the Manyallaluk sample was travelling independently while in the Darwin/Katherine region, while 14% were travelling as part of an organised commercial tour group and there was no significant difference between international and domestic tourists in this regard. To date though, the USA market for Manyallaluk has depended, to a considerable extent, on a few key outbound tour operators in the
USA. Expectedly, 39% of all respondents from the USA/Canada were part of an organised tour group, in contrast to 12% of respondents from the UK and 4% of respondents from Germany.

Almost a quarter of the total sample found out about Manyallaluk from the brochure. A larger proportion of international tourists (26%) found out about Manyallaluk from guidebooks than domestic tourists (6%), although domestic tourists (18%) were more likely to have found out about Manyallaluk through recommendations from relatives, friends and other tourists than international tourists (7%). Interestingly, only 3% of all respondents indicated that newspapers, magazine articles and television programs were their main source of information, despite Manyallaluk having received considerable attention from the travel media during the 1990s.

**Lonely Planet guidebooks**

Just one in five respondents indicated that a guidebook was their main source of information about Manyallaluk. Nevertheless, the questionnaire findings suggest that guidebooks are important sources of general information for tourists since 84% of international respondents and 40% of domestic respondents indicated that they were using a guidebook during their trip. As Table 15, below, indicates 40% of the total sample were travelling with *Australia: A Travel Survival Kit*, a Lonely Planet publication, making it by far the most popular choice. When *Outback Australia: A Travel Survival Kit* and *Northern Territory: A Travel Survival Kit* were also taken into account, 65% of all international respondents and 18% of domestic tourists were using a Lonely Planet guidebook of some sort. Many non English speaking tourists were also using a Lonely Planet guidebook, although a variety of foreign language guidebooks were mentioned as well.
Table 15: Choice of English language guidebook for international and domestic tourists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guidebook</th>
<th>Int (%)</th>
<th>Dom (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia: A Travel Survival Kit</td>
<td>210 (55.1)</td>
<td>23 (11.5)</td>
<td>233 (40.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outback Australia: A Travel Surv. Kit</td>
<td>23 (6.0)</td>
<td>10 (5.0)</td>
<td>33 (5.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rough Guide</td>
<td>28 (7.4)</td>
<td>4 (2.0)</td>
<td>32 (5.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT Handbook</td>
<td>10 (2.6)</td>
<td>15 (7.5)</td>
<td>25 (4.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP Explore Australia</td>
<td>10 (2.6)</td>
<td>9 (4.5)</td>
<td>19 (3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory: A Travel Surv. Kit</td>
<td>15 (3.9)</td>
<td>3 (1.5)</td>
<td>18 (3.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fodors</td>
<td>9 (2.4)</td>
<td>2 (1.0)</td>
<td>11 (1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frommers</td>
<td>7 (1.8)</td>
<td>7 (1.2)</td>
<td>14 (2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravan &amp; Camping (Yelland)</td>
<td>4 (2.0)</td>
<td>4 (0.7)</td>
<td>8 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outback at Cost</td>
<td>3 (0.8)</td>
<td>1 (0.5)</td>
<td>4 (0.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepping Lightly on Australia</td>
<td>1 (0.3)</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
<td>2 (0.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ultimate Adventure Guide</td>
<td>1 (0.3)</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
<td>2 (0.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motoring</td>
<td>1 (0.3)</td>
<td>2 (1.0)</td>
<td>3 (0.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No total given because tourists sometimes used more than one guidebook.

The first Australian Lonely Planet guidebook titled *Australia*, was written by Tony Wheeler and published in 1977. Australians, Tony and Maureen Wheeler, own the company, Lonely Planet Publications. As well as publishing guidebooks, it publishes a travel literature series, produces videos and television programs and operates an internet site. There are now more than 180 Lonely Planet guidebook titles, including guides for specific cities and most recently, Lonely Planet has also started to publish eating guides to certain cities.

Hutnyk (1996) and Bhattacharyya (1997) have analysed *India: A Travel Survival Kit*, which is also a Lonely Planet publication and a popular choice for backpackers in India. Bhattacharyya (1997:371) describes it as a “comprehensive guide... deliberately planned to satisfy diverse budgets, [although] it tends to be more appealing to the low budget, independent traveler”. Hutnyk (1996:63) attributes the guidebook’s success to its “chatty style” which, he argues, emulates the casual talk and information sharing that is so important amongst backpackers. *Australia: A Travel Survival Kit* has a similar style, however it is less focused on backpackers, emphasising “variety and opportunity for the short or long-term visitor” and endorsing the interests of “those adventurous and independent travellers who really want to experience travel off the beaten track”, as well as those who may prefer a less “rough
and ready” Australia with the “prettiest Victorian architecture”, “an astounding variety of cuisines” and wines “to fall in love with” (Finlay et al 1998:15).

Both India: A Travel Survival Kit and Australia: A Travel Survival Kit are over 1,000 pages in length and have the same basic format, beginning with the four chapters: “Facts about the country”, “Facts for the visitor”, “Getting there and away” and “Getting around”. Following the four introductory chapters, the guidebooks provide detailed information on each state. The 1998 edition of Australia: A Travel Survival Kit contains three special features on “Australian Ecosystems”, “Fauna and Flora” and “Aboriginal Art”, each richly illustrated with colour photographs.

In the chapter titled “Facts about the Country”, the history of Aboriginal people is summarised under the headings “Aboriginal settlement”, “Devastation of the Aborigines”, “Protection of Aboriginal People”, “‘Assimilation’ of Aboriginal People”, Aboriginal land Rights, “Land Rights Acts”, “Mabo and the Native Title Act” and “The Wik Decision”. The same chapter also contains several pages on “Aboriginal Culture” with subheadings: “Traditional Society”, “Beliefs and Ceremonies”, “Song and Narrative”, “Modern Aboriginal Literature”, “The Aboriginal in White Literature”, “Religion”, “Sacred Sites” and “Language”. The written text is detailed and authoritative in tone, and obviously aims to inform rather than simply entertain. It presents the ‘facts’; however, it is also evaluative and its mixture of advice and opinion directs tourists’ understanding. In Bhattacharyya’s (1997:375) terms, Australia: A Travel Survival Kit constructs and sustains a particular “ethical posture”. This ideological stance is clearly evident, for example, in the following statement, which concludes the section in the guidebook on the Wik decision -

…it’s obvious that failure to resolve the native title issue will put new and extravagant meaning into the phrase ‘lawyers’ picnic’, and will make reconciliation less rather than more likely (Finlay et al 1998:49).

The statement is obviously critical of the Australian government’s position on native title legislation, and implicitly in support of Aboriginal interests; however, an
“Aboriginal voice” (Zeppel 1997:23) is absent and the text is written as a kind of social commentary, not unlike a newspaper editorial. Moreover, the only photograph of an Aboriginal person in *Australia: A Travel Survival Kit* depicts a nameless Aboriginal man, face painted, sitting on the pavement playing a didgeridoo. The photograph is included under the general heading “Sydney”, although the photograph depicts an internationalised urban ‘tourist scene’, where the Aboriginal man and the didgeridoo could easily be replaced by a costumed performer from a different ethnic background.

![Figure 60: Photograph of unnamed Aboriginal man in Lonely Planet guidebook](source: Finlay et al 1998:225)

*Australia: A Travel Survival Kit* offers advice to the tourist about photography, about entering Aboriginal lands, and about the purchasing of ‘authentic’ art. It states that it is “usually hard for short-term visitors to make real contact with Aboriginal people, who often prefer to be left to themselves”, and suggests that an Aboriginal cultural tour is the best way for tourists to have “meaningful contact... even though you may feel that by being on a tour you’re not getting the ‘real thing’” (Finlay et al 1998:349-
In its description of the benefits of Aboriginal cultural tourism, the guidebook, once again, mixes advice and opinion to clearly convey a particular 'ethical posture':

The benefits to the community are twofold: the most obvious is the financial gain, the other that introducing Aboriginal culture and customs to non Aboriginal people helps alleviate the problems caused by ignorance and misunderstandings of the past (Finlay et al 1998:350-351).

Manyallaluk first featured in the 1994 edition of Australia: A Travel Survival Kit and has been included in every edition since. The entry for each edition is almost the same, although the 1994 edition states that Manyallaluk is owned by the Jawoyn people, while the 1998 edition states it is owned by Top End Aboriginal people, as the following excerpt shows. Whether this is coincidental or because one of the Lonely Planet authors has visited Manyallaluk and heard the Mayali and Ngalkbon guides talk about themselves is difficult to say. Otherwise the guidebook informs tourists of the cost and content of the tours and the days that they operate. It also informs tourists that it is “possible just to camp without taking a tour, but you are restricted to the camping area” and it advises tourists that “excellent crafts” are available in the community store for “competitive prices” (Finlay et al 1998: 394).

**MANYALLALUK**

Manyallaluk is the former 3000sq-km Eva Valley cattle station which abuts the eastern edge of the Nitmiluk National Park. These days it is owned by Top End Aboriginal people, some of whom now organise and lead very highly regarded tours.

The one-day trip includes transport to and from Katherine, lunch, billy tea and damper, and you learn about traditional bush tucker and medicine, spear throwing and playing a didjeridu. The two-day trip adds swimming and rock-art sites. The cost is $95 ($63 children) for the day-trip and $199 ($147 children) for the two-day trip. For bookings and enquiries phone 8975 4727, or fax 8975 4724.

The day-trip operates year-round on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday from Katherine, or with your own vehicle you can camp at Manyallaluk ($15 for two) and take the day tour from there, which costs $63. It is possible just to camp without taking the tour, but you are restricted to the camping area. There's a community store with basic supplies and excellent crafts at competitive prices. No permits are needed to visit the the community, and alcohol is not permitted.

In Barthes (1973) exploration of several myths associated with French daily life, he analysed the content of the guidebook, Le Guide Bleu. He suggested that the
guidebook constructed a romantic gaze where monuments and an appreciation of the 'picturesque' qualities of rugged landscapes were exalted and "the human life of a country" was erased. Barthes (1973:84) observed that in the *Michelin Guide*, in contrast to the romantic solitude promoted in *Le Guide Bleu*, equal attention was given to the "number of bathrooms and forks indicating good restaurants" and to the "artistic curiosities" at a particular sight. In the *Michelin Guide*, attractions were promoted partly as sites of conspicuous consumption. "[T]he human life of a country" was visible, but only in a service role, symbolising the 'quality' of tourist experience at a particular town or city, or at a named hotel or restaurant. While variations in these two myths remain potent in contemporary tourism, *Australia: A Travel Survival Kit*, constructs a different type of myth where 'information' itself becomes the key to a more rewarding experience. The guidebook does not only tell tourists where to look, stay and eat but also how to be think and behave in a variety of situations and it presents this information in the form of insider knowledge.

**Main type of transport and accommodation for all tourists while visiting the Darwin/Katherine region**

The questionnaire asked tourists about their main type of transport and choice of accommodation while travelling in the Darwin/Katherine region and the results from this question are presented in Table 16, below. Over half of all respondents (57%) were travelling in a self drive vehicle, with domestic tourists (70%) significantly more likely to be travelling by self drive vehicle than international tourists (49%). Conversely, international tourists (34%) were significantly more likely to be travelling by national coaches (Greyhound and McCaffertys) than domestic tourists (13%). As I previously mentioned, the one day self drive tour was the most popular tour at Manyallaluk, comprising 40% of all the tour bookings at Manyallaluk between July 1995 and June 1996. The self drive option is cheaper, and considerably so for families and other groups of tourists travelling together in one vehicle. Moreover, not all Aboriginal cultural tourism enterprises in the Top End offer a self drive option, strengthening Manyallaluk's marketing position in this regard.
Table 16: Transport and accommodation for international and domestic tourists while in the Darwin/Katherine region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transport #</th>
<th>Int (%)</th>
<th>Dom (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 wheel drive vehicle</td>
<td>70 (18.4)</td>
<td>36 (18.1)</td>
<td>106 (18.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other car</td>
<td>118 (31.0)</td>
<td>104 (52.3)</td>
<td>222 (38.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self drive sub total</td>
<td>188 (49.3)</td>
<td>140 (70.4)</td>
<td>328 (56.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coaches (Greyhound)</td>
<td>130 (34.1)</td>
<td>26 (13.1)</td>
<td>156 (26.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organised tour vehicle</td>
<td>54 (14.2)</td>
<td>28 (14.1)</td>
<td>82 (14.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9 (2.4)</td>
<td>5 (2.5)</td>
<td>14 (2.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Int (%)</th>
<th>Dom (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camping</td>
<td>131 (34.4)</td>
<td>67 (33.5)</td>
<td>198 (34.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backpackers/hostel</td>
<td>143 (37.5)</td>
<td>17 (8.5)</td>
<td>160 (27.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel/motel</td>
<td>94 (24.7)</td>
<td>60 (15.7)</td>
<td>154 (26.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/relatives</td>
<td>9 (2.4)</td>
<td>23 (11.5)</td>
<td>32 (5.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4 (1.0)</td>
<td>33 (16.5)</td>
<td>37 (6.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# One missing value for transport in domestic tourists (n=199)

Just over one third of all respondents indicated that camping was their main form of accommodation while visiting the Darwin/Katherine region and there was no significant difference between international and domestic tourists in this regard. The other two popular accommodation choices were backpacker/hostel accommodation and hotel/motels accounting for 28% and 27% of the sample respectively. Thirty eight percent of international tourists chose backpacker accommodation, compared with 8% of all domestic tourists. Previous research suggests that demand for Aboriginal tourism products is high amongst international backpackers with over half having visited an Aboriginal site while in Australia (SATC 1998:14).

**Socio-demographic and travel characteristics of the three key markets**

Table 17, below, compares some of the key socio-demographic and travel characteristics of the respondents from the three main international markets and from ‘other Europe’ as well. Female tourists are dominant in all the markets with Germany (73%) and the UK (67%) having the highest percentage of women. The age distribution of respondents from the USA/Canada, the UK and Germany varies considerably. Tourists under 35 years old accounted for 64% of German tourists, 58% of British tourists and 53% of tourists from ‘other Europe’, but only 25% of
USA/Canadian tourists, who were more likely to be in their middle years (54% aged 35-54).

Table 17: Main socio-demographic and travel characteristics of tourists from Manyallaluk’s key markets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travel Characteristics</th>
<th>USA/Canada</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Other Europe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4WD</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other self drive vehicle</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>(44)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>(50)</td>
<td>(60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach (Greyhound)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organised tour vehicle</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camping</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backpackers/hostel</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel/motel</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/relatives</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organised with tour</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the graph in Figure 61, below, shows the age and gender distribution of tourists from the UK, Germany and the USA varies considerably. The dominance of young female tourists from both the UK and Germany is particularly noticeable. Germany has the most unequal distribution, with female tourists who were aged 14-34 making up 50% of all German tourists and males of the same age just 14%.
Backpacker/hostel accommodation was the most popular choice of accommodation for tourists from the UK and Germany and accounted for 48% of tourists in the case of Germany and 42% in the case of the UK. Over one third of all tourists from 'other Europe' also chose backpacker/hostel accommodation. Camping was a popular option amongst tourists from 'other Europe' (41%) and Germany (34%). By contrast, 28% of tourists from the USA were staying in hotels, 17% in backpacker accommodation and 16% were camping. Forty five percent of both British and German tourists indicated that national coaches were their main choice of transport, compared to 31% from 'other Europe' and 10% from the USA/Canada. Self drive tourists were relatively common amongst all the key markets, comprising 60% of tourists from 'other Europe', 50% of tourists from Germany, 44% of tourists from the USA/Canada and 38% of tourists from the UK.

**Interest in attractions and activities in the Darwin/Katherine region**

The questionnaire asked respondents to indicate whether they were 'not interested', 'somewhat interested' or 'very interested' in 22 different tourist attractions and activities in the Darwin/Katherine region. Ratings were then converted to nominal ratings of 1, 2 and 3 and the mean scores and standard deviations were calculated for each item (see Table 18, below). Responses from local intra-regional visitors were omitted since most would have visited all of the Top End attractions and activities.
listed in the questionnaire. T-tests were then carried out on the scores for each of the 22 attractions and activities to calculate the significance of the difference between the scores of international and domestic tourists and the results are presented in Table 18.

Overall, the highest rated attraction was 'Seeing Aboriginal culture', with a mean score of 2.87 out of 3. However, a high score for this item is to be expected since each of the respondents had a heightened awareness of Aboriginal culture having just been on a Manyallaluk tour and it is very unlikely that they would do anything other than confirm their interest. The other four of the top five attractions were 'seeing the outback', 'seeing Australian animals', 'visiting Kakadu' and 'seeing Australian plants'. These attractions are nature-based and the findings are consistent with previous market research which has found that tourists visit the Northern Territory primarily because of its natural attractions, and in particular, to see icons like Kakadu and Uluru (AGB McNair 1996). However, it is perhaps unexpected that interest in Australian plants rated so highly and the high interest in this instance may be related to tourists' post tour awareness of plants, since there is a considerable interpretative focus on them during the Manyallaluk tours. All tourists go on a bush tucker walk where they collect, prepare and even taste some of the plants, as well as learning the Mayali, Ngalkbon and English names of various plants.

International tourists were significantly more interested in seeing Australian animals, Australian plants, bush walking, photography, bird watching and shopping, and to a lesser extent, significantly more interested in canoeing and visiting a festival or special event. The greater interest in these attractions and activities amongst international tourists is to be expected, as is their interest in shopping and photography, since they have travelled a long way to get to Australia, usually at considerable cost and will, therefore, aim to experience as much as possible and to record their experiences through photography and shopping for souvenirs. On the other hand, the listed attractions and activities are more familiar to domestic tourists, who, even if they have not been to the Northern Territory before, are likely to have seen and experienced similar activities and attractions elsewhere in Australia. Fishing
was the only activity domestic tourists were significantly more interested in than international tourists; however, interest in fishing rated very low overall.

Table 18: International and domestic tourist interest in attractions in the Darwin/Katherine region

| Regional holiday activities & attractions | Mean | Std dev. | Int | Dom | ttest | Prob>|t| |
|------------------------------------------|------|---------|-----|-----|-------|-----|
| Seeing Aboriginal culture                | 2.87 | .35     | 2.89| 2.85| 1.22  | 0.2233 |
| Seeing the outback                       | 2.86 | .40     | 2.88| 2.84| 0.94  | 0.3468 |
| Seeing Australian animals                | 2.74 | .52     | 2.86| 2.46| 8.84  | 0.0000*** |
| Visiting Kakadu National Park            | 2.74 | .58     | 2.76| 2.67| 1.75  | 0.0815 |
| Seeing Australian plants                 | 2.63 | .55     | 2.69| 2.51| 3.68  | 0.0003*** |
| Visiting Katherine Gorge                 | 2.61 | .63     | 2.58| 2.66| -1.47 | 0.1423 |
| Seeing rock art                          | 2.60 | .58     | 2.63| 2.54| 1.82  | 0.0696 |
| Bushwalking                              | 2.48 | .63     | 2.56| 2.30| 4.52  | 0.0000*** |
| Photography                              | 2.46 | .71     | 2.56| 2.22| 5.45  | 0.0000*** |
| Bird watching                            | 2.29 | .75     | 2.36| 2.11| 3.70  | 0.0002*** |
| Visiting Litchfield National Park        | 2.25 | .82     | 2.21| 2.35| -1.91 | 0.0572 |
| Relaxing tropical lifestyle              | 1.97 | .76     | 1.93| 2.05| -1.81 | 0.0704 |
| Visiting Arnhem Land                    | 1.91 | .86     | 1.93| 1.85| 0.99  | 0.3222 |
| Visiting local markets                   | 1.85 | .72     | 1.89| 1.76| 1.94  | 0.0526 |
| Visiting museums                         | 1.85 | .70     | 1.84| 1.86| -0.23 | 0.8173 |
| Visiting art galleries                   | 1.85 | .74     | 1.88| 1.76| 1.75  | 0.0807 |
| 4 wheel driving                          | 1.66 | .77     | 1.71| 1.54| 2.22  | 0.0207* |
| Visiting a festival/special event        | 1.66 | .72     | 1.71| 1.54| 2.69  | 0.0074*** |
| Canoeing                                 | 1.55 | .68     | 1.60| 1.43| 2.77  | 0.0058** |
| Shopping                                 | 1.49 | .63     | 1.56| 1.34| 3.88  | 0.0001*** |
| Fishing                                  | 1.13 | .40     | 1.09| 1.23| -3.87 | 0.0001*** |
| Visiting the casino                      | 1.04 | .21     | 1.03| 1.05| -1.20 | 0.2390 |

*T-test score significant p<0.05, **T-test score very significant p<0.01, ***T-test score highly significant p<0.001

As Table 19, below, illustrates, T Tests were carried out on the scores of female and male tourists and there was a significant difference between the female and male interest in some items. In general, these were attractions and activities with a focus on culture rather than nature where the mean scores of female tourists were consistently higher. Female tourists were significantly more interested in seeing Aboriginal culture, visiting markets, visiting a festival or special event and visiting an art gallery. They were also more interested in visiting Katherine Gorge and Arnhem Land, although the difference between females and males was less significant in these two cases. Once again it was only fishing where the trend was reversed and the interest of male tourists was significantly higher. As I mentioned previously, research findings suggest that the demand for cultural tourism is higher amongst women than men and the Manyallaluk survey findings are consistent with this research.
In order to gauge the intensity of tourist interest in Aboriginal cultural tourism attractions, tourists were asked whether they had previously visited other Aboriginal cultural tourism attractions or intended to during their present trip. As Table 20 indicates, more than one quarter of tourists answered this question affirmatively, and there was no significant difference between international and domestic tourists, and between female and male tourists in this regard.

**Table 20: Aspects of tourist interest in visiting Aboriginal cultural attractions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Been on another Aboriginal cultural tour</th>
<th>Int (%)</th>
<th>Dom (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>104 (27.3)</td>
<td>55 (27.5)</td>
<td>159 (27.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>277 (72.7)</td>
<td>105 (72.5)</td>
<td>422 (72.6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Important to learn about Ab. culture for work</th>
<th>Int (%)</th>
<th>Dom (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>88 (23.2)</td>
<td>79 (39.5)</td>
<td>167 (28.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>292 (76.8)</td>
<td>121 (60.5)</td>
<td>413 (71.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Forty percent of domestic tourists and 23% of international tourists also answered ‘yes’ to the question “Is it important to learn about Aboriginal culture for your work?” During the early stages of my fieldwork I found that some tourists were motivated to learn about Aboriginal culture for work related purposes and had chosen to visit Manyallaluk with the aim of acquiring specialised knowledge. Thus, through the inclusion of this question I hoped to assess the extent to which tourists who visited Manyallaluk were interested in learning about Aboriginal culture for their work.

Not surprisingly, 58% of those tourists who indicated that they were visiting the Darwin/Katherine region for an educational trip and 82% of those for whom business was their main purpose for visiting the region indicated that it was important for them to learn about Aboriginal culture for their work. Somewhat unexpectedly, however, almost one hundred tourists, or 23% of those who stated that their main purpose for visiting the region was to have a holiday also indicated that it was important for them to learn about Aboriginal culture for their work.

Tourists from Germany and the USA/Canada appear to have a more focused interest in Aboriginal culture, since over one quarter of tourists from these countries indicated that it was important to learn about Aboriginal culture for their work, in comparison with less than 10% of tourists from the UK. As Table 21, below, shows, a high proportion of professional people indicated that it was important to learn about Aboriginal culture for their work Over half (56%) of all Social, Arts and Miscellaneous Professionals and 50% of Education Professionals answered affirmatively, as did nearly one third of tertiary students.
Table 21: Occupation and importance of learning about Aboriginal culture for work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal occupations</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managers &amp; Administrators</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20.0)</td>
<td>(80.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(38.6)</td>
<td>(61.4)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science, Building, Engineering</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21.4)</td>
<td>(78.6)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business &amp; Information</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16.3)</td>
<td>(83.7)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36.7)</td>
<td>(63.3)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(50.0)</td>
<td>(50.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social, Arts &amp; Miscellaneous</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(55.8)</td>
<td>(44.2)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professionals</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18.8)</td>
<td>(81.2)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradespersons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20.0)</td>
<td>(80.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Clerical &amp; Service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7.1)</td>
<td>(92.9)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate Clerical, Sales, Service</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(31.6)</td>
<td>(68.4)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate Production &amp; Transport</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Clerical, Sales, Service</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home duties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4.5)</td>
<td>(95.5)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary student</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(31.4)</td>
<td>(68.6)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School student</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16.7)</td>
<td>(83.3)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14.0)</td>
<td>(86.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed/ no response</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20.6)</td>
<td>(89.4)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(28.7)</td>
<td>(71.3)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From conversations with tourists and from their written comments on the questionnaires I became aware that tourists with work related goals differed widely in the focus of their interest. An American professor, was carrying out “Scientific Research and Education - native people, plants, animals - land and sea” (Q63); a Swiss journalist, was “writing about Aboriginals” (Q480); and an Australian
landscape architect was “Comparing tourism products (on the side)” (Q16). An Australian farmer, wrote “Yes, but only to have informed discussion on Land Rights etc” (Q155); an American playwright, was carrying out “research for screenplay I am writing” (about a walkabout) (Q63); an art professor from the USA was “Studying Aboriginal art and culture” (Q22) and similarly, a British painter, was “studying rock and cave paintings for thesis” (Q62).

There were also several comments from Education Professionals who were teaching courses about Aboriginal culture in universities and schools, like a teacher from Canada who wrote “I will compare them [Australian Aboriginal people] to the North American Indian culture in school” (Q236) and an American lecturer who stated “I’m going to teach a unit on Australia when I get back” (Q139). Similarly too, an Australian teacher explained “We have some Aboriginal families at the school where I teach. We have two Aboriginal awareness days for staff and students as well as having Aboriginal performances at our school” (Q402). An Australian teacher, indicated that she thought it was important to learn about Aboriginal culture for her work, but qualified her answer with the comment “peripherally - all teachers should know and learn more” (Q165). Her comment reveals an attitude that may partially explain the high interest in Aboriginal cultural tourism amongst Education Professionals, although it is obvious that there are other contributing factors as well.

Several respondents who answered ‘no’ to the question “Is it important for you to learn about Aboriginal culture for your work?” indicated that they were motivated by personal, rather than work related reasons. An Australian tourist explained “It is important to my grandson, as he spends a day a week at the Koori school... in addition to his own school” (Q194) and another wrote “As a Mum I need to teach my children” (Q418). Some emphasised personal fulfilment, like a Danish tourist who wrote “guess you could call it a personal education holiday” (Q504); an Italian tourists who stated “for myself” (Q331); a Swiss tourists who stated “not for my work but for my mind” (Q398) and another from the USA who wrote “… personally I believe it is important for my life and my perspective in general” (Q427). Grekin and
Milne (1996:85) discuss similar motivations in relation to tourists who visit indigenous attractions in the Northwest Territories.

My findings from this question indicate that many tourists have an interest in learning about Aboriginal culture that is more than simply recreational, although the intensity of their quests varies considerably. On the one hand, there are those tourists for whom learning about Aboriginal culture may be generally useful, while on the other, there are those who are hoping to acquire specialist knowledge.

**Artefact and souvenir purchase**

As Table 22, below, indicates, almost half of the respondents purchased artefacts and souvenirs during their visit to Manyallaluk. There was no significant difference between international and domestic tourists in this regard (Pearson chi2(1) = 3.39488 Pr = 0.065).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin of tourists</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(46.5)</td>
<td>(53.5)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(54.5)</td>
<td>(45.5)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(49.2)</td>
<td>(50.8)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tourists were also asked to specify what type of artefact or souvenir they purchased. Domestic tourists were significantly more likely to be purchase baskets than international tourists (Pearson chi2(1) = 9.7804 Pr = 0.002), with 19% of domestic tourists purchasing a basket compared to 10% of international tourists. Otherwise there were no statistically significant differences in purchases between international and domestic tourists or between female and male tourists. When I estimated the value of tourist expenditure on souvenirs there was also little difference between domestic and international tourists and between female and male tourists. One third
of all tourists spent over $50 on artefact and souvenir purchases at Manyallaluk, remembering that over half of all tourists did not spend any money at all.

**Tourist access to information about Aboriginal people**

In Chapter Three I looked at how Aboriginal people and their cultures are portrayed by the national and Northern Territory tourism industries in the promotion of both mainstream Australian destinations and Aboriginal tourism attractions. However, as Urry (1990:3) points out, tourists also “construct and reinforce the gaze” through “non-tourist practices such as film, TV, literature, magazines, record and videos”. In these texts Aboriginal people are represented in a multiplicity of ways and while sometimes the texts convey meanings that converge with those embedded in tourist advertising and promotional material, in other instances they contest the dominant tourist myths. In order to investigate the scope and focus of these non tourist representations I included questions in the Manyallaluk questionnaire which asked tourists about the books that they had read which featured Aboriginal people and were of particularly interest to them, and similarly, the films and television programs that they had seen which featured Aboriginal people and were particularly interesting to them.

The pilot study results suggested that books were the most popular representational medium and because tourists specified so many book titles in their responses to the pilot questionnaire I was able to generate a checklist of ten books for inclusion in the 1996/97 questionnaire. However, tourists specified comparatively few film or television program titles in their pilot questionnaire responses and I was unable to develop a checklist for these mediums for inclusion in the final questionnaire and once again had to use an open-ended question to illicit responses.

As indicated in Table 23 on the following page, over half (54%) of all respondents in the 1996/97 questionnaire had read books featuring Aboriginal people, 32% had seen television programs and 23% had seen films. Not unexpectedly, domestic tourists were more likely to have been exposed to all three media.
Table 23: Tourists’ exposure to books, films and television programs featuring Aboriginal people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exposure to media representations of Ab. People</th>
<th>Int (%)</th>
<th>Dom (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>194 (50.9)</td>
<td>121 (60.5)</td>
<td>315 (54.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>95 (24.9)</td>
<td>93 (46.5)</td>
<td>188 (32.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinema</td>
<td>59 (15.5)</td>
<td>76 (38.0)</td>
<td>135 (23.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24, below, lists the most frequently mentioned books read by the Manyallaluk questionnaire respondents. The four most popular books were *We of the Never Never*, read by 22% of respondents; *Songlines*, read by 19% of respondents; *My Place*, read by 17% of respondents and *Mutant Message Down Under*, read by 16% of respondents. By contrast, the four most frequently seen films, *Crocodile Dundee, Jedda, Walkabout* and *The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith*, were each only mentioned by approximately 5% of all respondents. One in five tourists stated that they had seen television documentaries that had interested them; yet many found it difficult to recall the titles of the programs. It may be that television is more important in terms of the composite message it conveys, while individual programs may be less memorable in this particular context.

Interestingly, international tourists were significantly more likely to have read *Songlines* (Pearson chi2(1)=7.8437, Pr=0.005) and *Mutant Message Down Under* (Pearson chi2(1)= 18.4026, Pr=0.000) than domestic tourists, while domestic tourists were significantly more likely to have read *We of the Never Never* (Pearson chi2(1)= 52.8253, Pr=0.000) and *My Place* (Pearson chi2(1)=55.1563, Pr=0.000) than international tourists. Although it is possible that the four books may not be equally available in tourists’ home countries, it is also likely that there will be a difference in the way the content and style of each book appeals to international and domestic readers. Moreover female tourists were significantly more likely to have read *My Place* (Pearson chi2(1)=4.8553, Pr=0.028) and *Mutant Message Down Under* (Pearson chi2(1)=3.3456. Pr=0.067).
Table 24: Books read by international and domestic tourists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
<th>Int (%)</th>
<th>Dom (%)</th>
<th>chi2</th>
<th>Pr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gunn, A., <em>We of the Never Never</em></td>
<td>129</td>
<td>(22.2)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatwin, B., <em>Songlines</em></td>
<td>109</td>
<td>(18.8)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(12.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, S., <em>My Place</em></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>(17.4)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>(33.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, M., <em>Mutant Message Down Under</em></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>(16.0)</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(7.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneally, T., <em>Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith</em></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>(9.5)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>(22.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arden, W., <em>Dreamkeepers</em></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>(4.0)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(2.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cole, <em>Hell West and Crooked</em></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(2.8)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langford, R., <em>Don't take your love to town</em></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(2.8)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawlor, <em>Voices of the first day</em></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(2.1)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(2.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudrooroo, <em>Us Mob</em></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(2.1)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(4.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** Chi2 test score *significant p<0.05, **very significant p<0.01, highly significant p<0.001

Both *Songlines* and *Mutant Message Down Under* describe journeys set in Central Australia where individuals encounter and learn from Aboriginal people. As Cocker (1992:253) points out:

Travel books express, in terms of landscape and foreign communities, the interior lives of travellers... They are also, unavoidably, a literature of change and of transformation

Although both *Songlines* and *Mutant Message Down Under* are trips of discovery, the two books are dissimilar in many ways. *Songlines*, by Bruce Chatwin, was published in 1987 and many guidebooks recommend it to tourists, for example *Fodor's '97* (1997:519) describes it as a “a provocative exploration of the nomadic urge”. The author, Chatwin, provides detailed descriptions of characters he meets in and around Alice Springs and *Australia; A Travel Survival Kit* (Finlay et al 1998:93) suggests that his “pithy anecdotes about modern Australia” are the book’s best feature. As Zeppel (1998a) notes the popularity of Chatwin’s book has led the South Australian Tourist Commission to use the term ‘songlines’ to promote its Aboriginal tourism products.

*Mutant Message Down Under* was written by Marlo Morgan and published in 1994. The book describes an American woman’s four month journey by foot through Central Australia with a group of Aboriginal people she calls the “wild ones”. In contrast to Chatwin’s book, the actual location of Morgan’s journey is not clear.

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There are no named or identifiable towns, communities or landmarks. When *Mutant Message Down Under* was published it met with strong criticism from Aboriginal and non Aboriginal Australians who argued that Morgan’s journey could not possibly have taken place and highlighted her false representation of Aboriginal culture. Strongly contrasting opinions about the book are evident in reviews of the book on the internet. On the one hand, those, like Sitka argue that:

She [Marlo Morgan] describes ornaments, musical instruments, cooking utensils, ceremonies, landscape, social relations, clothing and much else which simply does not exist anywhere in the traditional cultures of the Australian continent... The powerful connection to land never comes across. There is no dancing, no singing, no sand drawings and no Dreamtime myths. Even tourists often get to see more than was described in this book. ([http://www.west.com.au/reviews/morgan’s-mutant-fantasy.html](http://www.west.com.au/reviews/morgan’s-mutant-fantasy.html)]18/06/98.

On the other hand, there are those who have read the book who appear completely unconcerned by its false representation of Aboriginal people, preferring instead to focus on its new age message. To quote one reviewer: “I really don’t care if its fact or fiction, I loved the message” ([http://cosmos.netgate.net/choice/books/MM.1.html](http://cosmos.netgate.net/choice/books/MM.1.html) 18/06/98). A few of the Manyallaluk respondents who had read the book qualified there affirmative responses with comments like “pure hogwash” and “I believe that book then a friend told me its not a reality”. However, the book was on the US best seller list for twenty five weeks in 1994-95 and it has now been published in eleven languages, suggesting that readers either do not know or do not care about the accuracy of its contents.

The two most popular books for domestic tourists, *We of the Never Never* and *My Place*, are autobiographical accounts of life in Australia, although their perspectives differ greatly. Both books have female authors; *We of the Never Never*, by Jeannie Gunn, a white woman, was published in 1908, and is an autobiographical account of early twentieth century station life, while *My Place* was written by Sally Morgan and first published in 1987, and describes the author’s search for her Aboriginal roots. Now a replica of the Elsey homestead that was used in the film version of *We of the Never Never* is a tourist attraction, as is the cemetery where many of the characters in
the book are buried. The site draws coach loads of visitors to the small town of Mataranka, one hundred kilometres south of Katherine. The Northern Territory Tourist Commission also recalls the title of Gunn’s book in its well known slogan “You’ll never never know if you never never go”, which promotes the Northern Territory as a holiday destination.

I found further evidence that international and domestic tourists differed significantly in terms of their non tourist practices when I examined the complete list of books, films and television programs identified by tourists. Not unexpectedly, the range of non tourist texts identified by domestic tourists was greater than that of international tourists. Obviously, representations of Aboriginality are more readily accessible in Australia than elsewhere in the world. However, it appears that the scope of representations is not only broader, but that domestic tourists’ interests are also different. I found that domestic tourists were more likely to have been exposed to texts that represented Australia as a distinctive ‘place’ in which Aboriginal people were either represented as individuals in autobiographical and fictional accounts of Australian life or as a particular section of Australian society in texts dealing with particular socio-political issues in Australia today. International tourists, on the other hand, were more likely to have been exposed to representations of Aboriginality in travel literature or anthropological texts. These genres, although not necessarily intentionally, often exoticise Aboriginality and place a greater emphasis on the ‘traditional’ aspects of culture rather than on contemporary lifestyles.

In the following chapter I will move on to look at tourists’ perceptions of and satisfaction with their Aboriginal cultural tourism experiences. I want to draw attention to the diversity of tourists’ responses, while at the same time identifying common themes in their responses. By looking closely at how tourists perceive their experiences we can begin to assess the relative influence of the representations of Aboriginality found in touristic and non touristic texts, on the one hand, and the influence of ‘live’ performances of culture by guides on the tours, on the other.
CHAPTER SEVEN
Chapter Seven

And what do they think?

...if you don’t do what they want, they won’t come. There’s got to be some sort of compromise between cultural integrity and what the tourism industry wants. If it’s business success you want, you have to lean towards business success (Don Freeman, Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park, in NTTC 1995:19).

This chapter examines tourists’ perceptions of and their satisfaction with their tour experiences at Manyallaluk. Little research has been undertaken to assess tourist satisfaction with Aboriginal cultural tourism products and while there have been repetitive calls from government and industry representatives for more research assessing demand, tourists’ post tour responses have attracted far less attention. This may be because it is assumed that the large majority of tourists will only visit a particular Aboriginal cultural tourism attraction once, and thus more resources should go into identifying and capturing the market than into looking at whether or not their tour experiences lived up to their expectations. However, research examining tourists’ post tour perceptions is important, particularly for the producers of Aboriginal cultural tourism, because it can highlight weaknesses in existing products and influence future product development.

Tourism industry representatives sometimes suggest that Aboriginal tourism is still in a kind of honeymoon period, meaning that most tourists are willing to overlook problems they have with Aboriginal cultural tourism products at this stage and highlight the positive aspects of their experience instead. Moreover, in some locations, demand for indigenous tourism experiences still outstrips supply, particularly near to popular tourist areas. However, as more Aboriginal tourism products come on to the market and tourists have greater choice it is likely that they will become increasingly critical as competition between products grows.
Research examining tourist satisfaction with Aboriginal tourism

Tourist satisfaction is a multifaceted phenomenon that is difficult to measure. Other studies by Moscardo and Pearce (1989, 1999) and Hughes (1989, 1991) have examined tourist satisfaction with Aboriginal cultural tourism. Moscardo and Pearce’s (1989:390) survey of tourists on Tiwi Tours found that the key factors contributing to tourist satisfaction were direct contact with the host community, a skilled guide to present and interpret Aboriginal culture and an interesting environment. Similarly to Moscardo and Pearce, Hughes (1989:138) found that the level of tourist satisfaction with a one day tour to Palm Island was influenced by the guide’s interaction with the tour group, the general structure and organisation of the trip, the degree of contact with the host community, the degree of cultural enrichment and the perceived authenticity of the trip. Hughes (1991:170) concluded that tourist satisfaction largely depended on tourists’ evaluation of whether or not their encounter had been genuine.

In a more recent study of tourists visiting Tjapukai Aboriginal Theme Park, Moscardo and Pearce (1999) found that tourists differ in terms of the experiences they seek at indigenous tourism attractions and they identified four different market segments amongst tourists visiting Tjapukai. They found that most tourists were interested in direct contact with Aboriginal people, but suggested that there was a minority of tourists who were not and actually viewed direct contact as difficult and uncomfortable. Moscardo and Pearce recommended further studies to compare tourist satisfaction at a range of indigenous tourism attractions, taking into account the variation in interaction between tourists and local people at each attraction.

Assessing tourist satisfaction with Manyallaluk tours

In the Manyallaluk questionnaire I combined qualitative and quantitative methods to examine tourists perceptions of and satisfaction with their tour experiences. One section of the questionnaire asked tourists to mark on a 7 point Likert type scale how satisfied they were with six different components of the tour. These components were:
• the organisation of the tour
• the quality of information passed on by the guides
• the communication between the guides and the tour group
• the scenery of the tour
• the meals
• the facilities at Manyallaluk.

These six components were chosen because tourists frequently commented on them during the tours and in the Manyallaluk visitors' book. In another section of the Manyallaluk questionnaire tourists were asked four open-ended questions to gauge their general perceptions of their tour experience. These questions were:

• What was the highlight of the tour?
• Is there anything you specifically didn’t like?
• How were your expectations different to what actually happened?
• Are there any improvements to the tour that you could suggest?

In general, the detail and length of tourists’ responses to the open-ended questions surprised me. Most tourists obviously considered their answers carefully, often drawing on past tourism experiences, their occupational backgrounds and other life experiences to suggest improvements to the tours. The overall tone of the responses was positive and a considerable number of tourists expressed support for the tourism initiative at Manyallaluk. This is not surprising given that tourists who visit Manyallaluk do so intentionally rather than incidentally on their way to, or as part of, their visit to another attraction.

I will begin by presenting the results of my quantitative analysis of the Likert scales and will then move on to discuss the main findings from my content analysis of tourists’ responses to three of the open-ended questions. I will look at the highlights of the tour; at what tourists didn’t like about the tour; and at the tourists’ suggested improvements to the tour. I will not discuss tourists’ responses to the question “How were your expectations different to what actually happened?” because many of the
responses to this question restated responses to the other three questions, and thus, the question provided little new data.

In the latter part of the chapter I will examine each of the components assessed in the Likert scale questions in further detail, using tourists' responses to the open-ended questions to illustrate the range and complexity of their perceptions regarding each of these components. Lastly, I will describe a range of tourists' perceptions of authenticity. As in the chapter before, when quoting from the questionnaire responses the letter Q precedes the number of the questionnaire. Questionnaire responses numbered 1 to 113 are pilot questionnaire responses, while numbers 114 to 694 are the 1996/1997 questionnaire responses.

**The Likert scales: a summary of the results**

Tourists were asked to mark their level of satisfaction with six different components of the tour on a seven point Likert type scale. I then converted the scales to numerical score with "Not at all satisfied" equivalent to a numerical score of 0, "Moderately satisfied" equivalent to a score of 3 and "Completely satisfied" equivalent to a maximum score of 6. Satisfaction with the six components of the tour was generally high, with the mean score for each of the six components 4.88 or more out of a possible total of 6. As the table below shows, tourists were most satisfied with the facilities (mean score of 5.12 out of 6) and were least satisfied with the communication between tourists and tour guides (mean score of 4.88 out of 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. dev.</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>5.11651</td>
<td>.9384856</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td>5.025389</td>
<td>.9885826</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>4.962847</td>
<td>.9897957</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenery</td>
<td>4.946643</td>
<td>1.148935</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meals</td>
<td>4.899135</td>
<td>1.233957</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>4.882007</td>
<td>1.08922</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 25: Likert scale scores of tourist satisfaction with six key components of the tour.*
Table 26, below, shows the mean satisfaction scores for international and domestic tourists and for female and male tourists. I carried out a Wilcoxon Mann-Whitney test to assess whether there was a significant difference between the scores of international and domestic tourists and between the scores of female and male tourists. A Wilcoxon rank sum test is a non parametric test of significance for two samples that are of unequal size (Ryan 1995:219).

The mean scores for all components were higher for domestic tourists than international tourists with the difference between the two groups being highly significant in the information component, very significant for the communication component and significant for the organisation and scenery component. It is possible that domestic tourists have different expectations prior to their visit to Manyallaluk because of their greater exposure to information about Aboriginal people. On the other hand, the lower level of satisfaction amongst international tourists may also be linked to language problems since so many international tourists who visit Manyallaluk are from non English speaking European countries. The latter point seems particularly relevant given that the scores of international and domestic tourists were most significantly different for the information and communication components of the tour. As the table shows, the mean scores for all components were higher for female tourists than male tourists with the difference being very significant for the facilities and scenery components.

Table 26: Comparing satisfaction scores, international and domestic, female and male tourists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Int Mean</th>
<th>Dom Mean</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>Prob</th>
<th>Female Mean</th>
<th>Male Mean</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>Prob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>-0.344</td>
<td>0.7310</td>
<td>5.17</td>
<td>5.01</td>
<td>2.913</td>
<td>0.0036**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organis.</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>-2.047</td>
<td>0.0407*</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>1.396</td>
<td>0.1628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informat.</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>-3.6066</td>
<td>0.0003***</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>1.424</td>
<td>0.1546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenery</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>-1.979</td>
<td>0.0479*</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>3.297</td>
<td>0.0010**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meals</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>-0.049</td>
<td>0.9612</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>1.903</td>
<td>0.0571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communic</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>-2.915</td>
<td>0.0036**</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>0.541</td>
<td>0.5884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Wilcoxon test score significant p<0.05,  **very significant p<0.01,  ***highly significant p<0.001
Content analysis of the open-ended responses: an overview

Content analysis is a useful tool for determining the distribution and frequency of certain features within a set of data, which is why I chose this method to analyse tourists’ responses to the open-ended questions. I wanted to ascertain the main foci of tourists’ perceptions of what they enjoyed about the tours, what they did not like about the tours and how they thought the tours could be improved. To obtain the fullest picture of tourists’ perceptions I coded all of the items mentioned in each response separately without ranking them. The main categories of my content analysis were the six components of the tour used in the Likert scale type questions and I also created an extra category pertaining to the content of the one day tour since there were so many comments relating specifically to it. Each category was then further divided into sub-categories relating to specific features of the tours, as, for example, the organisation of time within the ‘organisation’ component of the tour, or the role of women guides within the ‘communication’ component. As with all content analysis the units of analysis are chosen by the researcher, which means that the findings are only a partial account of the content, determined by the bias of the researcher.

Table 27, below, shows the distribution of tourists’ comments relating to the six components of the tours plus the content of the one day tour category. The suggested improvements to the ‘organisation’ and ‘facilities’ of the tours far outnumbered the specified highlights relating to both those components, indicating that improvements to these components could enhance tourist satisfaction considerably. Both these components relate to the instrumental dimensions of tourist satisfaction and are the responsibility of both managerial staff and guides. The ‘communication’ and ‘scenery’ components of the tours relate more to the expressive dimensions of satisfaction and were more often mentioned as highlights of the tour than as components that needed improving, suggesting that tourists were generally more satisfied with these components of the tours. The ‘information’ and ‘meals/food’ components of the tours were often mentioned as a highlight of the tour, but also featured frequently in tourists’ suggestions of possible improvements suggesting that changes could be made to enhance tourist satisfaction with these components of the tour. Positive responses to the content of the one day tour also outnumbered the
suggested improvements, indicating a generally high level of satisfaction with this tour product.

Table 27: Frequency of tourists' comments relating to different components of the tour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Dislikes</th>
<th>Highlights</th>
<th>Improvements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenery/ Physical setting</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meals/ foods</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content of the one day tour</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28, below, presents a detailed breakdown of the findings from my content analysis of the open-ended questions and illustrates the frequency of tourists' comments relating to specific features of each component of the tours. Significantly, 410 respondents, or 69% of the total indicated that there was nothing they disliked about their tour. Moreover, respondents identified a total of 161 features of the tour that they disliked, compared to a total of 613 features that they identified as highlights. Tourists also suggested 548 improvements to the tours, some directly linked to problems they experienced during their tour, while other suggestions gave more general advice on ways that the tours could be added to or improved on.

Table 28: Content analysis of open-ended questionnaire responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Dislikes</th>
<th>Highlights</th>
<th>Improvements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None/blank</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everything</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior to tour</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting &amp; greeting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour size</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxing/ informal/ peaceful</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total no. comments)</td>
<td>(58)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical background</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal stories, daily life</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast past and present</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional customs and beliefs</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant knowledge - foods, medicine</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing the community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written information</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Dislikes</td>
<td>Highlights</td>
<td>Improvements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary socio-pol. Issues</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total no. comments)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(138)</td>
<td>(145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communication</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding the guides (language)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guides behaviour</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural interaction/meeting Aboriginal people</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning directly (no white people)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family setting/children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women guides</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellow tourists</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authentic/real/genuine</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total no. comments)</td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>(256)</td>
<td>(93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scenery/natural setting</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One day tour</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two day camp/waterhole</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two day art/ceremonial sites</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being on Aboriginal land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heat</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushfire</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal/birdlife</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total no. comments)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(118)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food/meals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water/drinks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasting/finding bush tucker</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating together</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meals in general</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetarians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of food</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
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The organisation of the tour: “too much time just sitting”

As the findings from my quantitative analysis of the Likert scales suggest tourists were more satisfied with the overall organisation of the tour than they were with several other components of the tour. However, their responses to the open-ended questions also indicate that a considerable number of tourists had specific problems with aspects of the organisation of the tours. Most of their negative comments related to the organisation of time on the one day tour, as did the largest number of suggested improvements.

Tourists criticised the timing of the one day tour suggesting that it was “slow” (Q279, Q663), “drawn out” (Q161, Q162) and that there was “too much time just sitting” (Q268, Q589). Some tourists suggested that they did not get value for money because “the one day cultural experience could have been covered in half a day (Q360, Q361, Q388, Q389) and there were “many periods with nothing much going on” (Q518). Others, similarly, suggested that the tours finished too early and were too short (Q648, Q625, Q615).

Some of the suggested improvements to the timing of the tours included a more organised and quick start to the morning, a fuller program for the day and a better organisation of the afternoon activities. Tourists commented that “morning tea took too long” (Q401), that too much time was spent “hanging around” before the tour started (Q157, Q653), that the tour needed to “start earlier” (Q394, Q586, Q588) and with “more organisation at the beginning” (Q517). Tourists’ also suggested that the ‘meeting and greeting’ phase would be more satisfactory if tourists were provided with “more background information on arrival about the community and customs and how the day will be structured” (Q128, Q165, Q166, Q265, Q266, Q362, Q469, Q583, Q603).

Tourists commented on the time keeping throughout the day, especially noting the “long pauses between interactions” (Q249), the “lull time” (Q344), or “wasted time” (Q225). They recommended that more activities be included to make a fuller program for the day (Q347, Q360, Q361, Q382). Some comments related specifically to the
afternoon activities and tourists suggested that “a lot of time was spent on one or two activities so that the others were rushed” (Q162, Q163). They recommended that there needed to be “more direction for activities” (Q489) and that activities should be rotated to ensure that “everyone participates” (Q141, Q157). Significantly too, a tourist suggested that there was a need for “more tools/equipment so that more people can have a go simultaneously” (Q142). Some tourists who did not place a high value on the social content of the tour questioned whether the tour provided value for money, as the following comment indicates:

This was basically a day for relaxation and interaction - $240 worth [two adults, one child]. I thoroughly enjoyed it but above the meal (excellent) and transportation I question the real cost (Q44).

Altman and Finlayson (1993:45) point out that Aboriginal social responsibilities may mean that it is difficult for Aboriginal tourism enterprises to meet the tourist industry’s dependence on “regularity, punctuality and hospitality”. However, I am not suggesting that the problems at Manyallaluk are of this magnitude. Tourists’ comments do not suggest that the product is unreliable, and the relatively high overall rating on the Likert scales for the ‘organisation of the tour’ suggests that tourists’ expectations have generally been met. Moreover, some tourists view the organisation of time in a positive way, and appreciate the “relaxed pace” of the tours (Q228, Q237, Q251, Q149, Q557, Q601, Q613, Q642, Q649, Q685) and “the totally different rhythm of life, [where] everything goes much slower and is more concentrated” (Q328).

It may be possible to alleviate some of the problems associated with the organisation of time on the one day tour through guide training. Some of the problems are linked to the leadership role of the guides and their degree of expertise at establishing the spatio-temporal direction of the tour (Cohen 1985). Few Aboriginal guides at Manyallaluk wear a watch; however, they have become increasingly aware of the need for time management because of negative comments from tourists and now often ask tourists for the time, perhaps on several occasions throughout the day. Furthermore, the guides frequently discuss amongst themselves whether the tour is
running to time, going too slow or going too fast. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Manyallaluk tours will ever be a slick affair and it is not desirable that it should be because, as some tourists' responses indicate, this too would lead to tourist dissatisfaction.

Another feature of the organisation of the tour that tourists commented on negatively was the size of the tour group. Tourists suggested that the size of the tour group needed to be limited to ten tourists (Q488, Q499, Q649, Q675) or twenty tourists (Q173). Others respondents recommended splitting the group into two smaller groups if there was a large group of tourists and then rotating the morning and afternoon activities (Q157, Q176, Q213). Peter Bolgi, one of the most experienced guides at Manyallaluk, also believes that it is difficult to work as a cultural tour guide with larger groups of tourists. In his words: “Culture side is only ok when you have a small group of tourists, if you get twenty or thirty tourists its too hard”. However, limiting the size of the one day tour also limits profitability unless the tour price is put up, which may in turn reduce numbers considerably especially since my questionnaire findings indicate that Manyallaluk attracts a large percentage of backpacker, budget or family tourists. I mentioned previously that there are problems associated with marketing cultural tourism exclusively to the high yield market (Altman 1993a:11, Craik 1997:126). Accepting this, we need to ask how can large groups of tourists be better catered for?

**The quality of information passed on by the guides**

Tourists' responses to the open-ended questions indicate that 'learning about Aboriginal culture' was one of the highlights of the tour experience for many of them. Their responses suggest that they particularly appreciated the guides' knowledge of plants and their explanation of bush tucker and medicines. As one tourist commented “learning (or trying to) the names and uses of the trees and plants was fascinating” (Q438), and another admired the “depth of the guides’ knowledge about the environment” (Q334). Tourists enjoyed learning about the ”utilisation of plants for survival” (Q281) and ways of “producing food from the bush” (Q124). Several
tourists suggested that the tours could be improved if there were more opportunities to
learn about bush plants, and bush medicines in particular (Q281, Q332, Q351, Q531,
Q533, Q618, Q619). As one elderly Australian tourist commented during a bush walk:
"We can learn so much from them, especially in the way of bush medicines... instead
of all that synthetic stuff".

The morning bush tucker walk on the one day tour focuses largely on plants and it
was the most frequently mentioned highlight, with almost one third of all the
questionnaire respondents naming it as one of the highlights of their tour experience.
The morning bush tucker walk is a knowledge-based product and cannot be
appreciated without the interpretative input of the guides. As one tourist wrote "I do a
lot of bush walking and you made me feel there was so much more to the bush that I
currently miss" (Q636). In making their specialist knowledge available to tourists, the
guides ‘unlock’ the bush and give tourists the opportunity to appreciate it in a multi-
sensorial way. As Denise Goodfellow (1991:226-27), an experienced nature guide in
the Northern Territory, suggests, the “‘boring’ bush is no longer boring with
knowledge”, and she adds that an important part of a nature guide’s work is to give
attention to the small things. This contrasts with wildlife safaris where the tourists’
quest is primarily visual and the guides’ responsibility is to locate a range of mostly
large animals.

Tourists enjoyed learning about, but also requested more information on, ‘Aboriginal
traditional customs and beliefs’. They wanted to learn about “how Aboriginal people
used to live” (Q258, Q395, Q396, Q422, Q486), about “their history and beliefs”
(Q314, Q500) and about a “more traditional lifestyle” (Q334). Tourists requested
information on the “spiritual views of Aboriginal culture” (Q174, Q259, Q290), on
Aboriginal “religion, beliefs, artistic culture, oral literature” (Q257) and on “tribal
society explanation” (Q280). They wanted to hear more about the “Dreamtime”
(Q492, Q493, Q583, Q608), about “kinship, moieties, personal histories of guides and
their families and their dreamings” (Q390) and about “Aboriginal laws and
ceremonies” (Q462).
However, I mentioned in Chapter Five that Aboriginal guides and tour operators have clear boundaries about what they will and will not discuss, and often avoid talking about their beliefs. This may lead to a gap between tourists’ expectations and their actual tour experience, as is illustrated by this tourist’s comment: “Find I expected a more mystical area; maybe I didn’t notice because of my bad English knowledge” (Q423).

Some tourists requested more information on contemporary social and political aspects of Aboriginal life and appeared frustrated that the interpretative focus of the tour was skewed to the past. As one tourist wrote “I’d like to know also how Aborigines live today: what they eat, their jobs, their daily lives, their outlook on life, what’s important to them, how their society works etc” (Q142). Similarly, tourists wanted to learn about Aboriginal “health, education, employment and welfare aspects” (Q160), about Aboriginal people’s “problems, future directions, hopes and desires” (Q161), about “childbirth, care of the young and old” (Q660) and about “government on the local level” (Q509). They wanted to learn about “interracial relations” (Q290) and the “influence of politicians such as Pauline Hanson” (Q482). Tourists also requested comparative information on the difference between past and present Aboriginal lifestyles (Q238, Q494, Q500, Q579). Contemporary community and lifestyle issues are not discussed by the guides on the tours, although I have heard guides answer questions about such issues when asked.

Lastly, a considerable number of requests focused on the need for written information about various aspects of the tours. Tourists requested printed information sheets translated into several languages with pictures and the “names/ uses of plants” (Q139, Q142, Q191, Q149, Q205, Q246, Q291, Q354, Q402, Q438, Q444, Q453, Q529, Q682), with information on the “community, people, language and names of things on the bush walk” (Q140, Q148, Q307, Q310, Q331, Q348, Q601, Q623, Q638), and with Dreaming stories (Q291, Q308, Q314).
“Making contact”: the communicative component of the tours

There were over 250 positive comments concerning the communicative or social aspects of the tour, with many respondents simply stating that they enjoyed meeting Aboriginal people, being with Aboriginal people, interacting, sharing time, making contact and talking. Others mentioned the “friendliness” of the guides (Q183, Q184, Q192, Q193, Q227, Q379, Q417, Q149, Q150, Q160, Q588, Q624, Q662), the guides’ “enthusiasm and pride” (Q117, Q118, Q179, Q477) and their “kindness” (Q209, Q599, Q605). Moreover, many of the positive comments were directed at named guides, suggesting that the guides were very personable with tourists despite the briefness of the encounter.

Even when tourists recognised that there were some problems with communication, they did not necessarily perceive them in a negative way. As one tourist commented:

All communication was not successful but that was part of the experience. People on both sides, tour group and guides seemed shy and some effort was necessary, but it made it seem more genuine (Q252).

Similarly in a letter accompanying her completed questionnaire, an Australian tourist wrote:

Dear Friends

It might seem a bit glib to mark your questionnaire as ‘completely’ satisfied on most points. I thought I should add a note. At times communication was not straightforward, nevertheless, as someone who only speaks one language, I don’t expect others who are multi-lingual to make my life easy. Trying to breach the barriers of language and culture is part of the learning experience with a community such as yours. So my ‘completely satisfied’ was not meant to imply no problems, but I don’t think they are problems you should take all the responsibility for. Everyone was co-operative, and helped with explanations when necessary – that is all visitors should expect.

A considerable number of tourists experienced problems trying to understand the guides. Not surprisingly, many of the suggested improvements relating to the communicative component of the tours focused on this problem. As one tourist explained “not all guides spoke English that is understandable for non English tourist” (Q223) and several tourists suggested this problem could be partially solved.
by providing printed information translated into several languages. Other tourists also commented that the guides were too quietly spoken.

Other communicative aspects of the tour that were commented on positively were the family setting and the opportunity to interact with a mix of generations. In one tourist’s words: “It felt almost like a family gathering - not a tour” (Q9). Some tourists indicated that the presence of Aboriginal children, and seeing them play, were highlights of their tour. Tourists who were travelling with their own children wrote that they enjoyed seeing their children playing with Aboriginal children. As I indicated in Chapter Six, most tourists who visited Manyallaluk with children were domestic tourists and their comments suggest that they see interaction between their children and the Manyallaluk children as some sort of symbol of reconciliation and hope for the future.

Lastly, the other communicative component of the tour that was commented on both positively and negatively by respondents was the role of women. Some tourists indicated that talking to women was one of the highlights of the tour for them (Q176, Q220, Q299, Q413, Q414, Q418, Q475, Q553). However, tourists also recommended “more enthusiasm from the women” (Q364, Q464), “more active involvement of the women” (Q159, Q599, Q600) and “more opportunity to speak and learn about day to day life/ current roles in relationships etc. from women” (Q322, Q684). One tourist wrote “I would like more contacts with Aboriginal women, their dreams, what’s their role in Aboriginal society” (Q200) and another wanted to “talk to the women about their culture and rituals” (Q646). Most tourists who requested that the female guides become more involved in the tours were women themselves, suggesting that some female tourists specifically want contact with Aboriginal women and want a woman’s perspective on life. This is quite important to consider given that it may be a significant element of the communicative component of the tours since female tourists outnumber male tourists 2:1.

I mentioned in Chapter Five that guides talk a lot about women’s work and men’s work and are sometimes uneasy about male and female tourists participating in
certain of the activities. Tourists, too, sense this confusion and respond to it in different ways. Although they are often fascinated by the way gender roles are articulated in Aboriginal life and are interested in how Aboriginal gender roles differ from those in tourist generating cultures, they are not always comfortable when they have to change their own behaviour to conform to the expectations of the guides. For example, one tourist commented “[a] bit too much separation between women’s and men’s activities” (Q9). This confusion between tourists’ and guides’ role expectations regarding women is particularly apparent in the basket weaving section of the day, which is led by female guides. Some female tourists complained that they were expected to carry on weaving while male tourists were encouraged to try other activities. As one female tourist wrote:

Seemed sexist. Girls weave and then only boys and men were encouraged to first try other activities. Girls were included after boys and men. They need to remember we are equal opportunity in our culture (Q157).

Other female tourists also complained about the seemingly preferential treatment of men, one respondent stating “My boyfriend showed me how to throw the spear, after he had been taught by our guides rather than them showing me” (Q628) and another stated:

My only comment would be that I realise the weaving etc is women’s work but from a tourist’s point of view it would be nice as a woman to have a go at the didgeridoo” (Q478).

**Contrasting gazes: the scenery of the one and two day tours**

Most positive comments about the scenery component of the tours related to the two day tour, and in particular to the overnight bush camp, to the waterhole near the camp and to the bush walk to art and ceremonial sites on the second day of the two day tour. Tourists enjoyed ”making the fire”, “camping out overnight” (Q323), “two days in the bush, walking and looking for some Aboriginal paintings, sleeping in the bush camp (Q468, 693), “swimming in the waterfalls” (Q468), “in pure warm waters” (Q64) and “sleeping under the stars” (Q346). Their comments emphasise the contrast of the remote bush setting with their own, predominantly urban lives. They enjoyed
“the feeling of being the only people around” (Q545), of “spending one night faraway from civilisation” (Q201) or similarly, “being deep in the bush away from civilisation” (Q661).

By contrast, tourists’ comments relating to the scenery on the one day tour were less positive, and in some cases respondents even suggested that there was no ‘scenery’, writing “not applicable” on the Likert scale question relating to this component. In the words of one tourist: “Physical setting nice and shady, but a bit soulless” (Q16). A few tourists commented negatively on the rubbish that they saw in the tourist area but otherwise the scenery of the one day tour was viewed neutrally. The difference between the way tourists perceived the scenery of the one and two day tours suggests that each type of tour constructs a different gaze. Using Urry’s typology of gazes, the overnight camp and the second day of the two day tour engender a romantic gaze where tourists can ‘escape’ to the bush and experience its sights and sounds, away from the crowds. As one tourist commented: “I didn’t expect such private viewing and hiking” (Q136). By contrast, the one day tour focuses on interaction and learning and, therefore, constructs a collective gaze. In the words of one tourist: “I did not come to see the scenery I came to see the people”. On the one day tour the physical setting is apprehended primarily as an outdoor classroom, and much less for its scenic qualities.

**The facilities at Manyallaluk**

The facilities at Manyallaluk did not attract strong criticism from most questionnaire respondents; however, tourists did recommend many improvements to the facilities in the main tourist area and to the bush camp used on the two day tour. Tourists may have made allowances for some of the problems associated with this component because the enterprise was relatively new. They were generally concerned about the cleanliness and maintenance of the toilet and shower block – the need to “fix leaking taps and sagging benches in the showers” (Q205, Q509, Q630, Q645, Q694), to have “toilet paper in women’s toilet” (Q364), and they mentioned that the toilets (Q356, Q449, Q454, Q626, Q637) and showers need a clean (Q636). Other tourists suggested
improvements to the toilet and shower facilities, including a “soap dish and more hooks in women’s showers” (Q293) and “a shelf on the showers and a daily wipe to get rid of the spiders and a mirror” (Q142).

Most other suggestions concerning the facilities on the one day tour related to improving the main tourist area for campers. There were several requests for more benches to sit on and tables to prepare food on (Q269, Q270, Q273, Q274, Q491). Tourists suggested that a washing machine and washing line would be useful. Although Manyallaluk does not yet attract large numbers of campers, small group tours do camp overnight regularly and it is important to maintain the standard of the facilities to satisfy these tour parties as well as to meet the needs of any other tourists who choose to stay overnight.

Several of the tourists’ suggestions were directed towards improvements to the bush camp. Their comments were not dissimilar to the ones about the main tourist area and their main requests were for better plumbing, lighting and beds. In a sense, many of the tourists’ comments relating to the facilities at Manyallaluk present a dilemma for the community and its advisors. Often community facilities at places like Manyallaluk are very basic and it is difficult to justify too many cosmetic changes to the tourist area when facilities in the community lag behind. Nevertheless, regular maintenance and cleaning of facilities is possible.

I have also included tourists’ comments about the quality and quantity of artefacts and souvenirs available in the shop under the facilities component of the tours. Most tourists suggested that there needed to be smaller and less expensive artefacts available in the shop. As one tourist wrote “everything I liked was too big to carry home to the US with me - perhaps you could make smaller baskets and bark paintings” (Q130). Some tourists also suggested that they wanted to make their own ‘memento’ to take home. As a rule tourists do not take home the art or weaving that they do in the afternoon, although if they ask the guides whether they can the guides will always agree. From participant observation on the tours, it appears that some tourists want something ‘free’ to take home and have little understanding of the value
of the resource, while others are intensely interested in a particular activity or skill and want to take an example of what they have done with them. In the latter case, it may be possible to try to incorporate the manufacturing of a small artefact into one of the longer tours as an optional extra given that the size of the tour groups on the longer tours is much smaller.

The food: "the green ants were great but the ‘roo even better”

A range of tourists’ responses to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire related to the food that they ate or wanted to eat during the tour. Many tourists really enjoyed tasting unusual foods and for some eating green ants was a highlight of the tour (Q330, Q388, Q495, Q496, Q497, Q498, Q525, Q548, Q560), while others also commented positively about eating kangaroo, sugar bag and damper. Their comments are particularly interesting when we consider that the lunch on the Manyallaluk one day tour consists of barbecued kangaroo and beef steaks with damper, tinned beetroot and pineapple, sliced lettuce and tomato. Not dissimilarly, the lunches on Tiwi Tours and Bill Harney’s Jankangyina Tours consist of bread, cold meats, fruit and salad – all fairly standard Northern Territory tour fare. Damper is also a standard part of many tour meals in the Northern Territory, since it is cheap and relatively easy to make. However, damper is broadly associated with Outback life and is not seen as specifically Aboriginal food.

Most of the tourists’ comments about the food on the Manyallaluk tours related to the need for more distinctive foods and in particular more opportunities to taste bush tucker. As one tourist asked “Was the lunch food (very good by the way) really typical of Aboriginal cooking?” (Q159), and another commented that it was “not really Aboriginal food”(Q423), and another that it was “adequate but very western” (Q294). Tourists requested “more of a selection of traditional foods” (Q277, Q278, Q322, Q395, Q466, Q509, Q665) or “more bush tucker food” (Q400, Q399, Q178, Q156, Q512, Q562, Q564, Q565, Q605, Q606, Q607, Q621, Q645, Q646, Q681). One tourist suggested “instead of beef - emu meat and ‘bush spices’ (Q217), while another wanted to “taste some of your spices, perhaps leaves with meat, some roots” (Q480).
Others were keen to try "native honey and witchetty grubs" (Q352, Q648, Q678). Similarly, in Canada's North West Territories, Grekin and Milne (1996:96) report that over 50% of independent tourists and 40% of package tourists surveyed were interested in tasting more unusual foods such as seal and whale.

Globally, interest in new and unusual foods is linked to changing styles of consumption. The foods we eat and our eating styles are increasingly used to "define who and what we are, both to ourselves and to others (Palmer 1998:176). Food "permeates popular consciousness" (Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin 1995:193), and as Hanke (1989:236) argues

...discourse through and about food speaks not only of modern and postmodern cultural life and a new cartography of taste; it also serves as an important symbolic idiom in the organization of wider society in late capitalism.

Within Australia and internationally, Australian bush foods are now marketed as gourmet items in magazines and on television programs. While the promotion of bush foods may not mention Aboriginal people specifically, the images used in their promotion invoke a sense of difference. For example, an article from Easy Entertaining is titled "Going Wild" and includes recipes for "Barramundi in paperbark and Rosella chutney" (March/April 1997:70).

Chefs like Victor Cherikoff and Jean Paul Bruneteau have developed recipes utilising bush food ingredients as part of the construction of a uniquely Australian cuisine. Moreover, interest in bush foods is also fuelled by the dissemination of scientific knowledge about their dietary and medicinal values and many bush plants are now being cultivated commercially as food and medicinal sources. These health benefits were alluded to in the 1989 promotion campaign for the Northern Territory, in which Les Hiddens, the Bush Tucker Man, invited tourists to visit the "world's largest health food store" (Soukoulis 1990:266).
Journalists often describe their bush tucker experiences in the travel features of newspapers and magazines, as for example, in the case of this excerpt from an article titled “City slickers, too” in 4Wheeler:

I had been fairly sure that witchetty grubs were going to be the bush tucker I’d baulk (sic) at. But when Margie pulled the turtle’s entire intestinal tube out of its throat, and put it on the grate over the fire, rather than throwing it away, I started to have second thoughts. Could I stomach a stomach? I tried it. The calamari-like taste and texture wasn't at all bad. The meat was a touch stringy but the piece de resistance were the pearl-sized eggs, as rich and golden and sweet as any I have ever tasted (White 1996:57).

As this example illustrates, eating bush foods may involve an element of risk taking, particularly when the food to be eaten is an animal that a tourist would not normally eat or when an animal is prepared and cooked in front of a tourist. Interestingly, three cookbooks featuring ‘Aboriginal’ recipes have been released in recent years: Our Tucker Book (FATSIS Literacy Project 1996), Swinging the billy (Palmer 1999) and Bush Tucker Magic (Palethorpe 1997). Some of the recipes in these books give details of how to kill and prepare particular animals properly, although the killing of animals is an unusual topic in other cookbooks.

Not all of the Manyallaluk questionnaire responses requested ‘different’ foods. Amongst those tourists who made other comments about food, some wanted more convenience foods, others wanted food to suit a special diet, while others just wanted more of whatever was on offer. Requests from this mixed category of responses included for “more sophisticated” food, “wholemeal bread”, “rolls as well as damper”, “biscuits and cake”, “fresh fruit for the children”, “coke”, “no canned vegies”, “non fat milk” and “perhaps a damper burger”. A small group of respondents also asked for better catering for vegetarians.

A few other comments related to the standards of hygiene in the preparation of tourists’ lunches. For example, a tourist commented on the use of the waterhole for swimming, washing plates and cooking water: “I was concerned that the bowl used to make damper was washed in the water in which the children played and the dog had been swimming” (Q402), while similarly, another complained -
...people were sharing drinking mugs and a lot of people were sick with colds. I was afraid of getting sick on my holidays. Hopefully soap was used for cleaning dishes (Q236).

For some tourists, the separation of tourists and guides at lunch was also a problem. Although the male guides sometimes sit and talk to the tourists during lunch the women and children sit a small distance from the tourists. One tourist commented on this arrangement: ‘Separation of eating. Seemed like ‘them’ and ‘us’’ (Q16, Q302), while another wrote:

It would have been nice to interact at lunch time or be told why the guide ate alone. We seemed to have specific times when we were ‘allowed’ to interact which made us uncomfortable. Perhaps this was culturally appropriate but we didn’t understand why” (Q165).

Although guides and other people involved in the production of the cultural tour product may actually view eating as a ‘break’ in the tour, it is clear from the tourists’ responses that the foods and the eating arrangements are a key part of the attraction. As Crang (1997) points out, eating is one of the main spatial practices engaged in at tourist sites and tourists’ keen interest in this component of the Manyallaluk tours suggests that a greater importance should be placed on the food and meal arrangements on the tours.

**Authenticity and “the real life of the village”**

The relationship between authenticity and tourism has been a major focus of academic inquiry since the early work of MacCannell and Boorstin. While MacCannell (1976) describes tourists as “contemporary pilgrims, seeking authenticity in other ‘times’ and ‘places’”, Cohen (1988b) has challenged his proposal, and emphasises the variety of tourists, and correspondingly, their diverse degrees of interest in and criteria for authenticity. Urry (1991:51) has argued that the “search for authenticity” is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism and more recently, Rojek (1997:70) has noted that “the quest for authenticity is a declining force in tourist motivation”.
Tourists’ responses to the Manyallaluk questionnaire indicate that the search for the ‘real’, the ‘genuine’ or the ‘authentic’ is important to some tourists who visit Manyallaluk and has a major influence on some tourists’ overall satisfaction with the tour. However, tourists’ perceptions of authenticity vary considerably. For some respondents, their experience was ‘real’, ‘genuine’ or ‘authentic’ because Manyallaluk was “not touristy” (Q34, Q222, Q371); had a “non commercial” atmosphere (Q30, Q90); was “not too structured or practiced” (Q251, Q393) and was “very relaxed instead of a tourist eating machine” (Q472, Q504).

Others perceived Manyallaluk as authentic because they associated its remote bush setting with ‘real’ Aboriginal people and contrasted the local people from Manyallaluk with the Aboriginal people living in towns and the cities. As one tourist explained, she was pleased “To meet Aborigines in the community (not the Aborigines in town)” (Q398), while another appreciated “Just being with the aboriginals the whole time (in the city they are different)” (Q514). Another tourist wrote:

I feel lucky to have had contact with the aboriginals and have grasped more of an understanding of their culture. The only idea previously had been seeing the many people on the streets (Q530).

Symbolically these responses establish the bush as a kind of expansive back region where real Aboriginal people live, while the rest of Australia becomes a front region, where only the remnants of past Aboriginal life can be found. This sense that something has been lost from much of Australia is a form of imperialist nostalgia, a longing for what has previously been destroyed. A comment from an interview with a British tourist encapsulates this sense of loss:

All that European civilisation seems to have done to Aboriginal people is to upset their innocence...firearms, disease and alcohol and then the missionaries and the morality of the English suburb (pers. com 5/6/94).

Similarly, a German tourist remarked to me:
Aboriginal people have something that we have lost. They live for so long in this place without spoiling anything but we have spoilt wherever we go (pers. com 28/4/94).

Some tourists hold a more spatially specific notion of authenticity and for them ‘real life’ was beyond the tourist area in the community or, as many international tourists called it, the ‘village’. One tourist described the tourist experience, “[w]e feel like we are having a show – it’s not the daily life” (Q68), and others commented that they disliked “being told that the ‘tourist’ would not have contact with the community” (Q303) and wanted to see how Aboriginal people “actually lived” (Q130), to “see the daily life” and to “see the real village of the Aboriginals” (Q431, Q577, Q688). Similarly, a German tourist commented: “Very different coming from Germany we didn’t know very much about and had never met Aboriginal people before. We thought we would live in a community or get to see the way the people live now” (Q347).

Once again these tourists associate the back region with authentic Aboriginal life. Some tourists’ comments suggest that they imagined the village as the cornerstone of traditional hospitality and wanted to share meals with people and sit around the campfire. These tourists were seeking a convivial experience embodying a sense of wholeness and a simpler way of life. Using Selwyn’s terminology, they were seeking ‘hot authenticity’ - a primarily social experience. Comments from international tourists who have travelled through the Asian and Pacific regions and have stayed in villages along the way, suggest that they expect a similar experience with indigenous people in Australia.

However, not all tourists wanted to visit the community to glimpse a more ‘traditional’ way of life. Some hoped to see a contemporary Aboriginal community – the school, the bus, the people at work, and the good and the bad of Aboriginal living conditions today. Their quest is more closely aligned with Selwyn’s notion of ‘cool authenticity’ since the tourists are on an investigative quest, and seek firsthand knowledge of what an Aboriginal community is like. As one tourist wrote
I understand reasons for no contact with people in their community but really believe people should have some idea about how they actually live because tourists have a romantic or idealised interest in seeing how the 'natives' live. Suggest either photographs of the community or model of community be available for tourists to see (Q303).

Similarly, a tourist suggested: “Thought we’d have the opportunity to enter houses, schools, community places etc. rather than staying in tourists part. I thought having a tourist area was a bad compromise” (Q482), and another commented: “I think it should be made really clear that it's just a bunch of houses, sheds and people” (Q299). One tourist explained why tourists should be allowed to ‘see’ the community:

Brochure only states “spend a day with local Aboriginal people’ but not about not visiting the actual community centre until arrival at the meeting place. Suggest that only on organised tours and before getting off the bus, just one short drive around community centre - no stopping. Could be just that little bit more informative and get away from some of their traditions (Q447, Q448).

Other tourists wanted to visit the community to see how Aboriginal life has changed, as the following comment indicates:

Since we cannot mingle within their community, perhaps it might be possible to set up a sort of replica of the way Aboriginal people lived before white people came and how they live now (Q129).

Clearly, these varying comments suggest that there are several overlapping but distinctive mythical constructions of place. Some tourists seek a nostalgic experience of 'village' life that they believe no longer exists in many other parts of Australia and the rest of the world, while, other tourists want a documentary snapshot of the achievements of, what they understand to be, a 'model' community. These two mythical places are oppositional and it is impossible to satisfy both these types of quests at the same time. Moreover, there are any number of alternative mythical places strung along the continuum between the 'ideal village' and the 'model community'. As Parsons (1991:316) suggests:

On the one hand, it is demanded by guests, who wish to experience 'authentic' culture, as well as by their Aboriginal hosts, who wish to present real-life 'living culture', not outdated stereotypes. Notions of authenticity do
not always equate...perhaps it is that some ‘authenticities’ are more equal than others.

Furthermore, the visibility of white people at Manyallaluk also diminishes the authenticity of the experience for some tourists. Tourists commented positively about “[b]eing able to meet and interact with Aboriginal people at their home without a mediator” (Q374) and “to have contact to (sic) Aboriginal men and women and learn from them (not from a white ranger) about their culture” (Q322, Q336, Q331, Q432, Q427). One tourist wrote “we were pleased and surprised that only Aboriginal people guide the tour” (Q583), while other tourists who came into contact with white managerial staff commented negatively about their presence, highlighting their ideological support for Aboriginal self determination. For example, one tourist stated that she wanted to know “that Aboriginal people are truly living and working and managing this enterprise” (Q1). Another tourist wrote:

I was surprised that there were white people employed by and administering the organisation. A bit disappointing that it wasn’t fully run by the traditional owners (Q322).

And similarly, another one remarked:

I would rather have seen the aboriginals in complete charge of the tour. It spoilt my day to have the white commercialism and influence become part of the day in particular at the end (Q680).

However, tourists’ comments concerning access to the community need to be contextualised. I have explained that some tourists had strong opinions about the spatial structure of the Manyallaluk site and consequently were less satisfied with their experience. Nevertheless, only twenty tourists specifically recommended that tourists should be able to visit the community area and many tourists attributed their high level of satisfaction to the quality of their encounter with people rather than place. As I mentioned previously in the chapter, the communicative or social component of the tours attracted the most positive comments overall. This component of the tour experience is part of what Crang (1997:148) refers to as “[a]uthenticity in emotional exchange... going beyond surface appearances to something deeper”.

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This chapter has shown that the perceptions and priorities of tourists who visit Manyallaluk are very diverse. While I have highlighted some of the more commonly perceived problems - the organisation of the tours, the desire for more information, the problems with understanding the guides, the need for more bush tucker and for the maintenance and cleaning of the amenities, it is important to remember that, overall, tourist satisfaction with the tours was high. Moreover, tourists indicated that they were highly appreciative of the communicative aspects of encounter and were also generally pleased with what they had learnt from their experience. Indeed, tourists' responses indicate that it is the instrumental and organisational aspects of the tour that are most in need of improvement. In the final chapter of my thesis I will discuss the implications of these findings and draw attention to some of the problems and possibilities of matching product to demand.
CONCLUSION
Conclusion

Which way now?

Tourism is a valuable area in which to eke out in concrete detail the links between power and knowledge, the generation of images of the ‘other’, the creation of ‘natives’, ‘authenticity’, consumption of images and so on - which are basic to the anthropological researcher’s ethnographic industry - and the various structures of simulation bound up in the process (Crick 1989:59).

The insights contributed by various approaches should be regarded as forming pieces of a jigsaw, which, when assembled, can supply the basis for a pluralistic sociological interpretation of tourism reality (Dann & Cohen 1991:167).

This thesis began with filmmaker Dennis O’Rourke’s words “Like the ideal tourist, I travel a journey of discovery, on an unmarked road to see where it leads”. O’Rourke’s description of the documentary film making process is taken from a transcript of his keynote speech to the JAL Foundation Asia Forum in Ishikawa, in August 1994. His words also aptly describe the researching and writing of this thesis, which has been an exploratory journey through the various processes involved in the marketing, production and consumption of Aboriginal cultural tourism in the Top End of the Northern Territory.

Wolff (1993:226) notes that travel metaphors are prevalent in contemporary social analysis and suggests that they are used both in a literal sense to signify the research process - “the ethnographer does leave home to do research” – and in an epistemological sense to describe “knowledge in a different way, as contingent and partial”. Conceptually, these two notions of travel are also at the core of the researching and writing of this thesis. I have described my fieldwork and as I have pointed out, I shared the ‘field’ with a variety of tourists, photographers, filmmakers, journalists and artists. We are all, to varying degrees, involved in the business of representing and interpreting the lives of others and according to Richards...
(1996:314), many of us who are not officially tourists, are nevertheless archetype 'cultural tourists', since a large proportion of the consumers of cultural tourism are also cultural producers themselves.

In contrast with many other people in the field who seek access to the back regions, the subject of my inquiry was the front stage setting. Hence, my thesis is not a 'fly on the wall' account of the daily life of an Aboriginal community. Nor does it deal with the private lives of the people who I spent a considerable time with and got to know well. Instead, like Selwyn (1996:9), I found myself...

...poised between the local and the global, conducting a three-cornered conversation amongst tourists, observers and those 'locals' living in tourist destinations...[a] conversation which...is built on three principal foundations, at once, political, economic and ideological.

I am also aware that the thesis may not do justice to the views of those locals who oppose tourism and that I may appear to accept too easily the presence of tourists in Aboriginal people's lives. This acceptance does not mean that I am unconcerned about the inequalities that exist between tourists and locals or that I am unaware of the part tourism plays in reinforcing these inequalities. As MacCannell (1992:28) warns “...even intellectuals can trick themselves into finding it ('profit without exploitation') where it does not exist”.

It is also important to say now that many Aboriginal cultural tour enterprises in the Top End are still in the early stages of development and their tour products are evolving. During the period of my research several Aboriginal cultural tourism enterprises have stopped operating for numerous reasons, while others have begun operation. Several of those that were operating throughout the period of my research have altered their management structures and the focus of their tours. This fluidity, or as some observers suggest 'fragility', is partly due to the somewhat experimental nature of Aboriginal involvement in the tourism industry - some Aboriginal people are 'trying tourism'. It is also because the tourism industry is demanding and highly competitive. Moreover, as Mercer (1994:133) suggests “[p]olitics and tourism...are now inextricably linked on the world stage” and the development of Aboriginal
cultural tour enterprises is set within a complex web of interlocking, and sometimes conflicting, local, regional and global interests. Thus, it is difficult to compare enterprises and to make general recommendations that will be meaningful across contexts. It is also easier to identify problems than to provide answers and in making suggestions I am not implying that it is simple to alter the marketing and production of Aboriginal cultural tours.

**The representation of Aboriginality**

The representation of Aboriginality in various touristic and non touristic texts often has little to do with the daily lives of Aboriginal people, and as Edwards (1996:205) suggests, and my research confirms, “popular imagery of the ‘primitive other’ is remarkably tenacious”. The stereotypical image of a semi naked, painted Aboriginal man with a spear in his hand still dominates touristic representations of Aboriginality. Furthermore, in the large majority of visual images, Aboriginal people are recontextualised against a bush backdrop or decontextualised against a featureless backdrop. In both instances the signs of contemporary Aboriginal lifestyles are erased from our view. The popular guidebook *Australia: A Travel Survival Kit* does discuss the history of contact between European and Aboriginal people and provides information on contemporary Aboriginal social and political issues. However, it still contains an image of a nameless Aboriginal man, painted and performing on the streets of Sydney, and it does not include any direct quotations representing a contemporary Aboriginal voice.

In the thesis I have described the changing styles of the representation of Aboriginality, and specifically, the increasing aestheticisation of the image, the use of large scale Aboriginal designs to promote Australian products, the growing significance of Aboriginal operated internet sites, the increasing use of ‘cute’ images of Aboriginal children, the inclusion of an Aboriginal ‘voice’ and a new focus on regional identities in tourism brochures. Significantly too, I have also noted that there are a growing number of images in which tourists are clearly depicted, an indication that tourism is now a significant public arena for the fashioning and display of
Aboriginal identity. Changes in the styles of representation are important and are linked to changes in the representation of indigenous people more generally. As I mentioned in my discussion of The Body Shop postcard, there is a growing emphasis on the value of diversity and the proliferation of images of the world's children is also part of this process, symbolising not only diversity, but also a shared global future.

**Chequered histories and changing landscapes**

Today Aboriginal people are involved in the Northern Territory tourism industry as owners, investors, joint venture partners, employers and employees in mainstream and cultural tourism enterprises. The extent of Aboriginal involvement in the industry is new but, as I have illustrated, Aboriginal participation in the industry is not, and Aboriginal people have produced artefacts and performed corroborees, as well as acted as guides for visitors to the Northern Territory for much of this century. While there is a continuity in the types of tourism work Aboriginal people have engaged in, I have explained how broader political, social and economic processes have changed the terms of their participation in the industry.

I have suggested that one of the pivotal points in the history of Aboriginal tourism development in the Northern Territory was the passing of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* in 1976. Since then many Aboriginal people have gone back to live on their land and have established tourism and other businesses as a means of creating employment and generating income. What is particularly important to recognise here, is that ownership of their land brought with it the right to control access to it and to determine the scale and pace of enterprise development. This enabled Aboriginal people to "look at work in a cultural way" (Mavis Malbunka in NTTC 1995:88) although subsequently, it has been suggested that a lack of clarity about the relative priority of economic and cultural goals has been one of the reasons why enterprises have failed commercially. Successful land claims have also enabled the development of land-based cultural tourism, which in turn has brought with it changing representations and perceptions of space and place.
I have described the historical connections Jawoyn people have with their country, of which Manyallaluk is a part, and I have highlighted the strong bond some non Jawoyn people who were born at Manyallaluk have with that same land. I have traced the changing conceptualisation of place, as Manyallaluk became a site of European exploration, a mining site, Old Bob Thompson’s cattle station and more recently, a site for community-based Aboriginal owned and operated cultural tours. I have also shown how these various historical moments are selectively reworked for tourist consumption, at the local, regional and Territory level, sometimes becoming part of the dominant frontier mythology.

The thesis has also drawn attention to the complex layering of the Aboriginal and European histories of a particular locality and the multiple readings of the landscape that this engenders. I have tried to highlight the fluidity associated with the notion of the ‘local’, which, in the Manyallaluk context, includes the Mayali and Ngalkbon people whose parents moved to the Eva Valley station in the 1940s and 1950s, the Aboriginal people who have moved to Manyallaluk recently to work in the tourism enterprises and the several non Aboriginal people who live at Manyallaluk. The non Aboriginal people who live at Manyallaluk come from elsewhere in the Northern Territory, from other parts of Australia and from as far away as the UK and the USA.

At first glance it may seem wrong to suggest that the knowledge guides convey to tourists is local knowledge when I have just drawn attention to the relativity of the term local. However, as I have said, the knowledge that is conveyed on the tours is ‘open’, non secret knowledge and the Manyallaluk guides talk to tourists about the cultural practices and the past way of life of people from Amhem Land. They draw on their own memories and stories that they have heard from their parents and grandparents to authorise their own position as culture brokers. As I have mentioned guides often talk about ‘a long time ago’ then qualify the statement by emphasising that ‘...in Arnhem Land they’re still doing that now’. The construction of Arnhem Land as the stronghold of tradition corresponds with and reinforces touristic representations of Arnhem Land as the ‘last frontier’.

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What has to be understood though, is that the development of tourism is not the end of this history; rather, I suggest it is the next layer in an ongoing construction of place. It both influences and is influenced by local community politics, by broader processes associated with Jawoyn-led regional development, and by wider changes within the region, within the tourism industry and within the national political arena. It is important to remember that non Aboriginal station owners in the Top End are also increasingly turning to tourism as a way of supplementing their income since it has become more difficult to make a living from the land. As Richards (1996:312) explains, the increasing economic significance of tourism to regional economies is leading to fundamental changes:

By attracting more consumers to a region, the consumption capacity, and thereby the production capacity of that region can be enhanced, producing more income and jobs, and thereby ensuring economic survival. Thus in place of consumption being determined by production, it is now consumption that increasingly determines production.

The shifting emphasis from production to consumption has also led to a re-evaluation of regional landscapes in terms of their visual or aesthetic appeal. As Strang (1996:63) comments in her study of tourism in Far North Queensland “both pastoralists and Aboriginal people find it odd this basically visual appreciation of the land”. While Aboriginal guides and tour operators have the opportunity to provide alternative readings of the landscape, as Bill Harney did on the tour that I described, stereotypical representations of Aboriginal people as “original conservationists” (Larritt 1995:242) or “natural man” are prolific and have “acquired new relevance in modern environmental concerns” (Edwards 1996:208). Moreover, as the number of tourists visiting national parks increases and the national park experience becomes more regulated and impacted upon by the presence of other tourists, it is possible that tourists will push out further into the periphery, seeking ‘bush’ and ‘wilderness’ experiences on Aboriginal and non Aboriginal owned land.

Retracing my steps: labels and definitions

In the introductory chapter of this thesis I discussed the various labels and definitions used to describe indigenous cultural tourism and I pointed out that in Australia the
term cultural tourism is preferable to ethnic tourism because the term ‘ethnic’ is mostly used to refer to immigrant groups. My research findings also suggest that for theoretical and practical purposes Aboriginal cultural tours are best understood as a form of contemporary cultural tourism rather than ethnic tourism. While this may seem pedantic, I will explain why I believe that this terminology is the most appropriate.

Firstly, as I noted in the thesis, Aboriginal cultural tours are experiential and participatory products and thus, there is no sharp division between spectator and performer. While Aboriginal cultural tours may take place in an overtly front stage setting, they differ from many other ethnic tourism attractions because they do not accentuate the visual boundary between local and tourist cultures and their appeal does not rest on their exoticism. The guides dress in everyday clothes rather than ‘traditional’ costumes and the tourist setting is littered with signs from a shared world - coke bottles, plastic chairs, cars and cigarette lighters. Moreover, the guides themselves stress the educational aspects of their work, encapsulated in the comment “You’re here to learn our culture, you haven’t just come for a holiday” made by Richard Miller, a guide at Manyallaluk.

Secondly, my questionnaire findings also highlight both the variety of tourists who visit Manyallaluk and the diversity of their perceptions regarding their tour experience. While some international tourists’ responses suggested that they were disappointed not to encounter the primitive or exotic ‘Other’ portrayed in the stereotypical images of brochures and postcards, the majority of tourists indicated that they were very pleased to have had the opportunity to talk to Aboriginal people, and to learn directly from them about aspects of culture and contemporary life. In general, their perceptions support Craik’s (1997:121) observation that cultural tourism “embodies an educational and experiential component as well as a romanticised idea of culture and cultural communication”. Furthermore, the socio-demographic profile of the Manyallaluk questionnaire sample is similar to the market profile of cultural tourists more generally, noting in particular that research indicates that female tourists
are the dominant market for cultural tourism and likewise, female tourists are the
dominant market at Manyallaluk, outnumbering males 2:1.

By classifying Aboriginal cultural tours as a form of cultural tourism we shift away
from a focus on authenticity to an emphasis on a relative ‘difference’, which is
conveyed through communication and through the interpretation of cultural objects,
rather than being apprehended simply visually. As I will explain, this has practical
implications for the marketing, production and consumption of Aboriginal cultural
tours.

In acknowledging that Aboriginal cultural tours are a form of cultural tourism we
need to also acknowledge the role of guides as a key determining factor in tourist
satisfaction. As I mentioned in the thesis, tourists on cultural tours ask many
questions and it is often difficult for guides to answer them, particularly those
questions from special interest tourists who have prior knowledge of aspects of
Aboriginal culture and request further information. Thus, the communicative and
interpretative dimensions of the guide’s work are central to the cultural tourism
experience, which suggests that it may be necessary to place a higher priority on
guide training. Such training needs to prepare guides for the instrumental and
organisational responsibilities of their work because, as the questionnaire responses
indicate, in general cultural tourists expect tours to be structured and well organised.
At the same time, training needs to be innovative and must take into account the
importance Aboriginal people place on locally based knowledge and not simply teach
guides to deliver a homogenised version of Aboriginal culture.

Importantly, also, recognition of the importance of ‘culture’ rather than ‘ethnicity’ in
cultural tourism attractions means that a shift in approach to product development is
necessary. Cultural tourism attractions draw on both the arts/culture and tourism
industries, yet there has been little attention to the link between the two industries in
the development of Aboriginal cultural tours. I think that this is partly because
advisors and other people involved in product development begin with the idea that
Aboriginal people ‘have’ culture and that this is all that is required. Thus, little is
done regarding product maintenance and development. As I mentioned in the thesis, there is an interesting contrast between the indigenous arts/culture and tourism industries in this regard since a high priority is placed on product development in the indigenous arts and cultural industries. Thus the distinctive styles and features of arts from a particular locality mean that they are easily differentiated from others belonging to a different locality and this become a key part of their appeal. Aboriginal cultural tours are not developed with the same attention to the resource base. At Manyallaluk, for example, little attempt has been made to build on the artistic strengths of some members of the community and to utilise this to enhance the cultural tourism product.

Furthermore, situating Aboriginal cultural tours under the umbrella of cultural tourism, also means that we need to avail ourselves of previous market research examining cultural tourists to inform future marketing and product development decisions. Cultural tourism is a highly competitive and rapidly expanding tourism sector and Aboriginal cultural tours are just one type of product amongst many on the market. Moreover, research indicates that the number of tourists for whom culture is the main motivating factor is small and that most cultural tourists are "adjunct, accidental or reluctant visitors" (Craik 1997:120, Richards 1996). Thus, to attract more tourists, sites like Manyallaluk may need to broaden their appeal in an attempt to increase visits from general, as well as special interest tourists. Deardon (1991:412) has noted a similar change with respect to hill tribe tourism in northern Thailand. Where the different groups of hill tribe people were originally the main attraction, they are now just one part of the region’s appeal and recreational activities like elephant rides and river rafting have also become popular attractions.

In the Australian context there are several opportunities for diversifying Aboriginal cultural tourism attractions. Firstly, since many cultural tours are situated on relatively large areas of Aboriginal owned land, it may be possible to develop nature based tourism. As I have previously mentioned, many Aboriginal cultural tours already have a large nature tourism component; however, they are constructed as cultural tourism experiences and are often not physically active in the way that many
nature tourism products are. Furthermore, the high level of satisfaction with the two day bush tour amongst the Manyallaluk questionnaire respondents suggests that the overnight bush camps, bush walking, and swimming in waterholes are popular activities with tourists.

Secondly, it may be possible to develop optional recreational activities for tourists, such as horse riding, fishing and bush walking. However, at enterprises like Manyallaluk where there are a limited number of people who want to work with tourists, staffing limitations make it difficult to establish some of these options. The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Rural Industry Strategy (ATSIC 1997:33) recommends the development of "mixed use" enterprises and as well as suggesting hunting and fishing as ways of attracting tourists, it also points out that tourism may be developed around the bush food industry or through the display and interpretation of heritage such as stockyards and Aboriginal involvement in the cattle industry. In 'mixed use' enterprises many of the jobs do not involve working directly with tourists, which is an advantage when the number of local people who want to work directly with tourists is limited.

The tourists: matching product to demand

In the thesis I described the tourists who visited Manyallaluk and I discussed their perceptions of and satisfaction with their tour experiences. As I suggested this is important information for the producers of Aboriginal cultural tours because it highlights problems with the product and can inform marketing and future product development decisions. Overall, tourists were very satisfied with their tour experience and their positive comments far outnumbered their negative ones. Nevertheless, some of their comments indicate that they had some problems with certain aspects of the tours.

Significantly, I found that the socio-demographic profile of the tourists who completed the Manyallaluk questionnaire was similar to that identified in other market research examining tourist demand for and participation at Aboriginal cultural
tourism attractions (Moscardo & Pearce 1989, 1999; SATC 1998). At Manyallaluk international tourists comprised the majority of tourists, outnumbering domestic tourists 2 to 1 and the three major international markets were the UK, Germany and the USA/Canada. European tourists accounted for half of all questionnaire respondents suggesting that the demand for Aboriginal cultural tourism experiences is relatively high amongst this group of tourists.

Although domestic tourists were in a minority comprising only one third of all tourists, their mean satisfaction score for all the components on the Likert scale was higher than for international tourists. In particular, domestic tourists were significantly more satisfied with the information and communication components of the tours than international tourists. While this may be partly due to the fact that they found the guides English easier to understand than many of the international tourists, it also may be associated with their more accurate prior knowledge of Aboriginal culture and life. Interestingly, Richards (1996:326) argues that it is "very difficult to market local cultural products to globalized cultural tourists, because the essential cultural links are missing".

I also reported in my thesis that the ratio of female to male tourists was 2:1 and I noted that my findings corresponded with previous market research that also found demand for Aboriginal tourism, and for cultural tourism more generally, was higher amongst female than male tourists. The female respondents in my sample were also significantly more interested in cultural attractions and particularly in learning about Aboriginal culture, visiting museums, markets and festivals or special events. An interesting aspect of some female tourists’ responses to the questionnaire was their strong interest in having contact with Aboriginal women. Moreover, some female tourists expressed dissatisfaction because they did not have a female guide on the tour.

Although Aboriginal women are infrequently depicted in tourism marketing and promotion, the number of comments from both male and female tourists concerning the role of the women guides suggests that they are a key focus of tourist interest.
Some tourists’ comments suggested that they saw Aboriginal women as storehouses of culture and expected the female guides to be a source of alternative information. Other comments suggested that some tourists saw women as the foundation of the family and as I indicated in the thesis some tourists suggested that the family atmosphere was one of the highlights of the tour for them. Other tourists objected to what they perceived to be the sharp division between the sexes in Aboriginal society. Moreover, some female tourists suggested that they had not been treated in the same way as male tourists were on the tours. The female tourists did not like having to conform to Aboriginal expectations regarding gender roles and complained that they were discriminated against because they were only expected to participate in activities after men. This is a complex issue. Tensions concerning role expectations arise where gender and race intersect. As Morris (1992:468) suggests we need to think of tourists sights not only in terms of myths but also as “political combat zones”.

International tourists were more likely to be younger than domestic tourists, with over half of all international tourists aged 35 years of age or less. Almost 40% of international tourists were using backpacker accommodation, also confirming previous market research which suggests that demand for Aboriginal cultural tourism experiences is relatively high amongst backpackers. Domestic tourists were more likely to be in their middle years and over a quarter of all domestic tourists were travelling with children. Although backpacker accommodation was popular with international tourists, the most popular form of accommodation for all respondents was camping. Furthermore, over half of all respondents were driving self drive vehicles, which suggests that there is a relatively large group of self drive tourists who choose camping as their main form of accommodation. It may be possible to promote the Manyallaluk product to this market through camping establishments in the Northern Territory and by organising familiarising visits to Manyallaluk for the staff of these establishments. It is also important to promote Manyallaluk’s own camping facilities, since this facility is not yet fully utilised but is pleasant and affordable for self drive camping tourists.
Half of all the Manyallaluk questionnaire respondents had professional occupations and, importantly, one in ten of all respondents were school teachers. The high proportion of professionals, and teachers in particular, may be one of the reasons why 7% of international and domestic tourists who visited Manyallaluk specifically indicated that there was an educational purpose for their visit to the Darwin/Katherine region. Moreover, 40% of domestic tourists and 23% of international tourists indicated that it was important for them to learn about Aboriginal culture for their work, another indication of the importance many tourists placed on educational goals and also a sign of the dedifferentiation of boundaries between work and leisure. The relatively large number of professional people visiting Manyallaluk may also partly explain the large number of positive comments relating to 'learning' on the tours, and similarly, the large number of requests for more information, and particularly for written material. Once again, it may be possible to market products like Manyallaluk directly to teachers, noting that teachers also organise school trips, a market that could also be further developed.

Two of the components of the tour that attracted a considerable number of comments from tourists generally were the organisation of the tours and the facilities at Manyallaluk - both instrumental components of the tours. These comments are important because they suggest that, generally speaking, tourists who visit Manyallaluk want a standardised tour product that is similar to rather than different from their everyday lives. That is, tourists seek a relative 'difference' constructed through the expressive, rather than the instrumental components of the tour.

Interestingly, while at Manyallaluk I interviewed a Belgian tour leader who had been taking alternative small group tours to the Pacific and South America for many years. He told me how he thought tourists had changed. He explained that when he first began taking tours to Ecuador the tourists were almost sleeping in the mud of the river and had no comforts. He said that the Indians have now built bed platforms for the tourists and they are well looked after but paradoxically they complain about how uncomfortable they are. The tour leader commented that the tours have "just become a consumption product. They [the tourists] want to go far away just to come home to
say they have been”. While this is only an anecdote, it draws attention to the changing patterns of consumption and suggests that even when tourists travel ‘off the beaten track’ many now demand the services and amenities that are similar to those that they have at home.

However, it is important to acknowledge that there were also respondents who stated that they did not want the amenities at Manyallaluk to change, and any move to make a more standardised product might make other tourists dissatisfied with their experience. At Manyallaluk it may be possible to develop the one and two day tour facilities in different ways thereby providing optional experiences. As the one day tour attracts large numbers of tourists with diverse attitudes and values it may be better to make sure that the amenities in the main tourist area at Manyallaluk are of high standard. On the other hand, the two day tour attracts a smaller number of tourists and it may be possible to develop an alternative style of amenities that fits into, rather than overwhelms, the bush surroundings. Moreover, as comments relating to the two day tour suggest, the tour constructs a romantic gaze and tourists often use the phrase ‘escape from civilisation’ to depict their two day tour experience.

Food was another component of the tours that tourists commented on a lot and as I have explained in the thesis, a majority of the comments relating to food were requests for more opportunities to taste bush tucker. The desire for more bush foods is an indication of the importance of new and unusual foods as a highlight of contemporary tourism experiences and is associated with the influence of aesthetic cosmopolitanism on the changing styles of consumption. Tourism promotions now portray the consumption of different foods as a culinary adventure, and in the context of Aboriginal cultural tours, the scenic landscape becomes an edible one, and the experience of searching for and tasting bush foods shifts the emphasis from a primarily visual to a more broadly sensual style of consumption.

There are ways to change the food on Aboriginal cultural tours without relying on local resources. For example, Anangu Tours in Central Australia provide tourists with a meal of kangaroo tail baked in the coals; however, the kangaroo tails are bought
from the butcher and stored in the freezer. Bush foods are also readily available from wholesale outlets and there are ways to add bush flavour to meats and other foods without making the preparation of foods more difficult. It is important to point out that tourists' comments regarding the need for more bush tucker did not indicate that they were overly concerned about authenticity, rather they were interested in food as a distinguishing feature of place.

As I explained in the thesis, another feature of the tours that attracted a number of comments from the tourists was the community rule stating that tourists are not allowed in the community areas. As I noted, on one end of a continuum tourists wanted to see an 'Aboriginal village', while on the other tourists wanted to see a 'model community'. The strength of some tourists' comments suggests that it is important to explain to tourists why they are not allowed in the community area and possibly also to make it clearer in the Manyallaluk brochure that tourists will not see the community homes. Since tourists have been able to view the community homes from the escarpment on the morning bush walk negative comments have decreased suggesting that even this sighting from the distance is enough for some tourists.

In Sweet's (1991) discussion of Pueblo Indian tourism in the southwest USA, she notes that Pueblo Indians control tourist access to their villages and tourist behaviour during their visit in a way that is similar to the enterprises established on Aboriginal owned land in the Northern Territory. Moreover, Sweet (1991:71) suggests that "tourists accept the Pueblo rules and even applaud them, for they suggest that the Pueblo people have not 'sold out'". There is no reason why it cannot be the same in the Northern Territory, and indeed, already some tourists' indicate that the rules and regulations regarding Aboriginal owned land add to the visit's appeal.

**Community-based tourism: policy and practice**

Community-based tourism continues to be a popular form of Aboriginal participation in the tourism industry in the Northern Territory although recent indigenous tourism policies have supported the development of alternative enterprise structures, and joint
ventures in particular. The recent focus on alternative enterprise structures has arisen because of the growing recognition of the importance of the individual to the success of tourism enterprises and because researchers like Altman and Finlayson (1993:45) have suggested that community enterprises may not be successful because they “lack appropriate incentive structures [and the] distribution of profits, means limited returns to families and individuals”.

While support for the full range of indigenous business aspirations is important, it is likely that some Aboriginal people living in communities will continue to establish community-based enterprises. Indeed, as I mentioned in the thesis some people on the Tiwi Islands and in the East Arnhem region are opposed to joint ventures at present. It is important then that we look at ways of improving the economic outcomes of community-based businesses. As an initial step, this thesis has highlighted some of the key problems that arose at Manyallaluk during the development and consolidation of the tourism enterprise.

I have drawn attention to the fluidity of community populations. When Manyallaluk became a ‘good place to live’ because of the tourism enterprise many people came to live there creating pressures on the existing facilities but also making it more difficult for the enterprise to ever support more than a small fraction of the population. Furthermore, comparative research is necessary to more fully understand the role of CDEP in community-based enterprises. As I have explained in the thesis CDEP is pivotal to the Manyallaluk tour operation and, as the tourists’ comments indicate, one of the positive features of the Manyallaluk tour experience is contact with a group of guides. As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter it may be possible to develop other tourism related businesses, such as bush food or artefact and souvenir production to complement the tourism business and to provide employment for people who do not want direct contact with tourists.

The position of white advisors in community-based enterprises is also potentially problematic. As I mentioned in the thesis the manager’s roles and responsibilities are complex and varied and managers differ in terms of the relative priority they place on
marketing, training and product development needs. From my observations they find it particularly difficult to set in place steps that make it possible for the Aboriginal owners and operators of an enterprise like Manyallaluk to realise their long term goal of running the enterprise themselves. There are many problems to be addressed. The literacy skills of many of the people who live at communities like Manyallaluk are low and skilled jobs in the tourism industry demand high levels of literacy and familiarity with communicative technologies. Also, most Aboriginal people who live in communities have family commitments and do not want to leave home to attend training courses for an extended length of time. More generally, there are very few Aboriginal people in managerial and supervisory roles in tourism and thus few role models. Together, these problems suggest that, initially, a greater emphasis needs to be given to innovative, locally based on site training, possibly with skilled trainers coming in from outside on a short term basis rather than relying on permanent non Aboriginal tourism employees to provide training when they are already overloaded with work.

**Which way now?**

The recent round of indigenous policy making has, once again, drawn attention to the opportunities and potential for Aboriginal people in the tourism industry. Aboriginal tourism is also becoming an increasingly popular focus of tourism research and it is likely that it will continue to attract academic interest as the scope of Aboriginal participation in the industry broadens. However, as Morris (1995:189) warns:

> If it is historically tempting for white Australians now to idealize Aboriginal ways of life without effectively supporting their struggles, it is all too easy to look selectively at the symbolic success stories of Aboriginal tourist practice, and then to appropriate these as so many reassuring promises of ‘Australian’ cultural survival in a global tourist age.

Anthropologists and sociologists can contribute to the development of a more sustainable and equitable Aboriginal tourism sector. Through careful research, they can present a detailed and critical picture of the ideological, cultural and economic processes at the heart of the local, as well as providing the “biggest possible picture of any touristic activity” (Nash & Smith 1991:21).
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Appendix 1: Pilot questionnaire 1995

Questionnaire for tourists who have been on an Aboriginal cultural tour

My name is Merridy Pitcher and I am a postgraduate student from the Northern Territory University. This questionnaire is part of a larger study of Aboriginal cultural tourism in the 'Top End' of the Northern Territory. This study will help Aboriginal people know the range of tourist interests and expectations and hopefully lead to greater tourist satisfaction. Your opinions are very important to the study and will be greatly appreciated.

For the purposes of this questionnaire the Darwin/Katherine region relates to the ‘Top End’ in general, and not to Alice Springs and Central Australia.

Site:                      Date:

In this part of the questionnaire please tick the box that most accurately describes you - like this [√]

1) Sex:

Male [ ]
Female [ ]

2) How old are you:

14-17 years [ ]
18-24 years [ ]
25-34 years [ ]
35-44 years [ ]
45-54 years [ ]
55-64 years [ ]
65 years or over [ ]

3) Where do you normally live?

Town/city ..................................................
State/province ...........................................
Country ....................................................
Postcode if in Australia ..............

4) Occupation:

........................................................................

5) Who are you travelling with?

Alone [ ]
With partner [ ]
With friends [ ]
With family [ ]
6) How are you travelling in the Darwin / Katherine region?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>[ ]</th>
<th>Option</th>
<th>[ ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private/hired 4 wheel drive vehicle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tour coach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other private vehicle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aeroplane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other hired vehicle</td>
<td></td>
<td>Public transport</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other, please specify [.................................................]

7) Are you part of a tour group?  Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please specify tour operator [............................................................]

8) Where did you stay last night?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>[ ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostel/Backpackers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holiday flat/unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravan/camping ground</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With friends/relatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other, please specify [............................................................]

9) What is the main purpose of your visit to the Darwin / Katherine region?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>[ ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holiday/pleasure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting friends/relatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal reasons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference/seminar only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference/seminar plus tour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed forces exercise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sporting event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational/school visit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other, please specify [............................................................]

10) Have you read any books or seen any films featuring Aboriginal people that have particularly interested you?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please specify which one [............................................................]

11) Are you using a guidebook on this trip?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please specify which one [............................................................]
12) Which of the following activities have you done or do you intend to do on this visit to the Darwin/Katherine region? (You may tick more than one box)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bushwalking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Canoeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4 wheel driving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Learn about Aboriginal culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>See Australian art/culture in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Visit the national parks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>See Australian animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>See Australian plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Visit museums and historical sights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Visit local markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Visit a festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>See remote wilderness areas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other, please specify

13) Have you been on any other Aboriginal cultural tours in Australia?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please specify where

[...]
In this part of the questionnaire please mark the line with a cross at the point that most accurately describes your views - like this:

[----------------------X-----------------]

Not at all satisfied

Very satisfied

14) How satisfied were you with the organisation of this tour?

[----------------------]

Not at all satisfied

Very satisfied

15) How satisfied were you with the tour as a whole?

[----------------------]

Not at all satisfied

Very satisfied

16) How satisfied were you with the quality of information passed on by the guide/s?

[----------------------]

Not at all satisfied

Very satisfied

17) How satisfied were you with the communication/interaction between the guide and the tour group?

[----------------------]

Not at all satisfied

Very satisfied

18) How satisfied were you with the scenery today?

[----------------------]

Not at all satisfied

Very satisfied

19) How satisfied were you with the lunch?

[----------------------]

Not at all satisfied

Very satisfied
In this part of the questionnaire please write anything you wish in response to our questions.

20) Is there anything that you would like to have seen more of or heard more about?

21) What did you most enjoy about your tour today?

22) Is there anything that you specifically didn't like?

23) Is there any improvement to the tour that you could suggest?
Appendix 2: Manyallaluk Tourist Questionnaire

Manyallaluk visitor questionnaire 1996/97

This questionnaire will help the Manyallaluk community understand the range of visitor interests and expectations and hopefully lead to greater tourist satisfaction in the future. At Manyallaluk we want to develop quality tourism. Your opinions are very important and will be greatly appreciated. We hope you will spare a little of your time to fill out the questionnaire.

All visitors 14 years and over are asked to fill out the questionnaire. We have provided you with a stamped addressed envelope to enable you to easily post back your questionnaires.

If you feel more comfortable writing your answers in a language other than English, please do so.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP AND ENJOY THE REST OF YOUR TRIP.

What was the date of your Manyallaluk tour: ..................................................

How long was the tour? 1 day [ ] 2 day [ ] 5 day [ ] Other, please specify [..................]

1) What was the highlight of the tour for you?

2) Is there anything that you specifically didn't like?

3) How were your expectations of this tour different to what actually happened?

4) Are there any improvements to the tour that you could suggest?
In this part of the questionnaire please mark the line with a cross at the point that most accurately describes your views - like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>Moderately satisfied</th>
<th>Completely satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

5) How satisfied were you with the organisation of this tour?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>Moderately satisfied</th>
<th>Completely satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6) How satisfied were you with the quality of information passed on by the guide/s?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>Moderately satisfied</th>
<th>Completely satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

7) How satisfied were you with the communication/interaction between the guide/s and the tour group?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>Moderately satisfied</th>
<th>Completely satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

8) How satisfied were you with the scenery on this tour?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>Moderately satisfied</th>
<th>Completely satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9) How satisfied were you with the meal/s?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>Moderately satisfied</th>
<th>Completely satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

10) How satisfied were you with facilities at Manyallaluk?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>Moderately satisfied</th>
<th>Completely satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
To answer most of the questions in the rest of the questionnaire you only need to tick the appropriate box - like this [✓]. When you are asked to write an answer ... please write in the space provided.

11) How did you find out about this Manyallaluk tour?

From a guide book [ ]
Magazine article [ ]
Newspaper article [ ]
Television program [ ]
Travel agent [ ]

Brochure [ ]
Recommended by family/ friends [ ]
Tourist information office [ ]
People I am travelling with were coming [ ]
Part of an organised tour itinerary [ ]

Other, please specify [............................................................]

12) Did you buy a souvenir on the tour? Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please describe what

[..........................]

13) Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ]

14) How old are you:

14-17 years [ ]
18-24 years [ ]
25-34 years [ ]
35-44 years [ ]
45-54 years [ ]
55-64 years [ ]
65 years or over [ ]

15) Where do you normally live?

Name of town/ city
Name of state/ province
Name of country

16) Occupation:

[..........................]
17) Who are you travelling with while in the Darwin/Katherine region?

- Alone [ ]
- With partner [ ]
- With family [ ]
- With friends [ ]

Number of adults (total) ..........
Number of children 17 years & under ..........

18) Are you part of an organised tour group? Yes [ ] No [ ]

19) Is this your first visit to the Darwin/Katherine region? Yes [ ] No [ ]

20) On this trip to the Darwin/Katherine region will you also be visiting......

- Central Australia (Uluru [Ayers Rock] / Alice Springs)? Yes [ ] No [ ]
- Northern Western Australia (the Kimberleys / Broome)? Yes [ ] No [ ]
- Cairns Yes [ ] No [ ]

21) What is your main form of transport in the Darwin/Katherine region?

- Private 4 wheel drive car [ ]
- Hired 4 wheel drive car [ ]
- Other private car [ ]
- Other hired car [ ]
- Tour coach [ ]
- Aeroplane [ ]
- Public buses (Greyhound etc) [ ]
- Other, please specify [..............................................................]

22) What is your main type of accommodation in the Darwin/Katherine region?

- Hotel [ ]
- Motel [ ]
- Holiday flat/unit [ ]
- Hostel/Backpackers [ ]
- Caravan/camping ground [ ]
- Staying with friends/relatives [ ]
- Other, please specify [..............................................................]

23) What is the main purpose of your visit to the Darwin/Katherine region?

- Holiday/pleasure [ ]
- Business [ ]
- Personal reasons [ ]
- Educational visit [ ]
- School visit [ ]
- Visiting friends/relatives [ ]
- Conference/seminar only [ ]
- Conference/seminar plus tour [ ]
- Armed forces exercise [ ]
- Sporting event [ ]

Other, please specify [..............................................................]
24) How long will you be staying in the Darwin/Katherine region?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3 days</td>
<td>[ ] 15-21 days [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7 days</td>
<td>[ ] 22-42 days [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-14 days</td>
<td>[ ] more than 42 days [ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25) Have you been on any other Aboriginal cultural tours in Australia?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please specify where [ ]

26) Is it important for you to learn about Aboriginal culture for your work?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

27) Here is a list of tourist attractions and activities in the Darwin/Katherine region. Please indicate how important these tourist experiences are to you on this trip to the Darwin/Katherine region?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Not very [ ]</th>
<th>Somewhat [ ]</th>
<th>Very [ ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushwalking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoeing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wheel driving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing Aboriginal culture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Katherine Gorge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Kakadu National Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Litchfield National Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing Australian animals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing Australian plants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird watching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting museums</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing rock art</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting local markets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting a festival/special event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Arnhem Land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting the casino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing the outback</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting art galleries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxing tropical lifestyle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
28) Are you using a guide book on this trip?

Yes [ ] No [ ] If yes, please specify which one

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guide Book</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lonely Planet Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonely Planet Outback Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravan &amp; Camping (Yelland)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outback Australia at cost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepping Lightly on Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ultimate Australia Adventure Guide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motoring Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frommer's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT Handbook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fodor's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rough guide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP Explore Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other, please specify [..............................................................................................]

29) Have you read any books relating to these areas of Aboriginal studies?

Anthropology: None [ ] Some [ ] A lot [ ]
Art: None [ ] Some [ ] A lot [ ]
History: None [ ] Some [ ] A lot [ ]
Education: None [ ] Some [ ] A lot [ ]
Literature: None [ ] Some [ ] A lot [ ]

30) Have you read any other books about Aboriginal people which have particularly interested you?

Yes [ ] No [ ] If yes, please specify

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voices of the first day - Lawlor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreamkeepers - Arden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutant Message Down Under - Morgan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My Place - Morgan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith - Kenneally</td>
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<tr>
<td>Songlines - Chatwin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hell West and Crooked - Cole</td>
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<td>We of the Never Never - Gunn</td>
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<td>Us Mob - Mudrooroo</td>
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<td>Don't take your love to town - Langford</td>
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Any others books that have particularly interested you
........................................................................................................................................

31) Have you seen any films (movies) featuring Aboriginal people that have particularly interested you?

Yes [ ] No [ ] If yes, please specify which ones
........................................................................................................................................
32) Have you seen any television programs featuring Aboriginal people that have particularly interested you?

Yes [ ]  No [ ]  If yes, please specify which ones

33) Do you regularly read magazines in any of these areas of interest?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Affairs</th>
<th>Home/Garden</th>
<th>4 wheel drive</th>
<th>Food/cooking</th>
<th>Caravanning</th>
<th>Aviation</th>
<th>Camping</th>
<th>Fishing</th>
<th>Cars/Bikes/Trucks</th>
<th>Photography</th>
<th>Film (movie)</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Arts/Crafts</th>
<th>Geographical</th>
<th>Electronics</th>
<th>Travel/Holiday</th>
<th>Computer</th>
<th>Health/fitness</th>
<th>Alternative lifestyles</th>
<th>Men's fashion/style</th>
<th>Women's fashion/style</th>
<th>Sport</th>
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Other, please specify [...............................................................]