Seductively Australian:

The Australian Tourist Commission's 'Imagineering' of a Nation, 1967-2000

Fig 1 Desert Luxuriance at The Rock
Cover: UK TG 1986

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Introduction

Some of the best known expressions of national identity were marketing exercises. Communities are to be distinguished... by the style in which they are imagined.

The Australian Tourism Commission’s (ATC) international marketing campaigns are proud assertions of the Australian identity and provide valuable insight into the way nations image themselves during the postmodern era. Even though Australia accounts for less than one percent of the world’s travel arrivals, the ATC’s Paul Hogan television campaigns of the 1980s hold special place in the Smithsonian Advertising Hall of Fame, a White House Conference awarded the ATC the world’s most successful tourism marketing body and announced it was the model of USA tourism marketing, and the ATC marketing budget was the largest of all 170 national tourism offices globally in 1995. All this means that Australia’s foremost image-making institution has had considerable power to define, and the means to produce elaborate productions, to both seduce tourists to Australia and project the Australian national identity to the world.

In a globalising world, the issue of national identity has become a matter of

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1I would like to express my gratitude to the following people for the assistance they have provided during the course of this project: to the staff of the Australian Archives and particularly Kerry and Simon in the reading room for reorganising all the furniture and supplying weights so that large posters up to three metres long could be unrolled and weighted down for viewing, and for permitting me to take over 1000 photographs; to Gerry in Preservation for accompanying me to the bowels of the Archives and physically helping me locate the films I required that had not been catalogued; to the staff of the ATC and particularly Librarian, Alison for gathering together all the Travel Guides not available at the NAA; and Richard Llewellyn, ATC for authorising the NAA to produce copies of films and interviews from originals that were not yet available for general viewing; to staff of Sydney University including Tom Fenton-Kerr, Arts IT unit and Robyn Doohan for their assistance in downloading and incorporating images into the text; and Richard White for refusing to assist with interpretation and smiling whilst saying: ‘Jill, that is your job, to think’.


considerable debate, and within Australia it has long been a ‘national obsession’.5 There are two streams of thought about the nature of national identity formation. One asserts that a national essence develops in an organic way, is forged by encounters with the land and its people, and is palpable.6 This theory has recently been modified to accommodate the possibility of dual identity within multi-ethnic nations.7 The other view contests this concept of negotiated evolution, and advances that national identity is a ‘neat and tidy’ ideological construct that is imposed upon a diverse landscape and population to serve the interests of the dominant class.8 Whilst the ATC’s marketing campaigns are only one aspect of Australia’s national identity, this research project will ask of ATC productions the questions: how have dominant images changed over time and what meanings can be attributed to them. This may then allow us to speculate as to whose interests they serve. In so doing, it will contribute new insights on national identity formation through the powerfully influential medium of international tourism images.

Research

During the 1980s, travel and tourism became the largest industry in the world,9 and concern for the uncritical acceptance of its development precipitated a wave of research, both in Australia and overseas. This replaced an earlier perception that tourism research was a lightweight, frivolous activity. Although

there is some overlap, these enquiries can be divided into four streams, namely institutional histories, tourism and the political-economy, tourism and social and cultural change, and the semiotics of tourism. Institutional histories provide a broad survey of either a travel industry or institution operating within it. They focus primarily on its organisational structure, objectives, methods of operation and planning, and financial parameters.\(^\text{10}\) Research into the political-economy of tourism are studies of power. They expose both the means through which governments and interest groups use tourism to enhance their own economic and political status, and the role that the tourism image plays in normalising their ideology. These scholars are concerned with the philosophical and political implications of mass tourism, which creates an environment of unequal allocation of resources; commodification of place, people, culture and history; and host society marginalisation.\(^\text{11}\) Social and cultural studies into tourism are interested in the tourists’ gaze, institutional images, and their creation of a culture of consent, within which host societies are engineered to believe that what tourists are looking for, they are. Issues include citizen disempowerment, acculturation, cultural development and definitions coming from without, and the transformation of host


community social relations and values. The fourth stream subjects tourism images to semiological analyses, and decodes signs and symbols, to establish underlying messages and ideological content. Recent enquiries have included the mapping of the Swedish national identity over time through tourism images, and the decoding of ideology bestowed upon the refined folk culture and heritage of provincial Dalecarlia. Another traced tourism images of Sydney between 1932 and 1998, and charted the city's consecutive construction as symbol of technological progress, hedonism, sophistication, consumer society and Olympic spirit. A third, analysed the ATC's Brand Australia television campaign between 1992 and 1995 and concluded it reinforced nineteenth century patriarchy and colonialism. All these enquiries are but a small part of the wealth of current


14Goran Rosander. 'The 'Nationalisation' of Dalecarlia: How a Special Province became a National Symbol for Sweden', ARV (Sweden), 42 (1986), 93-142.


16Gordon Waitt. 'Selling Paradise and Adventure: Representations of Landscape in the Tourist Advertising of Australia', Australian Geographical Studies, 35(1), (March 1997), 47-61. Other semiological studies include Jacques Leclerc. 'The Political Iconology of the Indonesian Postage
tourism research.

This research project touches on all four streams of enquiry. It builds upon Richardson's history of the Australian travel industry and the ATC's role within it, and provides an indepth and extended semiological study of a major official national tourism authority. It also provides empirical evidence of tourism and the political economy, and how images have been used by different governments to normalise their ideologies. And finally, it provides insight into how tourism images can be used to engineer social and cultural change. Rather than undertake a semiological reading of one folk culture, one city, or one ATC campaign; it traces the meaning of dominant images used by Australia's official tourism authority in major campaigns over a period of thirty-three years. This type of study has not been undertaken before, either in Australia or internationally, which is surprising given that there are over 170 national tourist offices (NTOs) globally, that spend jointly over three billion dollars per year on tourism promotion.\textsuperscript{17} This contribution to travel and tourism research opens the door to further studies in the way other NTOs 'imagineer' their nations, in order to both seduce tourists from without, and normalise economic, political and social change within.

It has been a challenge working so close to the face of history, without a buffer zone for reflection, and a number of studies have been of invaluable assistance. These have clarified issues such as the reinscription and reinvention of national heritage for ideological purposes:\textsuperscript{18} the ways in which meanings of

\textsuperscript{17} The total budget for only 100 of the 170 NTOs totalled US$2.207 billion in 1995. See World Tourism Organisation, \textit{Budgets of National Tourism Administrations} (Madrid: WTO, 1996), 10.

culture can be transformed through commodification;\textsuperscript{19} postmodern aesthetics and their application to tourism images;\textsuperscript{20} how changing value systems alter the readings of landscape and the process through which these are imbued with memories.\textsuperscript{21} Both Dermody's \textit{Anatomy of a Film Industry}\textsuperscript{22} and White's \textit{Inventing Australia}\textsuperscript{23} provided insight into how Australian national identities had changed over time through mediums other than tourism publications, and the forces which drove them. Whilst there are some correlations between the findings of these two latter studies and this one, there are also differences, which demonstrates the elusive character of the Australian national identity.

\textbf{Sources}

The field of investigation for this research project was restricted to mass market promotional campaigns conducted in the ATC's three major markets, namely the USA, UK and Japan. Primary sources were available at the Australian Archives from the year of the ATC's enactment in 1967 and the ATC's head office library in Sydney provided access to material through to 2000, which had not yet been archived. Primary sources were drawn from a diverse range of ATC cultural productions such as print, film and electronic media. These included official travel

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19}Julie Marcus. 'The Journey Out to the Centre: The Cultural Appropriation of Ayers Rock', in Anna Rutherford (ed.) 'Aboriginal Culture Today', special issue of \textit{Kunapipi}, X(1 and 2), (1988), 254-274;
\item \textsuperscript{21}Wai-Teng Leong. 'Culture and the State: Manufacturing Traditions for Tourism', \textit{Critical Studies in Mass Communication}, 6(4), (Dec 1989), 355-375
\end{itemize}
guides which the ATC defined itself as the ‘flagship publication’, posters, \textsuperscript{24} Annual Reports, \textsuperscript{26} selected print advertisements, major films produced for public screenings through to 1983, television advertisements after 1983, and the ATC website, which went online in 1996.\textsuperscript{27} As well as these ATC productions, other primary sources included Australian government and semi-government tourism related research and conference papers, strategic planning documents and federal government enquiries. Because of the thirty year rule, only published papers were accessible for research, in addition to ATC promotional material for which special access permission was granted by the ATC.

\section*{Methodology}

This semiological reading of images was not a systematic quantitative analysis. Rather it selected from a plethora of images those that recurred and became dominant, and were incorporated into the universal language of travel. As a result, they became the major signs of both the Australian people and landscape during particular periods.\textsuperscript{28} Foucault’s theory of ideological hardening was used to inform this analysis.\textsuperscript{29} This theory maintained that between phases of representation characterised by the cohesive and continuous accumulation and blending of new images, are socio-cultural fields within which contestation occurs between multiple programmes of conflicting images. It held that a phase of oscillation follows, during which time these differences are contested. As a consequence, the new images are undermined, supplant the preceding ones; or are accommodated within the established system of images and undergo

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item For USA Travel Guides (TG), see National Archives of Australia (NAA) C3125; for UK TG see NAA C3123; and for Japanese TG see NAA C3114.
\item NAA, Sydney: B4945.
\item NAA, Sydney: C3119
\item For the universal language of travel and symbols of place, see, Roland Barthes, ‘The Eiffel Tower’, in his \textit{The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies} (New York: 1979), 3-17.
\item Michel Foucault, \textit{The Archaeology of Knowledge} and \textit{The Discourse on Language}, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
ideological hardening through repetition and development. Berger’s theory of seeing\textsuperscript{30} was used to push these defining images back into their socio-cultural context. Berger contended that the way we see is affected by what we know or what we believe, and that specific visions of the image-maker are a part of the record. He asserted these included learnt assumptions such as beauty, taste and notions of ‘civilisation’. For this reason, representational aesthetics relating to the periods in question, were read alongside ATC publications, to gain access to the contemporary ways of seeing. Barthes’ theory of signification\textsuperscript{31} was also used to decode the ideological content of the images. Barthes held that in order to decode symbols or images and decipher the ‘alibi’, certain connotation procedures were necessary. He itemised these as pose, arrangement, the association of ideas, special effects, textual fixatives, aestheticism and sequence. Barthes’ theory of intertextuality,\textsuperscript{32} which contends that a text is made up of multiple writings drawn together from many cultures and in need of disentanglement, also helped explain the process of image and ideological incorporation, blending and clashing. All these theories helped make sense of thousands of visual images, supporting texts, voice-overs and kaleidoscopic postmodern image assemblages.

Organisation of Findings

This enquiry has been divided into four chapters, matching four periods, each of which is characterised by a distinct expression of national sentiment and framed by socio-cultural fields. Each new chapter commences when this field of multiple conflicting images has been played out and either a mutation or

replacement of pre-existing images has taken place. ATC images are also historicised in each chapter and placed within contemporary foreign relations and domestic cultural debates.

Chapter one begins with a survey of the imaging problem in Australia during the 1950-60s and continues through to the Whitlam administration in 1972. This survey looks at the conflicting national identities presented by intellectuals in an attempt to identify a more appropriate national self definition after a period of dramatic social change. The chapter then traces the development of the period’s key defining tourism images of Australia as a land of vast, empty and worthless spaces, to be conquered and made profitable by man and technology. Organised into a narrative of material progress, these spaces were contrasted with Australian cities which were imaged as manmade utopias, or models of bigness and newness.

Chapter two covers the period 1973 to 1982, and is characterised by the harmonious relationship between culture and nature. Images of the Australian wilderness emphasised the creative genius of nature; and its restorative and inspirational value to man. Cities were defined by their cultural monuments, green belts, and protected heritage buildings. Cultural creativity and social inclusivity were the measures of Australian achievement.

Chapter three spans the period 1983 to 1992 and is marked by Paul Hogan’s ocker humour and images of Australia as a tourist island getaway or escape from the real world. Nature was imaged as an edenic and adventurous playground for unreserved tourist consumption. Australian cities were represented as fun parks that offered an endless array of entertainment and relaxation attractions. Australian achievement was measured in terms of exemplary service provision to international tourists.
Chapter four covers the last seven years of the millennium and traces the
development of images of Australia as a model of ecological sensitivity and a
sophisticated urban society. Images emphasised the spiritual qualities of nature in
World Heritage and Aboriginal sacred sites, and the harmonious balance of
commerce and culture in cities of world standing. Australian achievement was
promoted in terms of a complex civic society bridging the divide between eastern
and western civilisations.

Within just thirty-three years, the Australian identity underwent four distinct
shifts in ATC publications. This enquiry brings together context, government
visions, economic and international relations imperatives, and global tourism
trends, to identify the nature and meaning of these shifts and the contributions
made by official image-makers like the ATC. These findings may shed some new
light on the process through which national identities are either discovered,
invented or imagined.
Chapter 1

1967-1972: THE WILD WEST IN THE DEEP SOUTH

Fig 4 Tourist Arrivals by Target Market 1967 and 1971
NEGOTIATING AUSTRALIA'S PLACE IN A CHANGING WORLD

The ATC was born into a turbulent period of world history in 1967. Browsing through major intellectual journals of the time, including Meanjin and The Australian Quarterly, there was a lot of discussion about external influences on Australia and methods to combat them. This applied particularly to the countries with which Australia enjoyed its most important relationships, namely the United Kingdom (UK), the United States (USA) and Japan. As this study focuses on the ATC's promotion of Australia within these three countries, it is important to understand the context into which the ATC was enacted, the base upon which it sought to develop future dealings, and provide insights into why particular aspects of Australian landscape and society were privileged. During the 1960s the world generally was caught up in the problems that accompanied post-colonialism, the Cold War, civil rights protests, the beginnings of competitive trading blocs and the after effects of post-war migration. A sense of crisis permeated much contemporary writing during this period of burgeoning cultural pluralism and postmodern identity issues.

Australia's place in the world; and its diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with its traditional allies, were undergoing dramatic change. Australia's oldest economic and military protector, Britain, had recently committed its future to the northern hemisphere and an alliance with its closest neighbours. It sought entry to the EEC and announced its withdrawal from Asia by 1971.¹ Australia's alliance with the USA had dominated policy making for a generation and was under scrutiny. The 1954 USA devised 'forward defence' plan against communism (SEATO) and its bombing of Vietnam in 1965, were increasingly criticised as unnecessarily divisive and meddlesome.² Countries including Britain and Japan

²W. MacMahon Ball, 'Pacific Signposts: 2) How to Live with East and West', Meanjin Quarterly, 27(2), No. 113, (June 1968), 133-145.
sought to reduce the economic, military and political hegemony of the USA by diversifying their foreign relations. Britain's membership of the EEC of 1973 and the emergence of ASEAN in 1967, reflected a general sense of disillusionment with the status quo, and a search for alternative and more peaceful systems of international cooperation.

Similarly, Australia had been diversifying its trading interests, engaging with Asia-Pacific nations and re-orientating itself within the southern hemisphere. Since 1950, Australia had increased its links with Japan. By the mid-1960s Japan was recognised as 'the most modern nation in Asia'\textsuperscript{3} and a 'nation on the move' with a 'burgeoning greatness'.\textsuperscript{4} This presented important economic and political opportunities for Australia. During 1967, both nations officially committed themselves to 'friendly and cooperative relations... in all areas of contact', and Japan became Australia's leading trade partner. Britain dropped to second place and the USA was third.\textsuperscript{5} This Australia-Japan trading relationship established a form of mutual dependency between nations primarily focussed on national development and economic growth. Both Japan and Australia realised they would have to replace the American 'shield of protection' by some form of 'pax Asiana'\textsuperscript{6} should President Nixon disengage from Asia; and the battle for the re-imagining of Asia could undergo a significant shift from one in which the USA played a dominant role, to a different spatial conceptualisation within which both Japan and Australia played increasingly important roles. Whilst governments generally in Japan and Australia sought to preserve their respective relationships

\textsuperscript{6}For a Japanese overview of the struggle for supremacy in the region amongst the three great powers as 'Asia was Asianized,' – namely between the U.S.A., Soviet Union and Communist China – and the options available to both Japan and Australia, see Kei Wakaizumi, 'Pacific Signposts: 8) Japanese and Australian Interests', \textit{Meanjin Quarterly}, 28(4), No. 119, (Summer 1969), 514-520. For a discussion on the new ways in which both Japan and Australia imagined each other, see 519.
with the USA; intellectuals in both countries attacked their governments for their 'too pro-American' stance and the terms upon which they had bought their protection. Japan and Australia had many affinities.

It is understandable therefore why social and political commentators interpreted Australia's major international relationships in terms of Britain representing Australia's Past, America its Present, and Nationalism its Future. An evolving present of 'Armed Neutrality' and an ongoing American physical presence provoked considerable debate. Some viewed this as provocatively dangerous and feared Australia would become a target for Soviet and Chinese attack. Others contended Australia had much to gain from its relationship with America, particularly access to 'advanced technology', development of its communications system and the opening up of the continent. The 'Whitlam-Hasluck line' received strongest support. It advocated a regional role in Asia for Australia, within which Australia would tread a delicate path between maintaining strong USA ties and becoming a middle power itself, by contributing to the region in economic and cultural terms. Contrary to popularly held views, Asia was perceived as an


8Numerous articles document the concern with the costs and disadvantages of the American alliance. For a critique of Australia's drift towards the USA as an imperial substitute see, C.P. Fitzgerald, 'Pacific Signposts: 4) China and Australia: A Continuing Relationship', Meanjin Quarterly, 27(4), No. 115, (Dec 1968), 393; for a discussion of Australia's fawning to powerful friends - 'British to the bootstraps' and 'All the way with LBJ' - see Bruce Grant, Pacific Signposts: 3) Shattered Images, Meanjin Quarterly, 27(3), No. 114, (Sept 1968), 262; for concern about the USA-Australia Treaty of 1966 which committed Australia to the development of Pine Gap in the Northern Territory, and the way in which Australian government leaders were fearful to appear anti-American, see R.J. Cooksey, 'Pine Gap', The Australian Quarterly, 40(4), (Dec 1968), 13 and 16; for an explanation why Australia was not accepted by Asia and why its application for membership of ASEAN was rejected, see Ronald Muntu, 'Pacific Signposts: 6) Australia's Regional Role in Asia: A Clear Necessity', Meanjin Quarterly, 28(2), No. 117, (June 1969), 185.


10Bruce Grant, Pacific Signposts: 3) Shattered Images, Meanjin Quarterly, 27(3), No. 114, (Sept 1968), 264 and 269

opportunity rather than a threat. A threshold towards this vision was crossed when the Australian government established an office in Tokyo during 1967 to promote tourism to Australia. This opening up of both countries to the other, so that the two peoples could mingle, cemented a new dimension in Australian-Japanese relations, in terms of diplomacy, trade and cultural exchange.¹²

ADJUSTING THE NATIONAL MEMORY

Australia’s domestic relations were likewise in a state of flux. Post-war development policies had irrevocably changed Australian society. Rapid industrialisation and population growth had altered the geographic distribution, way of life, and age and ethnic composition of the Australian population. Australia was no longer a pioneering nation of predominantly Anglo-Saxon pastoral and agricultural workers. The average Australian lived in the suburbs of major cities and worked in secondary or tertiary industries. The dominant ethos was middle class material wealth accumulation. The post-war ‘baby boom’ had produced a better educated and more internationally aware youth culture, and Australia’s post-war population programme had produced one of the greatest mass migrations of modern times.¹³ Within twenty years, Australia had become a much more internationally attuned and culturally complex nation. Whilst a formal assimilation policy sought to contain difference, absorb immigrants into the predominant Anglo-Saxon culture and protect an earlier way of life,¹⁴ the reality was group fragmentation, cultural plurality and cross-cultural transmission. UN pressure on Australia for the better treatment of Aborigines, the 1967 referendum granting

¹²Neville Meaney, Towards a New Vision: Australia & Japan Through 100 Years (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 1999), 132-5.
¹⁴For an example of assimilationist propaganda which sought to inculcate Australian cultural mores and social practices, see George Calger (ed.) The Australian Way of Life (New York: UNESCO/Australian Institute of International Studies, 1963).
Aborigines equal citizenship, feminist protest and mounting criticism of the White Australia Policy foreshadowed further cultural change. The British cultural heritage and existing social structure were under threat from both internal and external influences.

Intellectuals vigorously debated the nature of the new Australian community.15 Some were fearful of the Americanisation of Australian culture, and resurrected the ideology and imagery of the radical nationalist tradition of the *Bulletin* writers of the 1890s, in an attempt to ward off international influences.16 Others welcomed cultural transmissions and viewed them as opportunities to enrich and improve the Australian way of life.17 Towards the end of the 1960s other intellectuals sought to synthesise these two approaches, and transmit ideas of a uniquely Australian society and culture, which combined the best of local and international practices.18 The disabling 'cultural cringe' of the Menzies era was

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17 This approach focused primarily on 'high culture' and was underpinned by a confident nationalism. Historians charted the evolution of admirable Australian cultural traits and practices. For the Sydney Opera House's contribution to world architecture, see Alan McCulloch, *Australia's Cultural Image*, *Meanjin*, 106, 25(3), (1966), 365-366; for an assessment of the 'things' Australians could pass on to Asians, and gain from the USA, see J.D.B. Miller, 'Godzone: 5) Other Places', *Meanjin*, 108, 26(2), (1957), 125; for the unique qualities of Australian egalitarian democracy, see Donald Home, *The Lucky Country* (Adelaide: Penguin, 1964), 221; and for advocacy of more energetic cross fertilisation of artistic ideas, see Noel Mclachlan, 'The American Connexion', *Meanjin*, 106, 25(3), (1968), 368.
18 For an overview of the 'New Left' counter-culturalists that defined themselves against the 'Old Left' see, John Murphy, 'New Left', in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart Macintyre (eds). *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (Melbourne: OUP, 1999), 463-4. These historians critiqued Australian racism, sexism, capitalism. For their undermining of the radical tradition see, Brian Head and James Walter (ed.) *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society* (Melbourne: OUP, 1988), 28; and for the text which challenged Australian intellectuals to separate myth from reality and develop an inclusive, intelligent, artistic, and educated tradition to direct the materialism, see Craig McGregor, *Profile of Australia* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966).
being replaced by an increasingly confident nationalism.\textsuperscript{19} 'Old Left' nationalists sought to preserve the provincial culture and develop it into a distinctively Australian metropolitanism in its own right.\textsuperscript{20} They reinforced Australia's uniqueness by reviving old traditions and grafting new traditions onto old ones by borrowing from the warehouse of official symbolism.\textsuperscript{21} During the late 1950s and 1960s there was a concerted effort to revive the Australian 'mythological trinity'\textsuperscript{22} of the pioneer (the bush nomad),\textsuperscript{23} the common man (the labour movement),\textsuperscript{24} and the warrior (Anzac digger).\textsuperscript{25} to unify the new Australian community and inculcate values of commitment to a common cause, collectivist democracy and moderate materialism. Caiger and McGregor sought to incorporate a more contemporary urban hero into this pantheon. They contended there were many parallels in the symbolism, ritual and values normally associated with the bushman, common man and digger; and the surf lifesaver's physical prowess and endurance, cult of masculinity, rigorous discipline, teamwork and militaristic parades. Both argued the sunny, healthy environment had produced another symbol of unique Australian manhood.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{19} The term 'cultural cringe' was introduced by A.A. Phillips in \textit{Meanjin} in 1950. He bemoaned that above all Australian artists loomed the intimidating mass of Anglo-Saxon achievement, and sought to expose the falsity of the underlying assumption that all local cultural productions were necessarily derivative and an inferior imitation, or awkwardly provincial. See 'The Cultural Cringe' in his \textit{The Australian Tradition: Studies in a Colonial Culture} (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1958), 89-95.
\textsuperscript{21} For the concepts of invention, adaptation and reinvention of national tradition, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), \textit{The Invention of Tradition} (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 1983, 1996), 2-14.
\textsuperscript{23} T. Inglis Moore, 'The Meanings of Mateship', \textit{Meanjin}, 100, 24(1), (1965), 45-54.
\textsuperscript{25} C.E.W. Bean, \textit{The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918} 12 vols (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1921-42).
and cultural progress, and argued for radical innovation and 'moderate
nationalism'. 27 McGregor argued that existing cultural symbols were outmoded,
their associated rituals devoid of significance, and that Australian affluence had
turned a truly progressive country into a very conservative one. Rather than
explain Australianness in terms of its puritanism, masculinity, philistinism and
bohemianism, he offered an alternative image of hedonism, a cult of sexuality,
artistic creativity and political engagement. 28 Whilst these intellectuals promoted
selective international cultural borrowings, they distanced certain aspects of the
Australian ideal from the American dream, 29 and supported continued ideological
association with Britain as a make-weight for the USA. 30 They also conceptualised
Australian culture as more complex and diverse, and incorporated images of
women, Aboriginals and migrants. The New Left also synthesised high and
popular culture, and prescribed a new 'culture of the informal'. This combined a
sense of pleasure with a sense of fair play, an interest in material things with
fraternity, and a recognition of talent with a sense of reserve. 31 It sought to leaven
the crass materialism, present a more inclusive picture of Australian society, and
engineer positive social change. It 'imagineered' Australia as less egalitarian,
idealistic, matey and heroic; and more creative, tolerant, educated, cultured and
mature.

Internationalists downplayed Australian distinctiveness and emphasised
interconnectedness and commonalities. They urged selective borrowings from
centres such as the UK and the USA. In this way Australia could enrich its local
strand of world culture and contribute valuable insights to the 'Great Debate'. 32

29 See Robin Boyd's criticism of the slavish imitation of and manic enthusiasm for American forms of
mass-production, in his The Australian Ugliness (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1960)
31 Donald Horne foreshadowed this cultural shift in his The Lucky Country (Adelaide: Penguin, 1964),
87, 233.
32 For a discussion on the merits and disadvantages of Australia reshaping its cultural production to
This new framework of national imagining meant that Australian self-perception was part of a larger system of identification and cultural exchange, two manifestations of which were trade relations and mass tourism. To guard against undesirable forms of cultural imperialism, Australia needed to achieve contemporary self-definition, in order to determine which influences it should resist, accept or transform. In the process, it would become apparent whether the old national identity possessed the elasticity to retain its meaningfulness. Miller used a devouring metaphor to illustrate the nature of bi-lateral cultural relations and argued Australia could retain its local variant of English speaking culture by ‘eating away at America’ whilst America was ‘eating away at [Australia]’.33 And McLachlan stressed the opportunities and threats that bi-lateral self definition and cultural hegemony posed.34

It was within this context that a number of intellectuals called for a ‘task of national projection’,35 in order to project an image of the nation directly to the outside world, and to enlist support and understanding for the Australian way of life. Smith advocated an Australia Council be modelled on Britain’s, because it forged cultural propagation, political alliances and commercial benefit through peaceful means; whereas America tried to organise the world in its own image through ‘bulldozer’ tactics.36 In a number of ways this discussion of images was institutionalised during the 1960s, when a number of influential national cultural authorities were founded. From this period onwards, the Australia Council, Australian Council of National Trusts,37 Australian Film Development

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37 The ACNT held its first meeting in Canberra in 1965. HKF Report, 264-5.
Corporation,\textsuperscript{38} and the ATC, produced, institutionalised and disseminated strategic national images both within and without Australia.

1929-1967 ANTA: THE INDUSTRY PRECURSOR TO THE ATC

The Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) had been imaging Australia and promoting national tourism since 1929. ANTA's performance as a pioneering 'national tourist office' (NTO) was considered impressive. Amidst its promotions of Victoria's centenary and Australia's 150th anniversary celebrations during the 1930s, Australia was credited as 'the best advertised country in the British Empire', by its chief competitor.\textsuperscript{39} A review of ANTA travel posters\textsuperscript{40} and its geographic magazine, \textit{Walkabout}, revealed three distinct phases in terms of image typology. During the 1930s, Australia was conceptualised as a romantic, innocent pastoral society\textsuperscript{41} that enjoyed an active, outdoor lifestyle in bush


\textsuperscript{39}Public statement made by H.W. Brodie, Executive, Canadian Pacific Railway Company, cited in \textit{Advertising Australia: Australian National Travel Association's Big Task}, in \textit{Walkabout}, 1 August 1936, 48.

surroundings and on pristine beaches (Figs 6 and 7).\textsuperscript{42}

The focus on strong, athletic, healthy white bodies underscored the contemporary concern with eugenics; and primitivised images of 'proud Aborigines' reinforced the notion of a static indigene and legitimised the practice of apartheid (Fig 8).\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42}See Violet A. Roche, 'Surfing', \textit{Walkabout}, November 1935, 21-24; and Cover Design, 'Launching the Lifeboat at Queenscliff', \textit{Walkabout}, April 1936; and the National Library website for images of beach beauties and culture.

\textsuperscript{43}See Russell Clark's account of the Kennedy Expedition to Cape York Peninsula in 1936 and his description of the Aboriginal condition in his 'The Unveiling of a Continent', \textit{Walkabout}, 1 March 1936, 18-22; Cover Design, 'Central Australian Aboriginal', \textit{Walkabout}, September 1936. This image was repeated in later editions with the caption 'One Pound Jimmy', 37. This primitivised image became so 'famous' that it was featured on an Australian stamp.
During the second phase in the late 1950s, senior government officials contributed articles to *Walkabout* and images of Australia privileged signs of industrial progress, natural resource development and relations with America. *Walkabout* commemorated the extinct species of drover and bullock driver,\(^{44}\) and celebrated the achievements of the 'real Australians' of the north and north-west country, which it compared to the American 'wild west'. These mineral magnates, construction engineers and mining workers were lionised for opening up the alien spaces of the outback. The landscape was represented as hostile and timeless, waiting passively to be unlocked and made profitable. Reflecting the social policy of assimilation and tourist interest in Aboriginal culture, *Walkabout* nostalgically farewelled the wild, unspoilt ways of the primitive native\(^{45}\) and presented a new type of Aboriginality, that was put to work as a tourist attraction.\(^ {46}\) By the third phase beginning in 1961, ANTA's images of Australia broadened to include heritage sites, and just prior to the enactment of the ATC in 1967, the dominant outback identification was increasingly challenged by a new Australian identity.

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\(^{44}\)See George Farwell's lament for the vanishing of the hardy drover in 'Northern Australia: The Everlasting Promise', *Walkabout*, November 1959, 18-23; Jeff and Mare Carter, 'Bullock Drivers don't Swear', *Walkabout*, June 1961, 36-41.


\(^{46}\)The new masthead of *Walkabout* in January 1959 featured a near naked Aboriginal man with the standard tourist attire, a camera, draped round his neck. For the new stereotype of an 'assimilated Aboriginal' see 'No. 1 broad-smiling Joe', a 'typical Islander' with a passion for Western films and cow-boy style hats in, 'Australiana page', *Walkabout*, January 1959, 6.
based upon architectural heritage sites.\textsuperscript{47} and newly constructed urban cultural monuments.\textsuperscript{48} The final phase conceptualised Australia as possessing a diverse history and having reached cultural maturity. Australianess was re-located to the cities, where the way-of-life was more sophisticated, and enriched by both post-war immigration and international cultural borrowings.\textsuperscript{49}

ANTA acted as Australia's chief image maker abroad on a quasi-official basis only. It was an industrial body governed by a board representing railway, shipping, hotel and other tourist business interests, and relied heavily on government funding for its operating capital. Within the 1987 context of Australia developing broader trading partnerships and international diplomatic relations, and the need to both define and project a more meaningful national identity, it is not surprising that the federal government accepted the recommendations made in a joint ANTA/federal/state government commissioned report of 1965, to institutionalise an Australian national tourist office. It also endorsed the recommended structure of a statutory authority captained by business people, rather than bureaucrats.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{47}In January 1961 ANTA introduced a new column entitled 'The Australian Scene'. It featured heritage sites including Fort Denison (May 1961), Windsor Courthouse (July 1961). See also Geoffrey Scott, 'The Rocks' is up for sale', \textit{Walkabout}, March 1961, 16-21; and K.A. Austin, 'Witnesses to the Past', \textit{Walkabout}, April 1961, 33-35.


\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Walkabout} reacted to the earlier shift in social policy from nature to nurture and the contemporary belief that cultural difference was best managed by integration and socialisation, by repositioning itself for the third time in its history. \textit{Walkabout} changed its design, logo and masthead in the November 1961 edition. No longer did it identify itself as a geographic magazine. It was now a cultural one with a masthead emblazoned with \textit{Walkabout: Australia's Way of Life Magazine}.

\textsuperscript{50}John Richardson, \textit{A History of Australian Travel and Tourism} (Melbourne: Hospitality Press, 1999), 286-8.
AMERICAN CONSULTANTS AND THEIR PRESCRIPTIONS

The act of engaging American experts was endemic at this stage of Australian history. Although this practice was not without its critics, there was a generally held belief by government and business that American solutions were 'the best [that] we [could] hope to find', and that American technical know-how, style, business organisation and investment should be used to remake Australia. Many hailed American professionals such as tourism consultants Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company and Stanton Robbins & Co. Inc., (HKF) messengers of The Great Society. They were engaged in 1965 to study the Australian tourist industry and its prospects. HKF applied Henry Ford's industrial logic of systemisation, efficiency and return on investment to the task of assessing the Australian tourist industry and producing its first strategic document. Within twelve months of the publication of their findings in the 'HKF report', the Commonwealth of Australian ratified the Australian Tourist Commission Act of 1967. This simultaneously recognised the importance of tourism as a new economic stream; and as will be demonstrated later in this chapter, endorsed a national tourism policy and programme, strengthened the Australian-American alliance, and facilitated increased American cultural hegemony. The American perceptual framework that informed the HKF report, had an enduring impact on Australian self-definition, tourism product development and market orientation. Its extensive range of recommendations, that privileged a particular national identification and posturing, would become the bible of Australian tourism planning for at least five years.

\[51\text{For an outspoken campaigner see, Robin Boyd, }\textit{The Australian Ugliness} (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1960)\]

\[52\text{J.D.B. Miller, 'Godzone: 5) Other Places', }\textit{Meanjin}, 106, 26(2), (1967), 124.\]


\[54\text{Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company. }\textit{Australia's Travel and Tourist Industry} (Sydney: Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company/ Stanton Robbins & Co, 1966). All subsequent references to this publication will appear as 'HKF Report'.\]
The 350 page HKF report conceptualised Australia in terms of Turner’s Frontier Thesis of 1893. Australian capital cities, the desert regions and ‘the western frontier’ were likened to the American equivalents of the late nineteenth century. Viewed through the prism of that period’s aesthetics, the HKF report recommended that Australia be promoted as a ‘new nation’ in a ‘wild and primitive’ land, destined for greatness in the ‘romantic South Pacific region’. It described Australia as having mastered a harsh environment, and a successful pioneering nation poised on the cusp of a great future, linked to the development of the desert regions of the great outback. This privileging of the outback was also driven by a defence imperative. Influenced by Cold War concerns, the authors argued that an efficient and strategically placed travel plant could also double as a vital system of national defence should large numbers of troops require urgent mobilisation. Unstated, but not unnoticed, was the correlation between key tourist sites and strategic USA bases within the Australian continent. The HKF report also recommended that promotions be directed primarily towards the USA market, and that Australia should be ‘sold as part of the South Pacific’ in joint promotions with other USA regional allies. This reinforced a recent, USA conceived power nexus in Asia. The Outback was identified as the most unique symbol of Australia, and the HKF report recommended images privilege the ‘majestic’ monolith at the

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56Direct comparisons with the American frontier of the nineteenth century include the following: ‘In a land which has known the plough for only a little over 175 years...one of the world’s newest, most stable democratic civilizations, one possessing a vibrant present (conjuring up the United States of 40-50 years ago) and an even more exciting, dynamic future’. HKF Report, 21; ‘Australia’s emergence as one of the great nations of the world and a bastion of the “free world” in the South Pacific, is giving it widening global recognition. With the dynamic economic developments in progress everywhere, it is becoming known as a land of opportunity which beckons many people, as did the United States in the 19th Century’. HKF Report, 25.
57HKF report, 65.
58Two chief recommendations included the establishment of significant reserves and the development of tourism infrastructure in Central Australia, near Canberra and the North West Cape, which were directly adjacent to controversial new USA defence/ space installations.
59It should be noted that during the period 1968-1971, a large proportion of American visitors were USA troops on R&R relief from military duties in Vietnam.
centre of the world’s oldest continent, stockmen, Aborigines and cattle ranches.\textsuperscript{60} It asserted that Perth epitomised the 'spirit of Australia today'.\textsuperscript{61} and recommended West Australian tourism be linked with stories of mineral development.\textsuperscript{62} Capital cities were relegated to the position of important centres from which the real journey began.\textsuperscript{63}

The language adopted by the HKF report was 'Fordist'. Terminology such as 'efficiency', 'inventory', the Australian 'travel plant' and 'travel product' emanated from Henry Ford's revolutionary industrial practices. Australia's key 'products' were identified as the primeval allure of The Centre, the Great Barrier Reef, the Australian alps, beaches, the unique flora and fauna, and the sunny climate. The Australian people and their relaxed way of life were deemed an essential part of the 'travel product';\textsuperscript{64} and it was recommended Australian cultural distinctiveness be defined in terms of its pioneering past and a great love of sports. To make this way-of-life more self-evident and secure, it was recommended that advisory committees be established to both define and support the development of a distinctively Australian cuisine and vintage, and stage dramatic cultural festivals and special events. The 'primitive' civilisations of New Guinea and the Australian Aborigine were products that provided tourists with opportunities to see man in his 'closeness to nature'. It was expected that these tourist 'products' would attract huge crowds.\textsuperscript{65} The HKF report recommended that Aborigines be given the chance to benefit economically from their participation in Australian tourism by producing arts and crafts, guiding, performing ceremonies, and being trained as general workers. In order to protect the integrity of traditional Aboriginal culture, the report stressed the need for 'proper staging' of performances, 'authentic'

\textsuperscript{60}HKF, 250-3.
\textsuperscript{61}HKF, 24.
\textsuperscript{62}HKF.
\textsuperscript{63}HKF, 24.
\textsuperscript{64}HKF, 303.
\textsuperscript{65}HKF, 281.
costumes, ‘proper interpretation’ of Aboriginal ‘folk lore’ in the tradition of Bill Harney, re-introduction of old customs, and the banning of new styles and subjects. These representational values have their American origins in Henry Ford’s Greenfield Village folk museum, which presents pre-industrial life as a sentimentalised, depoliticised and disappeared ‘static utopia’. Shortly after the publication of the HKF Report, it was criticised for its freezing of Aboriginal culture; the denial of a contemporary, complex Aboriginal present; and the reduction of Aborigines peoples to workers rather than equal partners in tourist ventures. Appreciating the delicacy and complexity of Aboriginal participation in the tourism industry, the HKF report recommended a National Committee be appointed to ensure Aboriginal culture was presented with integrity.

In summary, the American consultants’ report simultaneously constructed Australia in America’s own image and furthered American strategic interests. It did this by locating the real Australia on the western frontier, classifying Australia as a new pioneering nation, conceptualising Australia as part of an American designed South Pacific power nexus, and recommending tourism promotion be directed towards the USA market. This conception undermined the more cultured, urban national identity that ANTA had projected during its third phase. It also resurrected and reinforced the second phase images of ten years earlier.

66Bill Harney published numerous accounts of his experiences living amongst the Aborigines and his term as the first ranger of the Northern Territory Reserves Board. His writing style was reminiscent to that of Daisy Bates in her The Passing of the Aborigines: A Lifetime Spent Among the Natives of Australia (London: 1938, 1940, 1996). Harney’s approach was experiential rather than anthropological, and appealed to a popular audience. His books included Life Among the Aborigines (London: Robert Hale, 1957), Content to Lie in the Sun (London: Robert Hale, 1958) and To Ayers Rock and Beyond (London: Robert Hale, 1963). He adopted a social evolutionist approach, did not speak any Aboriginal languages and has since come under sharp criticism for the accuracy of his observations and interpretations of Aboriginal culture. See Peter English, Storm over Uluru: The Greatest Hoax of All: A Resume of Events Leading up to the Questionable Hand-Over of Australia’s most Famous National Park to Aboriginal Claimants (Perth: Veritas, 1986).
It is evident from contemporary debates, ANTA constructions of national identity and the HKF report, that there was much contention and confusion about the way in which to image Australia. Various ‘schools’ of intellectuals, tourism industry leaders, government officials and American consultants advanced different solutions to Australia’s imaging problem.

Each was linked to particular visions of the future; and were driven by various motivations including economic betterment, power enhancement, and professional recognition. Any of these conceptualisations could have informed a major ‘re-imagineering of a nation’. This was an important historical moment given the newly institutionalised power of the ATC to construct, formalise and disseminate images that would both normalise a specific view of the Australian present and have important implications for its future.

The framing of this first phase of ATC marketing activity was defined by the American market orientation.69 This was characterised by a general acceptance and implementation of the perceptual frame articulated in the HKF report, the preferential targeting of the American tourism market, and the high level of USA visitor arrivals during the period.70 The two major promotional themes of the period

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69 In 1970, Europe and America/Canada attracted almost 94% of international arrivals. Europe had the larger share at approximately 60%. See World Tourism Organisation. Faced with Worldwide Competition and Structural Changes: What are the Tourism Responsibilities of European Governments? (Madrid: WTO, 1987), 7.

70 R&R servicemen accounted for 277,000 arrivals, or sixteen percent. This took the American visitation rate to just under one third of total arrivals during this five year period. See Annual Report:
-- namely 'Old Continent, New Nation' and 'You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet'\textsuperscript{71} conceptualised Australia in identifiably American terms. Australia's place in time was associated with the late nineteenth century American frontier; and its aspirations, with the Hollywood version of the American way of life in which everything was bigger and better. This identification became the organising principle for the Australian narrative of progress. Australian geographic locations were differentiated into three zones.\textsuperscript{72} These were the 'uncivilised' primitive and empty spaces of the outback that needed to be explored and conquered; the 'partially civilised' frontier where land was made productive, symbols of advancement were implanted into the landscape, and a uniquely Australian type was formed through experiences and conditions; and the 'fully civilised' cities where the nation's burgeoning greatness manifested itself in dramatic architectural accomplishments, impressive urban planning, and pleasure grounds where nature was consumed.

\textsuperscript{71}The etymology of the word 'ain't' can be traced to British cockney. It was popularly used by British urban authors including Charles Dickens and was taken up by USA writers, including Mark Twain on the American frontier, during the nineteenth century. Its usage in a popular slogan can be traced to Al Jolson's expression 'You ain't heard nothing yet' in the first talking motion picture of 1927 entitled \textit{The Jazz Singer}. See, Margaret Miner and Hugh Rawson (eds), \textit{American Heritage: Dictionary of American Quotations} (New York: Penguin, 1997), 206.

Fig 10 Target Market Statistics and Government Funding: 1967/8 to 1971/72.

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<td>1970/1</td>
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THE UNCIVILISED OUTBACK

During its formative years, the ATC conceptualised Australia as an ancient continent and homeland to archaic lifeforms. Latest archaeological knowledge was used by the ATC to give the vast outback regions of Australia a unique deep

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73 This was rarely made explicit but can be deduced by a combination of factors including the order given to regions/countries in the ATC annual reports, advertising budget allocations and market reports generally. For Annual Reports, see National Archives of Australia (NAA), Sydney: C3319.

74 This represented less than 1% (0.54%) of total international arrivals.

75 This drop in market priority reflects the impending threat of reduced R&R arrivals and opportunities presented by the anticipated introduction of low cost charter flights from Europe.

76 This represented less than 1% (0.87 of 1%) of total international arrivals.

past, distinct tourist identity, and a counter point against which a new nation could measure its progress. Images of the 'Top End' and 'The Centre' privileged vast tracts of empty, half explored, dry and stoney landscapes, and were given lyrical fixatives\(^7\) that defined them as 'horizons of arid space', 'harsh', 'unyielding', 'grotesque landforms', that 'lay in wait'.\(^7\) The 'Heart of the Continent' was feminised. Within her lay alluringly secret and desired treasures.\(^8\) The incursions of 'twentieth century pioneers' and their 'opening up' of the continent featured prominently in ATC literature.\(^8\)

Through the juxtaposition and sequencing of images, stories unfolded wherein an unknown, unmarked, alien continent was unveiled, named, tamed and made productive. Coastlines were mapped,\(^8\) outback routes were surveyed,\(^8\) and roads and railway lines sliced through landscapes (fig 11).

Natural resources -- including mineral deposits, water supplies, pockets of flora and fauna, and Aboriginal sacred sites -- were discovered, and promoted as

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\(^7\)For an illustration of the way in which juxtaposition of text and multidimensional visual images directs the reader towards specific meanings and away from others, see Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins. *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). 76.

\(^8\)ATC, US Travel Guide 1972.

\(^8\)ATC, 'If you've seen the Rock of Gibraltar, you ain't seen nothing yet,' press advertisement, USA 1967.


\(^8\)Shortly after Turner's Frontier Thesis was published, Mark Twain visited Australia. His writings include the following descriptions: 'Australia is unoccupied...so strange, so weird, so new'. See Norman Harper, *The American Alliance in the 1970s*, in J.A.C. Mackie (ed.) *Australia in the New World Order: Foreign Policy in the 1970s* (Melbourne: Nelson in association with The Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1976), 27-46, 27.

\(^8\)These included the platypus, koala, kangaroo, and the Australoid Aborigine. See, ATC, US Travel Guide, 1972.
tourist attractions. Australian flora and fauna were conceptualised as 'natural oddities' and 'weird' relics that had evolved naturally, or been preserved in their original form since the continental separation from Asia sixty million years ago (Fig 12). 

![Image of Australian natural oddities](USA TG, 1972)

Traditional Aboriginal culture was romanticised and primitivised, and categorised as a uniquely Australian natural phenomena. Nature reserves and sanctuaries, and Aboriginal missions were promoted as places where unique examples of 'stubborn native animals' and prehistoric Aboriginal rituals and

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87 ATC, 'South Pacific Adventure,' film 1967/8. Sanctuaries were also established in 'semi-civilised' and 'fully civilised' zones to provide access opportunities for adventurous tourists. These included the popular Lone Pine Sanctuary in Queensland and Healesville Sanctuary in Victoria.
practices could be viewed.\textsuperscript{86} It should be noted that the ATC was initially
circumspect about the commodification of Aboriginal culture.\textsuperscript{89} This sentiment was
consistent with HKF recommendations that Aboriginal culture should be promoted
with dignity and artistic merit, and was expressed in the inaugural ATC Annual
Report. Despite this intent and an early avoidance of using Aboriginal images (and
the inclusion of other Pacific 'primitive' cultures instead, including 'colourful Maoris'
and barebreasted 'stoneage' New Guineans); by the late 1960s this reticence had
evaporated and Aboriginal culture became a dominant feature in ATC
publications. Landscapes associated with 'authentic' or 'real' Aborigine'
occupation, were imbued with an aura of ancientness.\textsuperscript{90} Locations such as the
Olgas and Ayers Rock were captioned 'eerie' and 'bizarre',\textsuperscript{91} and Aboriginal oral
histories and belief systems were called 'legends' or 'myths'.\textsuperscript{92} Unstable camera
movements, irregular shooting angles, mournful didgeridoo sequences in a minor
key and extreme lighting dichotomised and essentialised the Aboriginal
experience.\textsuperscript{93} Images of sunset over Ayers Rock were loaded with cultural
messages. A major film of 1967 featured various scenes of a sun setting over
Ayers Rock. The segment achieved closure with the gendering of Ayres Rock as
female and a voiceover stating 'her' predicament: 'her mood changed as she
fought to keep pace with a shifting sun'. Development of the Outback was posited
as inevitable. A desire to conquer (fig 13) and exploit the vast natural resources at

\textsuperscript{86}Authentic' Aboriginal corroborees were a feature of the Mandorah Cruise in Darwin and Emanella
\textsuperscript{89}For details, see John I. Richardson, \textit{A History of Australian Travel and Tourism} (Melbourne:
Hospitality Press, 1999), 163.
\textsuperscript{90}For construction of the 'real' Aborigine and the re-emergence of the Victorian 'noble savage'
stereotype see, Muderroo, \textit{Us Mob} (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1965), 146.
\textsuperscript{91}ATC, 'Australia - Big Country Big Welcome,' film, 1971/2; ATC, USA Travel Guide.
\textsuperscript{92}ATC, 'South Pacific Adventure', film 1967/8.
\textsuperscript{93}For the construction of the 'other,' and the power issues involved, see Edward W. Said,
\textit{Orientalism: Western Conceptions of The Orient} (London: Penguin, 1978); and James Clifford, 'On
Orientalism', in his \textit{The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art}
the heart of the continent, was encoded into images. These were in turn used to entice tourist complicity in the process of taming, exploring and adventuring.\textsuperscript{94}

Fig 13 Conquering Ayers Rock
Japanese TG 1969

THE BOOMING FRONTIER

Between this primitive zone and its counterpoint of manmade utopias, buzzed a booming frontier where the brooding emptiness of the continent was being converted, and made productive. The frontier was also conceptualised, in the American tradition of the late nineteenth century, as the fabled ground upon which Australian destiny depended.\textsuperscript{95} Significant mineral discoveries contributed to the national wealth. Like its American counterpart, the Australian Commonwealth Department of Trade and Industry (of which the ATC was a part), embarked on a project of 'western boosterism'\textsuperscript{96} and mythological re-affirmation.\textsuperscript{97} The landscape was constructed as a contest to be won and a foe to be dominated. Those who performed this task were lionised, as a new breed of 'twentieth century Australian pioneers' (Fig 14). Captions told tourists they 'must, as in days gone by, Go West' to see 'a nation on the move' where 'dramatic frontier action' was

\textsuperscript{94} The USA Travel Guide specifically targeted the 'explorer at heart' and was entitled 'Australian Holiday Adventures'.
\textsuperscript{96} For the method through which a USA administration engineered landscape aesthetics from the sublime to the picturesque in order to legitimise their commercial objectives see P. B. Hales, \textit{William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of American Landscape} (Philadelphia: 1988).
transforming a 'Cinderalla State' into 'The Big State'.

This magical rags to riches narrative of development was imposed on images of vast outback irrigation schemes, iron-ore 'mountains,' oil refineries, shining new mining townships including Weipa (Fig 15), bustling new industrial ports, and defence/space installations (Fig 16). This rhetoric of progress was aestheticised by the technological sublime (Fig 17). The stupendous scale of these markers in the landscape, was awe inspiring, in terms of their technological power, size of machinery, and seemingly inexhaustible stream of treasure.

Fig 14 Twentieth Century Pioneers
UK TG, 1972.

Fig 15 Mining Town of Weipa

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100 An uncanny parallel was featured in, John F. Sears. Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century (New York/Oxford: OUP, 1989), 201. It stated that mining towns were a key feature of nineteenth century American tourism. Tourism literature conceptualised these as sites of fascination and marvel. The resources were 'jewels' and the scale of extraction and machinery overwhelmed tourists with a feeling of the sublime.
Captions identified the frontier city of Perth as the epitome of 'the spirit of Australia today'.\textsuperscript{101} It was represented as a launching pad from which travellers could travel to these tourist sites in the Outback to witness magnificent feats of human endeavour. ATC publications claimed this 'new spirit of Australia' had been created by the rugged conditions and experiences of the frontier,\textsuperscript{102} and linked this to other 'special breeds' of 'old-timer' pioneers. Images of powerful outback miners from The West gazing expectently into the future; were juxtaposed with 'Australia's own version of cowboys' (Fig 18) from the outback, and shearers and drovers from the more settled rural areas. In the American tradition of 'dude ranch' tourism\textsuperscript{103} and the 1960s American cattledriver television series 'Rawhide' and 'Bonanza',\textsuperscript{104} images featured Australian stockmen and Aboriginal pastoral workers. This recurring motif reflected the new social policy of integration and gave institutional

\textsuperscript{101}ATC, USA Travel Guide, 1972.
\textsuperscript{102}ATC, USA Travel Guide, 1972.
validation to two types of Aboriginality, namely the 'primitive' and assimilated outback cowboy.

Fig 18 Australia's Own Cowboys
Japanese TG, 1969

The Civilised Cities

This narrative of progress was also applied to the cities which were defined in terms of national wealth accumulation, technological advancement and the enjoyment of the fruits of labour. Dominant images showed a new and potent nation passionately engaged in both constructive work and hedonistic play.

Captions were optimistic and expectant, and identified Australia as 'a country on the move'\textsuperscript{105} towards a future 'bright with promise' (Fig. 19).\textsuperscript{106} It was contended by the ATC that Australia had already achieved the status of 'the greatest industrial nation in the southern hemisphere', Australia 'puls[ed] with new developments',\textsuperscript{107} and was fired by 'vigorouy youthfulness and energy'.\textsuperscript{108} The three principal capital cities -- namely Melbourne, Canberra and Sydney -- were

\textsuperscript{105}ATC, UK TG, 1972
\textsuperscript{106}ATC, US TG, 1972
\textsuperscript{107}ATC, US TG, 1972
\textsuperscript{108}ATC, UK TG, 1972
projected as unfolding manmade utopias and models of newness. ATC images applied aesthetics of both the technological sublime and the picturesque. These enabled the glorification of engineering marvels; and the domination and organisation of nature into well planned avenues, parklands and sporting reserves. The American aesthetic of modernist architecture informed the ATC’s representation of Australian cities. This aesthetic had been emblazoned around the world by the first television satellite since 1960, and venerated bigness, the use of new materials, and the purity of form and function. This was applied to the commercial hearts of Sydney and Melbourne. Captions identified them as cities ‘dominated by skyscrapers’ and ‘metropolises’. Cityscapes often exaggerated heights of skylines (Fig 20), size of multilane freeways, symmetry and spaciousness of urban design and planning (Fig 23), and the pace of city life. This was accomplished through strategic camera angles and techniques; and grand, frenzied musical accompaniment. Latest methods of urban transport including harbour hovercrafts; and efficient and functional urban planning were emphasised to highlight Australia’s acceptance

112 ATC, USA TG, 1972.
and application of latest technology, and urban planning practice (Fig 23). Images of manmade structures jutting upwards into the urban skyline (Fig 21), or outwards into natural waterways (Fig 22); and incursions slicing through the landscape, were potent symbols of man's generative power. Stratetic camera angles emphasised the phallic shape of these structures and identified the Australian civilising mission with masculinity. Through juxtaposition, the ATC contrasted this story of progress with urban heritage sites captioned as 'charming' examples of early settlements,\textsuperscript{113} to show how far the new nation had come.

\textsuperscript{113}Paddington terraces in ATC, 'South Pacific Adventure,' film 1967/8; the 'grim old convict days' in The Rocks in, ATC, 'Australia - Big Country Big Welcome,' film, 1971/2.
away from work, and their social relations in the great outdoors. The 'near perfect'\textsuperscript{114} climate permitted year round access to pleasure grounds which had been converted from unruly wilderness into well planned, orderly and safe reserves. Dominant images included urban beaches, sporting fields and tropical resorts. These spaces were gendered female and promoted as picturesque, beauty spots to be consumed. Harbours and rivers were captioned 'young', 'unspoiled' playgrounds of weekend freedom',\textsuperscript{115} and lush, fertile tropical resorts bore captions 'everyman's paradise' where 'you [can] put the fun back into a serious life'.\textsuperscript{116} This film’s voiceover coincided with a close up of a woman's upper thigh, shot from a camera tilting upwards. Dominant images featured women nursing native wildlife including birds and koala bears within reserves (Fig 24); and captions defined women as part of nature (Fig 25).\textsuperscript{117}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{fig24.png}
\caption{Lone Pine Sanctuary \newline UK TG 1972}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{fig25.png}
\caption{A Land of Friendly Birds; \newline See Them Soon. ATC Poster, 1971.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{114}ATC, UK TG, 1972.
\textsuperscript{115}ATC, 'Australia - Big Country Big Welcome,' film, 1971/2.
\textsuperscript{116}ATC, 'Australia - Big Country Big Welcome,' film, 1971/2.
\textsuperscript{117}These reserves includedCurrumbin and Heron Island. See ATC, Poster, 1971; ATC, Poster, 1968, entitled 'A Land of Friendly Birds. See Them Soon'.
All ATC productions, and particularly those which featured the entire South Pacific Region, constructed tropical resorts as edenic paradises. Images and voice-overs stressed the isolated, idyllic peace and abundance; good things, good people, white sand, turquoise or sapphire seas, lush ferns, vivid colours and near nudity. Urban beach images were adorned by young women in brief bikinis, lying supinely on the sand and eroticising a backdrop of extreme male physicality (Fig 26).

Fig 26 'Warm and Welcoming
UK TG, 1972

ATC images were often voyeuristic and captured men looking at unaware women, whom were simultaneously presenting themselves to attract the admiring male gaze (Fig 27). Captions often alluded to sexual promiscuity, female availability and willingness. These playtime images institutionalised a particular style of femininity, which was distinguished by its maternal instinctiveness, passivity and heterosexual attractiveness.

In sharp contrast, Australian masculinity was defined as spectacularly

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118 ATC, 'South Pacific Adventure,' film 1967/8
121 Lesley Johnson, 'Femininity' in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart MacIntyre (eds). The Oxford Companion to Australian History (Melbourne: OUP, 1999), 245-6.
physical. Dominant images emphasised strength, youthful energy, endurance, competitiveness and aggression. These were manifested in surf life saving carnivals (Fig 28), VFL matches, horse racing, and world class sporting events. Captions announced 'Sport is King'\textsuperscript{122} and conflated the importance of sporting battles in Australia with bull fighting in Spain.\textsuperscript{123} Images of surfboat races were captioned 'brawny crews battling waves two stories high' (Fig 29).\textsuperscript{124}

Images of VFL matches captioned the sport as 'legalised mayhem',\textsuperscript{125} and 'a free for all frenzy'. All sporting participants were male. On the rare occasion that a female golfer did appear, she had four air swings before mis-hitting the ball with the side of her club. Her novice status was overplayed. The camera wobbled and shook, and the musical backing ground to a halt.\textsuperscript{126} This single inclusion of a female sportsperson reflected a change in Australian society, wherein women had

\textsuperscript{122}ATC, USA TG, 1972
\textsuperscript{123}ATC, USA TG, 1972.
\textsuperscript{124}ATC, USA press ad, 1967.
\textsuperscript{125}ATC, 'South Pacific Adventure,' film 1967/8.
\textsuperscript{126}ATC, 'South Pacific Adventure,' film 1967/8.
recently 'penetrate[d] state structures'\textsuperscript{127} and traditional male domains. Recent legislation had enabled married women to work in banks and the commonwealth public service, and adult women to drink in bars. This foreshadowed dramatic social change.\textsuperscript{128} By reviving the 1890s male frontier 'Lone Hand'\textsuperscript{129} form of masculinity\textsuperscript{130} and downplaying 'domestic man',\textsuperscript{131} the ATC underscored national commercial imperatives and reinforced male authority when it was being undermined by feminist activism. Aggressive frontier masculinity of the 1890s was revived by the ATC and modified for new nationalist purposes which were linked to physical activity on the mining frontier, and the competitive world of international trade and market development.

The Useable Past - Frontier Workers

The ATC privileged images of the pioneer tradition and used them to construct a distinctive national identity. Dominant images featured tradesmen demonstrating their ancient crafts in reconstructed gold mining towns at Sovereign Hill and pioneering settlements at Swanhill (Fig 30);\textsuperscript{132} as well as historical re-

\textsuperscript{127}Lesley Johnson, 'Femininity' in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart MacIntyre (eds). \textit{The Oxford Companion to Australian History} (Melbourne: OUP, 1999), 245-6.

\textsuperscript{128}Alison Mackinnon, 'Gender Relations,' in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart MacIntyre (eds). \textit{The Oxford Companion to Australian History} (Melbourne: OUP, 1999), 276-7.

\textsuperscript{129}Susan Magaret, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan (eds). \textit{Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s} (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 1-16, xvii.

\textsuperscript{130}The 'Lone Hand' form of masculinity is identified with 'virile young men assaulting the virgin bush'. See, Marilyn Lake, 'The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context', in Susan Magaret, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan (eds). \textit{Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s} (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 1-16, 5.

\textsuperscript{131}The 'domestic man' form of masculinity was institutionalised during the postwar period to encourage 'responsible breadwinning' and population growth. See, Marilyn Lake, 'The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context', in Susan Magaret, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan (eds). \textit{Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s} (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 1-16, 2.

\textsuperscript{132}The Pioneer Village concept at Sovereign Hill in Ballarat was based on Henry Ford's pre-industrial open air village museum in the USA. Major features in Ballarat included reconstructed mines and workshops wherein miners, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, candlemakers, bakers and other trades demonstrated their working activities. See Graeme Davison and Chris McConville (eds). \textit{A Heritage Handbook} (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), 680.
enactments at Old Sydney Town. Paintings by prominent Heidelberg School artists including Streeton, McCubbin and Roberts were selected as representative of major state gallery collections and Australian artistic production. Nostalgia was powerfully evoked through film when these images were combined with popular bush balads including 'Click Go the Shears',¹³³ and 'Waltzing Matilda'.¹³⁴

This veneration of the recent past downplayed the British heritage, and conceptualised Australia, like the USA before it, as a new land unburdened by the history of the Old World. The ATC downplayed convict associations, and emphasised the way pioneering immigrants and native born Australians had been fueled by dreams of a new and better society (Fig 31).¹³⁵

¹³⁵ATC, UK TG, 1972, 39.
The ATC's inaugural logo conceptualised Australia in economic and industrial development terms. It featured a stylised map of Australia with two bold boomerang shaped coastlines to the east and west. These represented the regions that were generating the nation's wealth, and providing a frame for further development. The northern and central regions of Australia were empty and its northern coastline gaped wide open. The letters 'ATC' were implanted in the empty centre and symbolised the interrelationship of tourism and mining. Together these two activities would open up the Australian continent and make it financially productive.

Travel guide covers provide valuable clues as to the nature of contemporary bi-lateral relations. The USA cover represented Australia in nineteenth century American frontier terms, through aesthetics of the technological sublime and primitivism. It positioned Australia as a 'great adventure', and a nation in transition. The juxtaposition of the nearly completed Opera House, with images of 'primitive'

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Australian flora and fauna (including an Aboriginal man), was a narrative of progress (Fig 33). Synchronic time posited an ancient past against imaginings of a glorious future. The present was downplayed. This was symbolised by the expanse of choppy water between two sets of images which polarised the past and future.

Fig 33  A Narrative of Progress
USA TG Cover 1972

138 For the different devices used by advertisers to evoke nostalgia for the past and anticipation of the future see, Judith Williamson, Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising (London: Marion Boyars, 1978), 152-164.
Maps marked mining regions prominently (Fig 34) and otherwise identified the continent as empty and awaiting fulfillment. Australia was also situated within the Pacific/Americas region (Fig 35).

The national identity projected to the targeted American audience, comprising primarily R&R servicemen and business people, was largely shaped by nineteenth century American frontier aesthetics and twentieth century American consultants.
The national identity projected to the UK market, comprising primarily businessmen and visiting friends and relatives (VFRs), conceptualised Australia as part of a larger spatial configuration, and no longer isolated or dependent on the UK.

The Japanese cover projected Australia as an open and welcoming nation, and respectful of cultural difference. A young, attractive Australian female extended a formal, warm invitation (Fig 37). This travel guide was the first produced by an NTO in the Japanese language and it applied Japanese aesthetics of manga (comics) and anime (film animation), to symbolise friendliness, benevolence and affection, through enlarged eyes.

A map in the Japanese travel guide conceptualised the Australian continent as

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part of the Asia Pacific region, and the Australian identity was feminised and
projected to a primarily male business audience, in distinctly modernist Japanese
terms.

This formative period of the ATC's operation marked the beginning of a
process of multi-lateral cultural hybridity. At the end of this five year period there
was a clash of symbols in ATC publications, which signalled the emergence of a
new socio-cultural field and the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the
ATC's 'imagineering' of Australia.
1973-1982: CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Fig 38 Tourist Arrivals by Target Market 1972 and 1982
In December 1972 the Australian Labour Party (ALP) was returned to office after twenty-five years in the political wilderness. The new regime, led by Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, initiated reforms which altered the context within which the ATC operated. Re-oriented foreign and cultural policies shaped ATC market prioritisation and national definition. During this decade, the ATC was located within the Labor government's new department of Tourism and Recreation where it assumed responsibility for domestic and international tourism marketing; and the Fraser Liberal government's department of Industry and Commerce from 1975/76. Shortly after this change in government in 1975, there were major economic studies\(^1\) and a HR Select Committee enquiry into tourism;\(^2\) and the first national tourism conference.\(^3\) These resulted in the recognition of tourism as an important export industry, a dramatic increase in funding to the ATC (Fig 39); and strategies to develop natural attractions and redirect cultural support to the rural areas. This latter government focused on economic return and sought to exploit Australia's natural resources by developing tourist attractions. It also developed a slicker, more commercially orientated national identity for the international tourism market (Figs 62, 63 and 64).\(^4\) During the latter stages of this decade, increasing numbers of images featuring rural and natural attractions were incorporated into ATC productions, and there was a protracted interplay of multiple national identities. In the process, images of urban cultural activities were progressively supplanted.

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\(^{4}\)Prior to the Fraser government's dramatic increase in operating funds in 1980, the ATC's appropriation had remained almost static between 1971 and 1979. Allowing for inflation, the ATC experienced a two thirds reduction in relative funds during this period. See Leiper quoted in John I. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel and Tourism* (Melbourne: Hospitality Press, 1999), 288.
Foreign Policy Issues

During the ATC's first phase in the 1960s, it privileged the view that Australia had much to gain from America, and imaged Australia as an American satellite and a second 'wild west' relocated within the southern seas. Once in office, Prime Minister Whitlam quickly resurrected the 1968-9 enthusiasm for an independent Australian role in Asian regional development.\(^5\) In his manifesto, Whitlam announced Australia was ready to assume mastery of its own destiny.\(^6\) In principle he supported China's doctrine of 'self reliance' and the resolution of economic weaknesses that rendered countries vulnerable.\(^7\) Whitlam argued his government could solve Australia's dependency problem, by using the nation's natural resources wisely, building upon important relations with Japan and western Europe; and developing a more complex, variable and balanced web of international relations.\(^8\) Whitlam committed his government to a wider regional responsibility, in both economic and cultural terms, and reassigned the USA and UK relationships to two of several broader options open to Australia.\(^9\) This dramatic change in Australian foreign policy was contemporary to the increasing recognition that the Bretton Woods system had failed and there was a shift occurring in the world's economic centre of gravity, which would in turn affect established international relations.\(^10\) Uncertainty prevailed as to the final shape this reconfiguration would take. Whitlam's timely re-assertion of national

\(^{5}\)Bruce Grant, *The Crises of Loyalty: A Study of Australian Foreign Policy* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson in association with The Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1972), xiv, 98.


independence and his juggling act were prudent, given that multiple teleologies were visible. Whitlam stated his government would correct the mistake of its predecessor by treading a delicate path. It would, he added, simultaneously engage with the international community in a balanced manner, and reflect Australia's own national interest.  

There is considerable correlation between the government's foreign policy statement and ATC market prioritisation. Allowing for some degree of wax and wane in response to short term events, Figure 39 demonstrates that the period was generally characterised by a greater orientation towards Japan, and fluctuating levels of marketing effort directed towards the UK and USA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<td>78</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>- 7</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>- 5</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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12Arab-Israeli conflict sparked a global energy crisis. This resulted in an American 'Stay-at-Home' campaign.

13This shift in market orientation reflected an anticipated upsurge in USA visitation after the 1975 PATA conference in Sydney.

14Britain's EEC membership resulted in Australia introducing visa formalities for British travellers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>VISITORS</th>
<th>% change prev yr</th>
<th>MARKET PRIORITY</th>
<th>Total Govt Approp ($ million)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Market share %</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>- 16</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>- 3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.9</td>
<td>+ 2</td>
<td>8.9</td>
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</table>

15 Special excursion fares were introduced to encourage travel between the Asia Pacific countries and Australia.
16 The ATC sought to share in the dramatic 27% increase in Britons travelling abroad to non-European destinations.
17 New advance purchase airfares were introduced between Australia and ASEAN countries.
18 This dramatic increase followed the Kennedy Enquiry recommendation that travel and tourism be recognised as an important new economic stream.
19 Qantas introduced a new flight between Tokyo and Brisbane.
20 This period was marked by the ATC's incorporation into the Department of Industry and Commerce, and an economic rationalist approach to measuring ATC performance. Focus was placed on both visitor numbers and visitor spending rates.
Cultural Debates

The Whitlam years were characterised by intense cultural debates within intellectual, popular theatre, feminist, ethnic and Aboriginal circles. During its formative years the ATC had imaged the Australian people as a frontier society of constructive workers. This was underscored by the Turner thesis, which informed both the HKF report recommendations and Russel Ward's influential The Australian Legend.\textsuperscript{21} The mid-1960s debates imaging debates resurfaced and intellectuals denounced official explanations of the Australian character as simplistic and regressive. They argued that the recurring pioneering image, or 'problem of traditionalism'\textsuperscript{22} was a great travesty.\textsuperscript{23} Counter voices included a popular ocker theatre which projected a confident, masculine, urban (rather than rural) Australian identity as a bulwark against international cultural influences.\textsuperscript{24} They were supplemented by immigrant groups seeking formal cultural recognition within a society that dismissed difference and expected acculturation. Within this environment, the new government took a more interventionist role in shaping the national identity. It directed cultural support away from parochial productions and towards more internationalist and refined cultural activities, in an attempt to both advance autonomous cultural development and unite the various groups. A major policy document was inspired by de Tocqueville's lament that rulers use men to make great things rather try to make great men.\textsuperscript{25} This underpinned the commitment made by Whitlam's government to develop Australians' competency in the 'art of living', and promote leisure time as an opportunity to advance self...

\textsuperscript{21}Russel Ward, The Australian Legend (Melbourne: OUP, 1958);
\textsuperscript{23}Donald Home, The Intelligent Tourist (Sydney: Margaret Gee, 1992), 288.
\textsuperscript{25}Commonwealth Department of Tourism and Recreation, Leisure: A New Perspective (Canberra: AGPS, 1974), 5.8.
actualisation and engage in creativity activity. This was a dramatic shift within a nation that had pursued economic development at the expense of social reform for the last twenty-five years. And with this range of policies - culture, identity and leisure - tourism promotion provided an ideal arena for ideology normalisation.

The new emphasis on tourism drew on a number of philosophical bases of ALP policy, including new attitudes to leisure. The ALP embraced the new humanist psychology of A.H. Maslow and his theory of self actualisation, and argued that modern work no longer satisfied all peoples' interests and impulses, and that a total fixation on modern progress was ill founded. These sentiments were formally endorsed in the Coombs' Report of 1973. It stated that the 'hysterical pursuit of economic growth' had distorted the guiding values of civilisation. This contemporary theory reinforced the growing belief that constructive leisure was an important re-creative activity in its own right, rather than purely time out of the working mainstream. The 'back to nature movement' of the late 1960s in the USA was one manifestation of this trend. It was founded on the belief that urban societies needed to restore balance to their lives through leisure in natural settings. The USA 1965 Wilderness Bill of Rights was based on the assumption that all people in modern civilisation needed wilderness to

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27 Commonwealth Department of Tourism and Recreation. Leisure: A New Perspective (Canberra: AGPS, 1974).
preserve their mental and physical well being;\textsuperscript{33} and both the 1972 UNESCO draft
convention of World Heritage and the UN Declaration of Human Environment
sought to universalise this ethic and preserve important wilderness regions.\textsuperscript{34}
Whilst the previous Liberal government had established the Australian National
Parks and Wildlife Service in 1971,\textsuperscript{35} the Whitlam regime systematically inculcated
a new ethos of natural appreciation and re-creational leisure. Their agents for
change included the new cultural policy and the new heritage register.\textsuperscript{36}

Not only did these initiatives further a social need for balance and
revitalisation, they were used for nationalist education and socialisation purposes.
The government acknowledged, like its USA counterpart before it, that in order to
unify a diverse population and instill feelings of belonging; a love of the land, its
creatures and its heritage must first be inspired.\textsuperscript{37} The 1974 Report of the National
Estate identified important sites for preservation. These included Aboriginal sites,
and items of the built and natural environment. Underpinning the new ALP policy
of autonomous cultural advancement was Serle's study of cultural growth. Serle
contended that for a transplanted society to achieve social cohesion and bloom, it
must see its country as a fit subject for art;\textsuperscript{38} and for a truly Australian culture to
evolve, the people needed to experience the Australian setting and learn to

\textsuperscript{33}Roderick Nash, 'Toward a Philosophy of Wilderness', in his Wilderness and the American Mind
\textsuperscript{34}Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven/London: Yale University Press,
1967), 377.
\textsuperscript{35}Graeme Davison and Chris McConville (eds). A Heritage Handbook (Sydney: Allen & Unwin,
1991), 659.
\textsuperscript{36}Commonwealth Department of Tourism and Recreation. Leisure: A New Perspective (Canberra:
AGPS, 1974); and Commonwealth Committee of inquiry into the National Estate. Report of the
National Estate (Canberra: AGPS, 1974).
\textsuperscript{37}Jakle, John A. The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America (London: University of
Nebraska Press, 1985), 68.
\textsuperscript{38}Goethe quoted by Geoffrey Serle in his From Deserts The Prophets Come: The Creative Spirit in
Australia 1788-1972 (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1973), 57. Serle's text also drew on T.S. Eliot's The
Wasteland, and was an attempt to civilise and enrich the 'Australian Wasteland'. See Geoffrey Serle,
From Deserts The Prophets Come: The Creative Spirit in Australia 1788-1972 (Melbourne:
Heinemann, 1973), 232.
appreciate the 'things that [were] there'.\textsuperscript{39} To ensure the 'cultural exactitude'\textsuperscript{40} of a new national identity and the success of their policies, the government amended the ATC's mandate to include domestic promotion and relocated it within the new Department of Tourism and Recreation. The ATC was also directed to create an environment of appreciation for cultural diversity; and promote knowledge of the cultural, social and educational benefits of tourism.\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{Culture - The Art of Living Now}

The subtle shift in the title of the ATC’s major campaign for this period masks the extent of the ideological shift that led to a repositioning of the Australian identity. The previous themes of 'Old Continent, New Nation' and 'You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet', and all their associations of improvement, man against nature and bigness; were replaced by the theme of 'Ancient Landmass : New Country'.\textsuperscript{42} By selecting the word 'country', the ATC strategically included and linked by definition, all Australians by birth or citizenship, the land of the nation, the space outside cities, and all the music emanating from within them. The theme also alluded to the separation of a fragment of land from a larger mass, and placed man and nature in an ongoing project of creating a new and different 'order'.\textsuperscript{43} One film voice-over located the origin of this culture-nature nexus with the Aborigines, and explained that the First Australians, had preserved a delicate balance with nature through artistry and ingenuity, and that 'their complex mythology' provided inspiration for future generations. This theme therefore marked a shift from the earlier glorification of material progress and the conquering of nature, to the creative adaptation of all Australians to their environment and living in harmony


\textsuperscript{40}Bob Ellis quoted in, Susan Dermody and Elizabeth Jacka. \textit{The Screening of Australia: Anatomy of a Film Industry}, vol 1 (Sydney: Currency Press, 1987), 37.


\textsuperscript{43}ATC, \textit{Waltzing Matilda}, 1980, film.
with nature.

Cityscapes did not privilege soaring modernist architecture under construction, or hedonistic pleasure. Rather the manmade environment was downplayed, the human presence was elevated and the human experience was predominantly defined in terms of constructive leisure. Whilst ATC images had previously exaggerated the size of city buildings by tilting the camera upwards at close range, during this phase they did the opposite.

They either changed the scale by distancing the camera and placing it on a level plane, shot downwards from a great height, or lopped off top stories. In so doing, city blocks were carefully balanced by neighbouring natural features, including the harbour and botanical gardens (Fig 40), and skyscrapers were downplayed by moving them beyond the picture frame. The application of a picturesque aesthetic,
the dwarfing of major buildings\textsuperscript{45} (Fig 41) and the emphasis on green belts were defining features of this period. So too was the nature of the buildings themselves. Rather than emphasise modern commercial office blocks, defining images of major cities were stately homes,\textsuperscript{46} grand shopping malls,\textsuperscript{47} Victorian railway stations,\textsuperscript{48} and cultural institutions (Fig 42) including art galleries, museums and libraries.\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{Fig 42 Stately Cultural Cities.} 
Japanese TG 1979; UK TG 1980

\textsuperscript{45}See the dwarfing of Parliament House, ATC, USA, 1982; and the Australian War Memorial, ATC, \textit{Australia: Your Convention Continent}, 1977.


\textsuperscript{47}See Queen Victoria Building, Sydney: ATC, Japanese TG, 1979; ATC, UK TG, 1980.

\textsuperscript{48}ATC, USA, 1982.

Images of modern transport zipping along multi-laned freeways were replaced by pedestrians strolling leisurely along tree lined, city streets; shot at eye level, framed by nature and clipped of tall buildings (Fig 44). The aesthetic of the technological sublime was replaced by an artistic one. Images featured fine arts collections and intricately decorated ceilings inside stately buildings including galleries (Fig 43), churches and heritage sites; and civic sculpture (Fig 45). Instead of cities being imaged as models of material progress, captions drew attention to the natural, intellectual, refined, and personal character of Australian urban centres.

Within this almost universally applied urban template, the ATC changed the way in which human activity was conceptualised and measured. Rather than be valued in terms of constructive work, relieved by intervals of hedonistic play, dominant images represented Australians engaged in constructive leisure activities. These included gaining competency in the art of living, and travelling.

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within Australia to increase knowledge and appreciation of the landscape and its people. The earlier bias towards sport was balanced by community and professionally organised artistic pursuits, including drama, ballet, music and the visual arts (Fig 46). The 'art of living' was characterised by the appreciation of 'high culture', fine dining and making 'lunch an event' at the Hotel Windsor in Melbourne (Fig 47).\textsuperscript{54} Exquisite silverware, fiery opals,\textsuperscript{56} specialist floral displays in distinctive heritage arcades,\textsuperscript{57} the hosting of dinner parties,\textsuperscript{58} extending bush hospitality of tea and scones in the best English china after a cattle muster,\textsuperscript{59} strolling through natural beauty in botanical gardens, and relaxing amongst the style and ambience of stately heritage homes.\textsuperscript{60}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig47.jpg}
\caption{The Art of Living, Japanese TG, 1979}
\end{figure}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{54}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film
\textsuperscript{55}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film; ATC, USA TG, 1982.
\textsuperscript{56}ATC, UK TG, 1981.
\textsuperscript{57}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film
\textsuperscript{58}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film
\textsuperscript{59}ATC, Travellin' Round, 1975/76, film.
\textsuperscript{60}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film
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Texts distinguished the Australian lifestyle, from that of Europe and North America, in terms of Australians possessing the ability to enjoy their leisure time. Captions celebrated 'the hours of sunshine still ahead after business doors closed' and images showed citydwellers flocking to performances of live theatre, orchestral concerts, opera, ballet and classical guitar recitals. Of note was the way in which the ATC reinvented Perth from a raw frontier city to a major cultural centre.

These high culture activities were balanced by an extensive range of community arts festivals and popular street culture. Major events included the Adelaide arts and wine festivals, the Barossa Valley grape harvesting and maypole festivals, the Hahndorf village festival and outback celebrations in Alice Springs and Darwin including the Beer Can Regatta, Camel Cup and Henley-On-Todd races.

The earlier serious spirit of constructive work in both city and outback was downplayed and a 'lively sense of fun', community spirit and cultural engagement defined the nature of Australianness.

The nature of sport was reinscribed. Rather than ennoble aggressive masculine contact sports like VFL and elevate them to the equivalent of Spanish bullfighting, or man against nature, sport was conceived in different terms. It presented opportunities for players to experience themselves as skilful and social human beings in natural surroundings, whilst striving for excellence within a team. Images featured intense concentration, and victorious cricket and football players overcome by emotion and team spirit, heartily congratulating each other. The earlier stereotype of the surf lifesaver was also contested. Rather than he be finely

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61 ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film
62 ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film
63 ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film
64 ATC, USA TG, 1982
65 ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film
66 ATC, USA, 1982
67 ATC, Outback Festivals of Australia, 1976, film
68 ATC, Outback Festivals of Australia, 1976
toned, bronzed and charmingly heroic; texts asked: 'if you are wondering where all the bronzed Australians play, head for a weekend surf carnival' and then cut to two intense, unapproachable male heads wearing surf caps, and peering watchfully at the camera. The surf boat races suffered a similar fate, in that their nobility and physicality were downplayed. Waves were smaller, crews were clumsier, and the focus was skilful teamwork.\textsuperscript{69} Beaches were also transformed into places of social mingling and creative activity. Previous images of gazing males and parading females were supplanted by mixed groups interacting as friends, and family groups relaxing whilst children created sand castles. Images of heroic male physicality were replaced by scenes of Australians of all ages, both genders and diverse ancestral backgrounds contributing to the enrichment of Australian culture.

The government's directive to the ATC to promote images of social and cultural diversity resulted in a greater degree of 'cultural exactitude'.\textsuperscript{70} It was also designed to 'rid Australia of its racialist image'\textsuperscript{71} and inculcate acceptance of recent radical social reforms including 'equal pay' for women in 1972,\textsuperscript{72} Asian immigration and the erosion of the White Australia policy, and the Aboriginal Land Rights Act of 1976.\textsuperscript{73} The previous ATC produced model of Australian femininity as attractive, passive nurturers was downplayed and a new definition featured women as more socially, intellectually and physically equal to their male counterparts. Dominant images included beautifully groomed women attending cultural and stately affairs, females participating in popular events including the

\textsuperscript{69}ATC, \textit{Waltzing Matilda}, 1980, film.
\textsuperscript{70}This expression was coined by Bob Ellis and quoted in, Susan Dermody and Elizabeth Jacka. \textit{The Screening of Australia: Anatomy of a Film Industry}, vol 1 (Sydney: Currency Press, 1987), 37.
\textsuperscript{71}E.G. Whittam, \textit{Australian Foreign Policy: New Directions, New Definitions}, Twenty-Fourth Roy Milne Memorial Lecture, 30 November 1973 (Brisbane: Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1973), 73.
\textsuperscript{72}Damien Cash, 'Equal Pay' in, Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart Macintyre (eds). \textit{The Oxford Companion to Australian History} (Melbourne: OUP, 1999), 222.
\textsuperscript{73}Heather Goodall, 'Aboriginal Land Rights' in, Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart Macintyre (eds). \textit{The Oxford Companion to Australian History} (Melbourne: OUP, 1999), 5-7.
Darwin beer can regatta\textsuperscript{74} and enjoying refreshments in outback pubs,\textsuperscript{75} professional expertise,\textsuperscript{76} strong sporting ability,\textsuperscript{77} and business proprietorship in traditional male spheres.\textsuperscript{78} Images of women as alluring sexual objects decreased in ATC produced copy; however they did endure a little longer in conference promotional films and industry partner advertisements.\textsuperscript{79} The definition of masculinity was also reinscribed. Rather than reinforce the narrow model of nineteenth century aggressive mateship that assaulted nature, images defined masculinity in broader terms that included emotional depth, creative and intellectual capability, nature appreciation, and physical strength. Men were imaged as romantic lovers and nurturers of children;\textsuperscript{80} passionate artists in fields including classical ballet and music;\textsuperscript{81} actors in Shakespearean drama wearing makeup and dresses;\textsuperscript{82} legal and judicial practitioners;\textsuperscript{83} and nature enthusiasts.\textsuperscript{84}

Fig 48 Nature Enthusiasts
ATC Annual Report and Poster, 1977/78.

\textsuperscript{74}ATC, Outback Festivals of Australia, 1978, film.
\textsuperscript{75}ATC, Travelling Round, 1975/76, film.
\textsuperscript{76}For women delegates at international conferences see, ATC, Australia: Your Convention Continent, 1977, film; and marine biologists at work see, ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.
\textsuperscript{77}Contrary to the novice female golfer in the earlier chapter, one film featured a female competitor defeat her male opponent in a tennis match. See ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1960, film.
\textsuperscript{78}For a female cattle ranch proprietor see, ATC, Australian Overture, 1981, film.
\textsuperscript{79}For female dancers in Kings Cross see, ATC, Australia: Your Convention Continent, 1977, film; and a bikini clad woman captioned 'Ready and Waiting for You', see Victorian Government advertisement in ATC, USA TG, 1982.
\textsuperscript{82}ATC, Australian Overture, 1981, film.
\textsuperscript{83}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.
\textsuperscript{84}ATC, 1977 Poster; ATC, Annual Report, 1977/8, cover.
Images of sport divided the picture frame evenly between male action and natural environment, to downplay male physicality and place nature and culture in a balanced, harmonious relationship (Fig 49).\textsuperscript{85} During this period, the ATC defined, produced and disseminated images of Australian men and women that were more complex and equal in status when compared to the previous period.

![Fig 49 Sporting Activities within Nature](Japanese TG 1979)

Whittam was highly conscious of the negative international reaction to the White Australia policy and the plight of the Australian Aborigines. His government was determined to inculcate a more tolerant attitude to cultural difference and challenge the notion of a single Australian way-of-life. Many commentators have since located the seed of Australian cultural pluralism within this administration.\textsuperscript{86} Images downplayed the earlier stereotypical images of blond, bronzed, Anglo-Saxon Australians; and featured others with alternative skin and hair colouring. Voice-overs explained how recent waves of immigration had advanced Australian economic development and cultural enrichment.\textsuperscript{87} ATC productions featured Japanese business men,\textsuperscript{88} Indian families enjoying icecreams,\textsuperscript{89} traditional Greek weddings,\textsuperscript{90} European businessmen embracing and kissing each other on two cheeks,\textsuperscript{91} and the happy intermingling between different groups, including Asian

\textsuperscript{85}ATC, Japanese TG, 1979.

\textsuperscript{86}John Lack, ‘Multiculturalism’, in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart MacIntyre (eds), The Oxford Companion to Australian History (Melbourne: OUP, 1999), 442-3.

\textsuperscript{87}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.

\textsuperscript{88}ATC, Australia: Your Convention Continent, 1977, film.

\textsuperscript{89}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.

\textsuperscript{90}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.

\textsuperscript{91}ATC, Australian Overture, 1981, film.
men and women, and Australian Aborigines. The representation of Aboriginal people, however, was inconsistent, and often ATC images conflicted with paid industry advertisements. During the period, the earlier stereotypes of natural ‘primitive’ and assimilated ‘cowboys’ were refined. An early film presented a traditional Corroboree and emphasised nakedness, face painting and leg stomping. There was no evidence of a contemporary context. By contrast, later photographs made important gestures. They used a naturalist aesthetic and combined different kinds of wildlife in a montage, together with images of ‘traditional’ Aboriginal and contemporary non-Aboriginal peoples (Fig 50).

Further images featured Aboriginal youths and were captioned ‘The Original Australians - Proud, gentle hunter’ (Fig 51). These latter examples attempted to place traditional Aborigines within a contemporary context. Aboriginal art was similarly treated. Voice-overs during scenes of major state art galleries advised

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93 ATC, 1975 PATA, film.
95 UK TG 1980
'primitive' Aboriginal art had contributed significantly to Australian cultural production.\textsuperscript{96} Whilst this reflected a shift in contemporary curatorial practice, wherein Aboriginal artworks were housed in cultural galleries rather than in natural history museums, these images marginalised contemporary Aboriginal artistic methods and concerns. These ATC representational advances were in sharp contrast to industry advertisements.\textsuperscript{97} One example featured a stereotypical line drawing of a semi-naked Aboriginal man holding a spear and relaxing on one leg. This was captioned 'For over 35 000 years...Fact...The Australian Aboriginal has...acquired the ability to stand on one leg. Why? Because its his way to rest...Fact. Menzies guests do not have to stand on one leg...' (Fig 52).\textsuperscript{98}

During the Whitlam era, images generally downplayed Aboriginal difference and featured assimilated indigenous families and groups intermingling with others in city streets, local parades\textsuperscript{99} and outback working environments.\textsuperscript{100} Importantly, the

\textsuperscript{96}Representations did not feature contemporary Aboriginal art styles which reflected HKF report recommendations. See, ATC, \textit{Waltzing Matilda}, 1980, film.
\textsuperscript{97}ATC, USA, 1982.
\textsuperscript{98}Menzies Hotel, Sydney advertisement in, ATC, USA TG, 1982.
\textsuperscript{100}ATC, USA, 1982.
myth of peaceful settlement was deconstructed. Aborigines were formally recognised as Australia's First People and the violent nature of the frontier was recognised in voice-overs which stated ‘for eons Aborigines...lived harmoniously with nature and were a casualty of European settlement'. Overall the Whitlam years were marked by a reluctance to exploit Aborigines and commodify their culture. After the Fraser government took office in December 1975, there was a marked increase in the ATC's use of Aboriginal imagery and music. These examples of ATC images were drawn predominantly from this latter period. Representations of Australianness broadened considerably during this period. The nation was reinscribed as a cultural mosaic, and characterised by its rich cultural diversity.

Nature - As Work of Art

The book title The Past is a Foreign Country\textsuperscript{102} is an apt description of the dramatic change in the ATC representation of the Australian landscape, its flora and fauna, and the relationship between man and nature, in this second period. Rather than organise Australia into three zones of 'uncivilised', 'frontier' and 'manmade utopia', and a narrative of modern progress, the wilderness regions were reinvented as manifestations of the creative genius of nature, over the 'La Longue Duree'.\textsuperscript{103} Previously driven by utilitarian values, the ATC had invited tourists to visit these grotesque, arid and eerily ancient regions before they were inevitably and deservedly transformed. This was replaced by a narrative of creative artistry and distinction. The ATC urged travellers to leave their manmade world and undertake a 'personal expedition of discovery', to refresh themselves

\textsuperscript{101} ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.
\textsuperscript{102} David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
and contemplate the great natural wonders of Australia.\textsuperscript{104} Through hermeneutic devices including sequencing, 'musical' scores, captions and lyricism, regions were sorted into categories of unique beauty including rainforests, high country, the bush, the wetlands, the tropical beaches and coral cays, and the outback desert. Text projected cultural policy onto the landscape and stated that natural wonders distinguished the new Australian fragment of an 'earlier ancient landmass', and together they formed a complex composite that had 'evolved in its own special way'.\textsuperscript{105} Nature and culture were cojoined in a project of creative growth and adaptation. They were both in a 'state of bloom'.\textsuperscript{106}

From this potential warehouse of national symbols, the ATC privileged the chain of coral cays along the Queensland coastline and the desert region of the outback, and promoted them as two of the last remaining pristine wilderness areas accessible to modern man. Both of the region's key defining features, namely the Great Barrier Reef and Ayers Rock, were recognised as national parks during this period.\textsuperscript{107} The characterising features of the Reef were the pristine waters, the brilliant colours and contrasts of the marine wildlife and coral polyps\textsuperscript{108} (Fig 53), its illimitable space and diversity of lifeforms, and the intricate architectural formations built up by nature over centuries. A description of the Reef from the earlier period (as a 'timeless', 'lavish masterpiece', created and exhibited by Mother Nature for human wonder and pleasure\textsuperscript{109}) was resurrected by the ATC and given ideological hardening. Its dimensions of time and space were compared to the Grand Canyon.

\textsuperscript{104} ATC, \textit{Australia Naturally}, 1983, film.
\textsuperscript{105} ATC, UK TG, 1981.
\textsuperscript{106} ATC, \textit{Australia Naturally}, 1983, film.
\textsuperscript{107} The Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act was effective from June 1975, and Ayers Rock, renamed Uluru after the original Aboriginal owners, was gazetted in May 1977. See, ATC, \textit{Annual Report}, 1975/6; ATC, \textit{Annual Report}, 1979/80.
\textsuperscript{109} ATC, 'South Pacific Adventure,' film 1967/8.
and Mount Everest,\textsuperscript{110} and captions announced the 'patchwork of islands' was the 'world's greatest phenomenon'.\textsuperscript{111} This larger consciousness was reinforced by dramatic classical music film scores, which imbued this site with an aura of religious wonder and creative mastery. The aggregation of thousands of fragmentary islands and lifeforms, 'all different in their own way',\textsuperscript{112} into a single harmonious masterpiece, both symbolised and prescribed an ideal contemporary Australia, in terms of it being a dynamic cultural mosaic.

The previous definition of Australian flora and fauna as archaic, stubborn and weirdly original, was also reversed. Instead, this period celebrated their distinctiveness as a 'benefit' of isolation.\textsuperscript{113} Captions stressed the way Australian wildlife had 'evolved in its own special way'.\textsuperscript{114} ATC productions featured almost every conceivable form of Australian flora and fauna. Two defining images were koalas and kangaroos; and during 1980, a large colorama screen at New York Central Station featured five koalas in Lone Pine Sanctuary.\textsuperscript{115} Images of both kangaroos and koalas monopolised the front and rear covers of travel guides, posters,\textsuperscript{116} and opening scenes of films (Fig 54).\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{111}ATC, UK TG, 1981
\textsuperscript{114}ATC, UK TG, 1981.
\textsuperscript{115}ATC, \textit{Annual Report}, 1980.
\textsuperscript{116}ATC, Poster 1975.
Qantas exploited this visibility, adopted koalas as one of their two corporate symbols, and personified them as cute, cranky marsupials.

Fig 55 Qantas Koala 'Don’t Expect Me to go Overboard’ USA TG 1981

Images of flora and fauna applied a naturalist aesthetic and were loaded with conservationist messages, which promoted the view that an interdependent relationship existed between wilderness preservation and tourism development.\(^\text{118}\)

By juxtaposing images of mineral extraction and native flora and fauna, the ATC produced a narrative of Australian environmental sensitivity. The earlier aesthetic


\(^{118}\)ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.
of the industrial sublime was mocked by long distance shots reducing massive earthmoving equipment to the size of Tonka trucks and setting them alongside magnified images of delicate desert flowers,\textsuperscript{119} bush caterpillars,\textsuperscript{120} and possums (Fig 56).\textsuperscript{121} Counter images appeared during the latter years however, and signalled the emergence of a new socio-cultural field.\textsuperscript{122} These images cast humans in the role of heroic conquering explorers, (Fig 57) and were a part of the slicker, market orientated images of the Fraser era; which were predominantly directed towards international, rather than domestic audiences.

\textsuperscript{119}ATC, Japan TG, 1979
\textsuperscript{120}ATC, 1975 PATA, film.
\textsuperscript{121}ATC, Australia: Your Convention Continent, 1977, film.
\textsuperscript{122}ATC, UK TG, 1980.
The ATC continued the theme of the creative artistry of nature, and represented the central desert regions as ‘Nature’s greatest amphitheatre’,\textsuperscript{123} and Uluru, its centrepiece landmark as Australia’s spiritual heartland. Dominant images emphasised the deep red gorges, eroded scarps and ancient rock formations of the red centre. (Fig 58)\textsuperscript{124} Captions and voice-overs celebrated the majesty of the heart of the country, which it argued was ‘wilderness like no-where else’.\textsuperscript{125}

Soundtracks blended and ennobled the elemental sounds of nature, calls of fauna, traditional Aboriginal Dreaming songs accompanied by the didgeridoo, orchestral classics and popular ballads including ‘Waltzing Matilda’, and folk songs from the ‘Seeker’ youth culture including ‘River of Love’.\textsuperscript{126} This symbolically unified the diverse sounds of nature and culture, and associated them all with these significant national sites. These sounds of the country imbued Uluru with an aura of religiosity and it was elevated to a national shrine equivalent to Kenya’s ‘Treetops’ and the USA’s ‘Niagara’.\textsuperscript{127} Voice-overs stated the ‘split in the ancient crust’ provided a dramatic scene for Nature to

\textsuperscript{123}ATC, UK, 1981.
\textsuperscript{124}These were predominantly the ‘Super Rock’ (Uluru), see ATC, UK TG, 1978; Katatjuta (formerly known as Mount Olga), see, ATC, UK TG, 1981; ATC, Australia Naturally, 1983, film; Wilpena Pound in the Flinders Ranges, see ATC, UK TG, 1981.
\textsuperscript{125}ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.
\textsuperscript{126}ATC, Travellin Round, 1975/76, film.
perform her 'drama of a daily rebirth'. This 'huge monolith' was conceptualised as an 'sacred gallery, out of which emanated the inspirational 'spirit of the land', in the form of the country's First People's Dreaming.

ATC productions blended ideology drawn from Eliot and the Dreaming to construct an Australian creation myth and imbue Uluru with an aura of ancient spirituality and creative power. Intertextual references to Eliot's *The Waste Land* and his theories of cultural growth were readily identifiable in ATC texts. These include the concepts of nature as a life-force emanating out of the 'significant soil' of a 'red rock' in the form of a 'river', comprised of many 'earthly voices' and manifestations for mankind to 'apprehend and hear' in order for them to bloom. Dreaming beliefs also informed ATC images. These concepts included culture and nature as part of one complete environment, all objects share the same soul; and rocks are temples for the spirit of the Earth Mother, which provide inspiration. All these intertextual references were used by the ATC to create a link between the country's two pre-eminent symbols. At the conclusion of one major film, a white misty spiritual river emanated out of Australia's central heartland, and flowed over vast patchworks of intervening golden landscapes, to the major cultural symbol of the country, the Sydney Opera House. The arrival of this spirit of many voices from within the land symbolised the harmonious union of Australian nature and culture; and the emergence of a new national spirit. Films promoting *Around-Australia-Trips* also narrated a rite of passage. Song lyrics explained that once travellers had experienced directly the beauty, wonder and

129 ATC, UK TG, 1982;
132 Eddie Kneebone quoted in Mudrooroo, *Us Mob* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1995), 34.
135 This film was made for the domestic market, but was later rolled out to international audiences. See, ATC, *Travelling Round*, 1975/76, film.

spirituality of their homeland, they were irrevocably altered. Young Australian travellers were revitalised and strengthened by their sense of belonging to a land, having a responsibility to 'take to it, go about it [and] see to it,' and commit themselves to a new national vision.\(^{136}\)

The Usable Past - A Colonial Golden Age

Australia's past was radically reinscribed by the ATC. Images of the worker traditions of pioneer villages were deconstructed and replaced by scenes of the colonial aristocracy, and their rich cultural legacy. Old images were resurrected for new purposes and new images were also incorporated. Although the ATC did feature some alternative traditions -- such as sacred Aboriginal 'dreaming' sites\(^ {137}\) -- dominant images featured a more elite, autonomised and refined Australian past. The major agent of deconstruction was the film entitled \textit{Waltzing Matilda}.

Opening and closing scenes featured sepia colouring and a slightly distorted soundtrack, as the 'Bushwacker' band energetically performed the title ballad. Within these sepia borders, were vividly coloured and sharply focused images of contemporary Australia. A voice-over announced 'the bush tradition of hard work' was a part of romantic 'folklore'.\(^ {139}\) The explicit use of sepia symbolically suggested the pioneering tradition was an anachronistic shell that Australia should shed. Pioneer villages were instead sites within which beautifully dressed aristocratic families posed for photographic portraits, groups strolled leisurely through gracious heritage townscapes, young children played in fine uniforms, the village storekeeper admired his beautiful array of canisters, an ingenious horse powered machine freed its owner to pursue more enriching activities, and a dazzling red car parked at a petrol bowser. Colonial Australia was transformed from a population of 'bush wackers' to a model of tastefulness, fine tradition,


\(^ {137}\)ATC, USA TG, 1982.


innovative spirit and user of late technology. This shift was also the major defining feature of the contemporary Australian Film Corporation Period film genre.

But most ATC images of the period avoided this representational method of re-creation and re-enactment -- or 'Gimcrack Australiana'\(^\text{140}\) -- and privileged restored, 'authentic' historic sites. (Fig 59)\(^\text{141}\) Captions imbued resurrected images with new meanings. The previous association of violence and shame with penalty\(^\text{142}\) was replaced by praise for the British 'stock and spirit', and their ability to 'begin to build a dream'.\(^\text{143}\) Picturesque images of Port Arthur featured the church, fountain, lion sculpture, and remaining convict made structures nestled amongst gentle grassland scenery.\(^\text{144}\) Images of The Rocks, likewise privileged beauty, form and style, this time within the stately home of a member of the landed elite.\(^\text{145}\)

Fig 59 Stately Constitution Dock, Hobart. ATC, Annual Report 1975/76

Captions accompanying images of the Royal Flying Doctor Service in Alice Springs, directed attention away from its bush associations and towards its

\(^{140}\)Heritage images applied the contemporary stylistic hierarchy of the National Trust which was replaced by the more inclusive Burra charter of 1981. See, Graeme Davison and Chris McConville (eds). A Heritage Handbook (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), 660-1.

\(^{141}\)Graeme Davison, 'Heritage' in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart MacIntyre (eds). The Oxford Companion to Australian History (Melbourne: OUP, 1999), 308-9.

\(^{142}\)ATC, USA TG, 1972.

\(^{143}\)ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.

\(^{144}\)ATC, 1975 PATA, film; ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.

\(^{145}\)ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film.
ingenious adaptation to the Australian environment. The most noticeable shift however, was the dominance of new images including historic mansions, homesteads, and symbolically important public buildings, which were all organised into a narrative of endogenous cultural growth. A heritage poster 'Australia: Discover Yesterday Today' illustrates this well. (Fig 60).

At its peak was located a magnificent example of British architectural artistry resembling the Garden Palace exhibition building in London. Several layers overlapped this founding image. The sequence culminated in a fine example of an Australian colonial homestead with return verandahs. This incorporated the best features of all preceding images and was adapted to the Australian landscape, into which it nestled harmoniously.

All of these traditions were linked by an organising thread. The Aboriginal 'Dreaming' was a creation myth of the country, the British stock created a colony and 'built a dream'; and the Whitlam era was committed to creating a distinctive,

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146 ATC, USA TG, 1982.
147 Key defining features included Como, the South Yarra mansion, see ATC, Waltzing Matilda, 1980, film; ATC, Japan TG, 1979; colonial homesteads with uniquely Australian verandas, (This was important because the 1970s was generally a period when people removed their verandahs to modernise their homes). See ATC, Japan TG, 1979; ATC, Australia: Discover Yesterday Today, Poster, 1973; banking institutions including the Union Bank, Melbourne; legal institutions including Bathurst Courthouse. See, ATC, Australia: Discover Yesterday Today, Poster, 1973; religious institutions including the Memorial Church in Alice Springs. See, ATC, 1975 PATA, film; St James in Sydney, and St Pauls in Cobbtty. See ATC, USA, 1982; and other significant sites including Hyde Park Barracks, the Old Mint, Parliament House and Fort Denison. See, ATC, USA TG, 1982. see.
148 ATC, Australia: Discover Yesterday Today, Poster, 1973
culturally enriched Australia. The ATC’s mobilisation of the national heritage strengthened the Whitlam government vision of a more internationally attuned, endogenously driven, refined Australian cultural tradition.

**Maps and Things**

Two events improved the accessibility and affordability of international travel to Australia during this period. Jumbo jets serviced Australia from 1974 and cheaper charter fares were introduced by Laker in the late 1970s. Interestingly this coincided with the ATC’s manipulation of maps and the repositioning of Australia's place in the world. Rather than present Australia as ‘hanging’ off the bottom of the globe, the ATC repositioned Australia to the centre of the pictureframe (Fig 61).

![Fig 61 Australia Repositioned to the Centre of the World](image)

ATC Annual Report 1981

Australia was also conceptualised domestically as having found its spiritual centre at Uluru. During the Whitlam era, the bush became a backdrop to the cities,\(^\text{150}\) and

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the outback desert regions became the national heartland, or centre. This dual process of finding a centre, both domestically and internationally, suggests that both the strident cultural nationalism and increased international accessibility, enabled the ATC to identify Australia as a more integral part of the world community, and a self actualised nation.

Fig 62 ATC logo 1982

The new ATC logo of 1982 (Fig 62), exemplified the Fraser government's new approach to tourism as an important export industry. The logo featured a stylised yellow kangaroo sheltered by a solid blue frame. The official explanation was that it symbolised the nation as one travel product. A new era had begun in Australian tourism marketing, during which time Australia's natural resources were be exploited for economic gain, and Australia the country became 'Australia the travel destination' (Figs 63 and 64).\textsuperscript{151}

\textsuperscript{151}ATC, Annual Report, 1982/3.
Fig 65 Visitor Arrivals by Target Market  1983 and 1991
Paul Hogan's 'Put Another Shrimp on the Barbie' campaign of 1984 has been called the 'big bang' of the history of Australian tourism (Fig 66).\(^1\) Certainly it marked the beginning of an eight year phase during which time a number of events, both within and without the ATC's ambit, led to a sharp increase in arrival figures. These included a number of departmental restructures, select committees and tourism related conferences; the broadening of marketing mediums; domestic events including the America's Cup Challenge in 1987, Expo and the Bicentennial celebrations of 1988; and international influences which impacted upon Australian tourism, which will be discussed shortly.

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\(^1\) Wayne Tregaskis, "Tourism's Big Bang", *Tourism and Hospitality Update*, 60, (March 1998), 13.
happen' as a quiet achiever, international markets knew 'more about the moon than Australia', and there was no point waiting around the 'woolshed for cardigans to come back into fashion'. The implication was that the Australian wool industry was in decline and the tourism industry could be a panacea, if the government would provide a significant increase in funding. The immediate allocation of $22 million enabled the ATC to launch its first international television advertising campaign. This was co-ordinated by Mojo, the agency responsible for the 'C'mon Aussie C'mon' campaigns of the 1970s which, it has been argued, decolonised the Australian mentality.

The Kennedy Enquiry of 1985/6 criticised the ATC's ocker marketing campaigns because they had resulted in profitless volume. It recommended ministerial appointment of board members, the positioning of Australia as a worldclass rather than budget destination, adoption of customer needs based marketing, and a review of corporate imaging. By repositioning Australia as a more prestigious destination, projecting Australia in a way that was known to appeal to international tourists' imaginations and desires, and directing marketing efforts towards the affluent traveller, it was expected that tourism would generate considerable returns on investment and help alleviate Australia's serious economic problems. As a consequence, the Hawke government reigned tighter control over ATC policy, privileged customer rather than host sovereignty.

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3 $22 million to be distributed over the following three years.
(prioritised tourist needs and interests before Australians' in relation to resource development), and adopted an economic rationalist approach to tourism. Later tourism enquiries including the BTR\(^6\) and CEDA\(^7\) reports moderated this approach. They stressed that economic imperatives should be balanced by a degree of caution in relation to the negative impacts of mass tourism.

Numerous external matters also influenced the almost trebling of international travel to Australia during this period (Fig 68). These included European terrorism, the Gulf War and travellers seeking safer destinations; the enormous growth in Asia-Pacific travel, and the Japanese government's determination to internationalise their people by encouraging travel.\(^8\) The ATC exploited these opportunities. It imaged Australia as a safe friendly destination far away from the conflict zones of Europe and the Middle East, and promoted Australia as part of the Asia-Pacific region when Europeans were venturing further afield and flocking to Asia. Certainly the time was right for Australia's 'Big Bang' and the increased funds provided the ATC with the means to autonomously produce campaigns and advertise Australia on the heretofore unaffordable medium of international television.


Fig 68 Target Market Statistics and Government Funding: 1983/4 to 1991/2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>VISITORS</th>
<th>% change prev yr</th>
<th>Total Govt Approp ($) million</th>
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9The 1983/84 Annual Report identified the USA market as having 'enormous potential' due to the unprecedented popularity of Australian film, vocalists, musicians, authors and sportspeople; the Asia Pacific region was the major growth market of international tourism; and UK visitors were spending more and staying longer, making them 'genuine' tourists rather than visiting friends and relatives (VFRs). In the 1985/6 Annual Report, John Rowe, ATC Managing Director, advised that for more than two years the ATC had given priority to the American market because they judged the time to be ripe to do so. He added that the ATC was also marketing aggressively in Japan.

10Arrival numbers ranked markets as follows: 1-New Zealand, 2-UK, 3-USA, 4-Total Asia excl Japan, 5-Total Europe excl UK, 6-Japan.

11Following the Kennedy Report of 1986/7, the ATC restructured markets into three regions: the Americas, Asia and Europe.
Fig 68 Target Market Statistics and Government Funding: 1983/4 to 1991/2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VISITORS</th>
<th>Market share</th>
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International Relations and Cultural Debates

Concerns were increasingly expressed about the impacts of multinational corporations in Australia and overseas from the early 1980s. In a context of economic crises and the negotiation of a new international economic order, there was considerable disquiet about the domination of tourism by multinational corporations and the way in which vast areas had been transformed as a result.

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12 Budgeted arrivals for 1988 were set in 1985/6 as USA 390,000, Japan 230,000, and UK 225,000. Despite the marketing focus on USA, results were very disappointing. Japan on the other hand had surpassed all expectations and the UK was a solid performer.
13 International arrival numbers at the end of 1991 were: USA 36.5 million (versus 7.3 million in 1968, +400%), Australia 2.4 million (versus 147.876 in 1968, +1500%), Japan 3.5 million (versus 352.832 in 1968, +900%).
14 The growth in Asian arrivals in Australia (excluding Japan) meant it was elevated to Market No. 1, followed by Japan, which was treated separately.
15 This represented half of one percent (0.005%) of total world arrivals. Based on arrival numbers, Australia’s markets were ranked as follows: 1-Japan, 2-New Zealand, 3-Total Asia excl Japan, 4-UK, 5-USA, 6-Total Europe excl UK.
A UNESCO publication described how local social structures in developing and developed countries had been disrupted, environments despoiled, cultural production determined by saleability rather than local meaningfulness; and new relations had been forged of dependence, subservience and acculturation. It argued that the new international order should not be merely economic, national development should be endogenous; and in the interests of world peace, it was important that national identities and cultural authorities were preserved. Since then experts have worked on new international relations frameworks and drawn on theories of integration, interdependence and transnational convergence to show how endogenous state identities can be maintained by structured interaction amongst states.

Within this environment the Hawke government transformed Australia from a closed, protected, regulated economy to one that was flexible, internationally viable and open. Restrictions were removed on international capital flows and investment, ownership of rural land, mining-exploration rights and banking licences. The government also lent cultural support to a commercialised version of an established, and yet outdated, national identity so as to act as a bulwark against cultural imperialism. And international tourism was posited as 'the Accelerator' and 'cure' for Australia's economic problems.

The realisation that tourism had supplanted wool as Australia's biggest

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export industry in 1988/9, was both celebrated and agonised over. Influential interest groups elevated identity issues to the fore in an attempt to ensure endogamous development and advance their views on the form it should take. Many groups had grievances about the collapsing consensus on the original ideals of Australian multiculturalism. Opposition leader, John Howard was opposed to cultural pluralism and Asian immigration, and Prime Minister, Bob Hawke supported the integration of Australian people into a mainstream whole, rather than the celebration of difference. The ATC imaging of Australia supports Stokes claim that Hawke privileged a nostalgic ‘regressive male ensemble’ rendering of nationalism, that resulted in official Bicentennial cultural productions reviving the ‘Australian Legend’. This provoked considerable public reaction and the 1989 Gobbo enquiry recommended cultural policy be refined to recognise all Australians of Aboriginal, Anglo-Celtic and Non-English Speaking Background. Aboriginal activists vehemently rejected their re-classification as one ethnic group amongst many, rather than as Australia’s First People. The tensions of maintaining domestic social harmony in a culturally plural globalising Australia, were reflected in ATC productions.

26Bill Faulkner and Michael Fagence. Frontiers in Australian Tourism: The Search for New Perspectives in Policy Development and Research (Canberra: Bureau of Tourism Research, 1988), 8-16
Men At Work

The diverse Australian population was essentialised by the ATC as friendly, welcoming 'Aussie Mates', and charming hosts with a distinctively Australian approach to life, accent and vocabulary (Figs 69 and 70). Rather than project images of people at serious constructive work, or engaged in enriching cultural pursuits, Australians were defined as white collar service industry workers dedicated to making tourists feel at home and ensuring they were well looked after. This 'uniquely Australian spirit' was embodied by two celebrity presenters, namely Paul Hogan (1983-1988) and Greg Norman (1988-1991). Hogan's persona blended the Australian larrikin and ocker types, and in typical Mojo style, Australianness was nostalgically constructed in white, male, Anglo-Celtic, 'common man' or 'ordinary Australian' terms. Despite texts defining Australia in terms of its rich ethnicity, only token gestures were made to include other groups, including assimilated and 'traditional' Aborigines, and migrants, who were predominantly attired in traditional dress. Dominant images featured stereotypical beach lifesavers, bush and outback workers, and sportsmen engaged in 'Aussie rules' football and other activities. Each of these types were assigned hosting responsibilities. ATC productions identified 'traditional' Aborigines as boomerang throwing experts.
waiting to teach tourists their skills, a 'rich source of art and folklore' that tourists could purchase or experience, or willing hosts. Images captioned Aborigines, including a baby boy sitting alone in the outback, with the universal Australian welcome, 'G'day' (Fig 71). Women were chiefly identified in tourism hospitality terms including waitresses happily offering bread baskets, inviting guests within accommodation venues, and airline hostesses extending the familiar greeting, 'G'day'. The German community at Hahndorf was the representational migrant group. ATC images identified these traditionally attired Australians as 'Special People' that performed community festival spectacles, or were produce suppliers to tourism attractions, including vintners. Noticeably, these token gestures of Aboriginal and migrant inclusion, were completely absent in the Hogan television commercials, which applied a tourism aesthetic of the punchy, fast, and simplistic advertising message.

The meanings of Australianness and sport were re-inscribed. Rather than sport be conceived in terms of masculine aggression as it was in the 1960s, or personal skill development in the 1970s, sporting events were represented by the ATC as spectacular services for visitors and a showcase of Aussie mateship.

34 ATC, USA TG, 1988.
35 ATC, UK TG, 1986.
37 ATC, USA TG, 1983.
38 ATC, USA TG, 1984.
40 ATC, USA TG, 1984.
41 ATC, USA TG, 1991.
Images of the America's Cup Challenge and VFL matches were captioned, 'Year of the Visitor' and 'Good on You, Sport.' This latter heading was a standard feature of travel guides and defined Australian sport in terms of supportive friendship. Lifesavers were celebrated as 'heroic bronzed Aussies' and 'wonders from downunder' for their helpfulness, and alertfulness during beach patrols, rather than for battling monolithic waves. Farmstay hosts were captioned 'the drover', 'the man from the bush' and 'bush families', and were venerated as 'friendly True Blue folk' for their 'HelpfulHints' and courteous attention. Images of farm houses and smiling owners were captioned 'any trip Down Under should include a stay at a farm for a 'fair dinkum' look at the real countryside. You'll see jackaroos, jillaroos, billabongs, drovers and merinos'. It was explained that guests '[didn't] have to do any work. Just relax, sit back and get a sense of the pioneering life...[in the] heart of Australia'. But the dominant image was of Paul Hogan himself 'firing up the barbie' (Fig 72), or standing atop the Sydney Harbour Bridge, dressed as the Statue of Liberty, welcoming American tourists. In his bold, satirical and charismatic way, Hogan unabashedly asserted an outdated endogenous identity to the international community. It was populist, commercial and proud.

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43ATC, USA TG, 1985.
44ATC, USA TG, 1984.
45ATC, USA TG, 1984.
48ATC, USA TG, 1983.
49ATC, USA TG, 1991.
51ATC, 'Slip Another Shrimp on the Barbie,' international television advertisement, 1984, ATC Order No. 30992 (not in archives); ATC, 'Us Aussies Like you to Feel Right at Home,' international television advertisement, (no date, circa 1985).
nationalism. Mojo has since stated they were playing with stereotypes held by Americans. The representation of Australian people was in many ways a confidence trick by the ATC. And it was concerned about potential indifference or hostility towards outsiders. The ATC had to ensure that Australians lived up to the image they had created of a friendly, hospitable host society. They launched an extensive domestic campaign to inculcate the required attitudes. This was spearheaded by Hogan, who as a popular media identity, had considerable persuasive power. Hogan told Australians ‘not to make a liar out of him’, and to ‘flash their pearly whites and say hello to a visitor’ because tourism was a creator of Australian jobs. To ensure all Australians and international guests were of like mind, the ATC produced glossaries (Fig 73) which explained local customs including the compulsory mocking of authority and gambling, and the ocker language. Noticeably, shrimp was excluded. ‘Yabbies, Muddies and Barramundi’ appeared. 

![Fig 73 Aussie Glossary including Arvo, Bloke, Brolly, Fair Dinkum and G’day.](image)

UK TG 1987

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53 ATC, ‘Don’t make a liar of Me,’ domestic television advertisement (undated).
54 ATC, UK TG, 1986.
Varieties of Australian wildlife were also represented as enthusiastic tourism ambassadors. Images featured 'smiling' (or rather open mouthed) platypus, desert lizards, seals and kookaburras (Fig 74). Captions included 'G'day'; and 'by the way, the [Tasmanian Devil] has an image problem, but you'll find it really friendly'.

Koalas were identified as 'friendly treasures' and Japanese travel guides were saturated with images of joyful cartoon marsupials welcoming visitors to Australia (Fig 75).

Shortly after the Kennedy enquiry recommended that Australia be repositioned from a budget to a world class destination in order to attract affluent tourists (Fig 76), images featured a more sophisticated, cosmopolitan and exotic Australia. Mojo and Hogan's parochial ockerism was replaced by a more urbane

56 ATC, USA TG, 1988; USA TG, 1983; USA TG, 1990.
57 ATC, Poster, 1988/9; Poster 1987.
58 ATC, Japan TG, 1983; ATC, Japan TG, 1992 (Ken Done designed cover); ATC, Japan 1987.
Greg Norman and the D'Arcy Masius advertising agency. Rather than reinforce the 'frontiersman' and 'common man' stereotypes, Norman played with them, highlighted their inaccuracies and projected a more contemporary image of Australia. This method is best illustrated with landscape imagery and will be discussed again later. In this latter phase, representation of ethnicity was more realistic, and composite images juxtaposed headings 'The Aussies', with increasing images of people with Asian backgrounds. These groups however, were primarily represented in terms of their culinary exotism, and the diversity of 'Aussie Tucker' progressively became a defining feature of Australian culture (Fig 77). The latter period of this chapter was marked by the interplay of conflicting images, as the ocker style was supplanted by a more sophisticated, cosmopolitan image of Australia.

60ATC, Annual Report, cover 1985/6.
61Captions including ‘Seafood or Souvlaki’ and ‘Szechuan, Tortillas, Satay, Baclava: Australian Cuisine’, accompanied images of different ethnic restaurateurs displaying their fare. See, ATC, UK TG, 1990; ATC, UK TG, 1988 (cover).
The nature of Aboriginal representation was dramatically transformed in this latter stage also. As the novelty of 'ordinariness' and larrikinism paled, the appreciation of Aboriginality and exoticism increased. This was linked to both the targeting of better educated, wealthy tourists and international trends of heritage and cultural tourism. The earlier representation of traditional Aborigines within a contemporary setting of boomerang demonstration (Fig 78), was supplanted by a primitivist aesthetic which exoticised Aborigines and placed them outside time. Images of Aboriginal groups performing corroborees, playing the didgeridoo, and dancing in the desert\textsuperscript{62} bore headings 'Timeless People, Timeless Land'\textsuperscript{63} (Fig 79).

But narratives often conflicted. Some suggested Aborigines were a dying race,\textsuperscript{64} whilst others announced Aborigines are 'Waiting' for you.\textsuperscript{65} Certainly the increase

\textsuperscript{62}ATC, USA TG, 1991.
\textsuperscript{63}ATC, UK TG, 1988
\textsuperscript{64}These textual references included excerpts from Oodgeroo Noonuccal's poem 'We are Going', see, ATC, USA TG, 1991; and voice-overs asking will traditional Aboriginal elders 'go...from these desolate lands, like...chief[s] to the rest of [their] race', see, ATC, 'Down Under No Longer,' film, undated, post Bi-Centennial, circa 1989, NAA C4547, 27.
\textsuperscript{65}ATC, UK, 1991.
in Aboriginal representation after 1988 would suggest the emergence of a new socio-cultural field, which coincided with the 1985 Miller Report's recommendations. Two of which were that an important goal of tourism must be economic equity for Aboriginal people, and that the ATC should consult with Aboriginal communities before developing marketing images.

WORLD'S LARGEST ISLAND PLAYGROUND

All Australians were represented as 'Dinki-Di Aussie' hosts, and Australia as a destination, was essentialised as a big, clean, safe and smiling 'Land of Wonders' (Fig 80). Travellers were invited to 'get away from it all,' because Australia was the biggest pleasure island in the world, crammed full of 'all the good things nature

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68 ATC, 'Slip Another Shrimp on the Barbie, Land of Wonder,' international television advertisement, 1984
70 ATC, 'Smooth as a Gravy Sandwich,' international television commercial (undated, circa 1986).
and [the Australian people had] ready'.\textsuperscript{71} The cities and 'The Bush' were imaged as one cohesive chain of 'wonders' beginning in the urban centres, and flowing throughout the entire island playground.

Cities were personified as cheeky, vibrant and friendly;\textsuperscript{72} and represented as the bearers of every experience tourists could possibly wish for. Texts announced cities (which were regularly termed 'attractions' or 'experiences') were 'unmistakably Australian'\textsuperscript{73} because of the amenities they offered tourists, including grand entertainment and surprisingly fresh informality. Captions stated 'Australian cities were the only ones in the world that could 'make YOU feel positively relaxed'.\textsuperscript{74} Cityscapes featured 'exuberant activity', 'restful repose' and social activities in luxury resorts, tropical gardens, wildlife havens, 'magnificent' waterways and city beaches (Fig 81).\textsuperscript{75}

Images privileged azure waters dotted with pleasure craft of every imaginable kind, stylish social gatherings and entertainment at casinos (Fig 82), exhilarating sporting events, and relaxed cosmopolitan outdoor dining.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{71}ATC, UK TG, 1986.
\textsuperscript{72}Perth 'winked cheekily' as the sun set. ATC, UK TG, 1990; Melbourne's 'fairy lights glittered'; Sydney glistened. UK TG, 1990.
\textsuperscript{73}ATC, UK TG, 1986; ATC, UK TG, 1985.
\textsuperscript{74}ATC, UK TG, 1988.
\textsuperscript{75}ATC, USA TG, 1986/7.
\textsuperscript{76}ATC, USA, 1986/7.
Texts announced this endless menu of experiences provided opportunities from morning to sunset for travellers to indulge in the exciting and gracious Australian 'way of life'. The urban template applied to all cities included 'stunning' architecture and skylines, perfect weather, seaside settings, good food and wine; and joyous social interaction and entertainment at outdoor events and concerts. Whilst images highlighted the grandness and beauty of the cities; they privileged the human presence and emphasised party atmospheres. and the endless consumption of goods and services. A dominant image of the Harbour Bridge during the Bicentennial fireworks epitomised the Australian city experience. It was captioned 'a friendly, welcoming, 'laughing candle' (Fig 83).

Fig 83 The Friendly City Experience
USA TG 1988

The ATC claimed Canberra was particularly Australian because it exuded the 'shared island way' of joyous laughter and co-operative teamwork. Visitors were invited to discover both these sides of the city. Images featured highly coloured hot air balloons drifting over major institutional sites and captions identified Canberra as a 'capital city that forgets to be serious' (Fig 84). These light spirited activities were balanced by images of parliament house and tourists were encouraged to watch Australian politicians 'haranguing each other in glorious full colour democracy'. An evocative voice-over from a major film encapsulated the values associated with the potent new national symbol of New Parliament House. Entitled 'Australia: Down Under No Longer', this film both promoted and reflected a

77 ATC, UK TG, 1990.
78 Sydney 'loves' to party. See, ATC, USA TG, 1988.
80 ATC, USA TG, 1988.
81 ATC, USA TG, 1988/7.
heightened sense of national confidence:

Australian Capital Territory, the peoples capital. The Heart of a Nation. The showcase of Australia. A city conceived and built to serve a new nation. [my emphasis] The heart of the greatest island nation in the world.\textsuperscript{82}

Representations of New Parliament House emphasised the harmonious union of the Aboriginal inspired paving mosaic representing the Australian Outback, the structural columns representing ghost gums and the Australian Bush tradition, and the towering metallic flagpole. This symbolised Australia's shining present and also hinted at a brighter future.\textsuperscript{83} The Australian people, their cities and the nation's politicians were constructed as consensually engaged, dedicated workers. 'Ordinary' Australians were imaged as welcoming hosts and proud ambassadors, cities were imaged as fun-filled tourist getaways from the problems of modern life, and Australian leaders were shown to be exemplars of Australian democracy, and devoted to serving the nation.\textsuperscript{84}

Australian cities were conceptualised as the anti-thesis of international contemporary 'big smokes',\textsuperscript{85} or smog jungles. The ATC claimed that Australian

\textsuperscript{82}ATC, 'Australia: Down Under, No Longer,' film, undated circa 1988, NAA: C4547, 27.
\textsuperscript{83}ATC, UK TG, 1980.
\textsuperscript{84}ATC, 'Australia: Down Under, No Longer'.
\textsuperscript{85}ATC, UK TG, 1988.
cosmopolitan restaurants and boutiques provided all the benefits of living in 'Paris, London or Rome', without the disadvantages. Australian cities were positioned as tourist escapes and a source of revitalisation. Texts asserted the refreshing aura of Australian vitality emanated from zestful Australians and their 'love of life'; and through osmosis permeated out of glittering skyscrapers, blossoming botanical gardens, leafy boulevards and pavement cafes.

Two significant events impacted upon the ATC's conceptualisation of the Australian landscape. Between 1981 and 1992 the first ten Australian World Heritage sites were declared. Half of these were located in the northern coastal regions, including the Great Barrier Reef. Two others, namely Kakadu and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks, were located within the Northern Territory. The other event was the controversial 'handing over of Uluru' to the Mutitjulu community by the Hawke Government in November 1983, and its 'lease back' by the Commonwealth government on a ninety-nine year lease. In so doing, the ATC's campaign 'Land of Wonders' was internationally legitimated; and their promotion of Uluru, in terms of its 'local Aboriginal community, which [owned] the land', quietened claims of indigenous exploitation and presented Australia internationally in a more positive light. Conditions of World Heritage classification includes the provision of tourist accessibility and the development of a code of ethics to promote sensitive tourism. Together these two events provided the ATC with an

87 ATC, USA TG, 1984.
89 Peter B. English, Storm over Uluru: The Greatest Hoax of All: A Resume of Events Leading up to the Questionable Hand-Over of Australia's most Famous National Park to Aboriginal Claimants (Perth: Veritas, 1986), 1-15.
90 Anne Drost, 'Research Notes: Developing Sustainable Tourism for World Heritage Sites', Annals
enhanced range of natural symbols for national aggrandisement and commercial advantage.

Contrary to previous representations of the remote regions as worthless, or natural works of art for human contemplation, these spaces were reinvented by the ATC as the world's most dramatic sites,91 and a natural playground for city weary tourists. The 'Island' was divided into different pleasure zones, all distinguishable by their unique natural features and range of tourist activities, including hiking, camping, climbing and fishing.92 Not only were Australians and cities defined in terms of their usefulness to tourists, the landscape was likewise represented. Together these regions comprised the 'Land of Wonder - The Bush Down Under',93 which was essentialised as wide open spaces, a heavenly climate, 'Smiles by the Mile',94 (Fig 85) and 'Adventures in Wonderland'.95

![Smiles by the Mile](image)

Fig 85 A Natural Playground for City Weary Tourists

UK TG 1987

Although regions other than the Outback and the northern coast, were featured in publications, the ATC privileged these two 'wilderness' zones. Outback

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91 ATC, USA TG, 1984.
92 ATC, USA TG, 1984.
travellers were encouraged to explore the 'untamed Outback'\textsuperscript{96} of the Northern Territory's 'Last Frontier',\textsuperscript{97} 'Drive into Freedom',\textsuperscript{98} get 'Off the Beaten Track'\textsuperscript{99} (Fig 86) in the 'Virgin Territory',\textsuperscript{100} and scale the skyline of Uluru.\textsuperscript{101} One image that gained increasing visibility over the latter period was golfing activities in remote, open spaces. This was particularly the case in Japanese market publications.\textsuperscript{102} Images showed 'adventurers' travelling the central desert on camels,\textsuperscript{103} exploring endless desert horizons in four wheel drive vehicles or safari groups,\textsuperscript{104} trekking through vast rock formations,\textsuperscript{105} hot-air ballooning,\textsuperscript{106} (Fig 87)

and flying in light aircraft\textsuperscript{107} and helicopters\textsuperscript{108} over rugged rocky outcrops and desert plains. After a days adventuring, images featured tourists retiring to luxury

\textsuperscript{96} ATC, 'Come and Say 'G'day,' The Wonders Down Under,' international advertisement, (undated, circa 1985).
\textsuperscript{97} ATC, USA TG, 1988.
\textsuperscript{98} ATC, UK TG, 1990.
\textsuperscript{99} ATC, USA, 1987.
\textsuperscript{100} ATC, UK TG, 1985.
\textsuperscript{101} ATC, UK TG, 1990/1.
\textsuperscript{102} ATC, Japanese TG, 1983.
\textsuperscript{103} ATC, USA TG, 1987.
\textsuperscript{105} ATC, UK TG, 1985.
\textsuperscript{106} ATC, USA TG, 1991.
\textsuperscript{107} ATC, Japanese TG, 1987.
resorts including the new Sheraton at Uluru, and enjoying the best of five star
Australian hospitality\textsuperscript{109} (Fig 88).

Images of these prestigious resorts, featured ‘authentic’ Australian produce
available for sale. And texts encouraged visitors to purchase Australian designed
outback clothing, including Akubra hats and Drizabone coats, as well as Aboriginal
art. Captions stressed these products would make visitors, upon their return,
‘stand out from their neighbours’ at home.\textsuperscript{110}

The ATC also promoted Australia in terms of its ‘thousands of miles of the
world’s greatest beaches’.\textsuperscript{111} By imaging the nation as the world’s largest island, it

\textsuperscript{109}ATC, UK TG, 1985.
\textsuperscript{110}ATC, USA TG, 1986/7.
\textsuperscript{111}ATC, USA TG, 1984.
sought to capitalise on international preferences for island holiday getaways. Australia was increasingly defined in terms of what tourists wanted. ATC texts asserted tourists could 'feel [their] troubles disappear' in the coastal 'World of Wonder', as they relaxed at superior resorts and explored 'unspoilt' deserted beaches and rugged coastlines. Captions included 'Life in the Fun Lane', 'You may be the only person around for miles', 'Relaxing in the Land of Dreamtime' (Fig 89), and 'Laze away in a heavenly climate'. These accompanied images of sapphire water, swaying palm trees, and brilliant white sand, to evoke an aura of rapture for these edenic havens. To catch the imagination of more 'energetic explorers', the ATC invited travellers to 'take a peek...[and] discover another world' amongst the iridescent wonderland of coral and fish. Text appealed to desires for excitement and intimacy by assuring travellers they could 'surround [themselves] in colour and movement, and the fish would be friendly and curious, and 'come close for a look'. Yes, even the fish were friendly! (Fig 90). Bird sanctuaries on virginal island archipelagos also offered a 'special touch of Paradise'. Both desert and coastal images used aesthetics of the sublime and romanticism to appeal to the emotions of travellers seeking heroic, mysterious travel experiences.

112 ATC, UK TG, 1990.
113 ATC, USA TG, 1984.
115 ATC, USA TG, 1984.
118 ATC, UK TG, 1990.
120 ATC, UK TG, 1990.
By defining both regions as unexplored, pristine and timeless wildernesses; the ATC attempted to match old world culture with ageless monumental scenery, and establish a claim to antiquity. However, the emphasis placed on the virginal nature of the landscape, perpetuated Eurocentric visions and rendered historical Aboriginal stewardship of the landscape invisible. It has since been suggested this form of representation was a malign reassertion of the concept of Terra Nullius.\textsuperscript{121}

Towards the end of this period there were indications of a confrontation of landscape symbols. The aesthetic of romantic exploration was increasingly counterbalanced by more ecological values. This was an indication that recommendations made within the Kennedy Report were being implemented. Rather than a monolithic representation of the landscape as a playground for unreserved consumption and enjoyment, voice-overs alluded to the complexity of environmental relationships and expressed a greater understanding of underlying patterns of nature. Great Barrier Reef images were captioned 'exquisitely beautiful, extraordinarily fragile',\textsuperscript{122} the Tasmanian wilderness as 'the last temperate rainforest',\textsuperscript{123} and text supporting outback images stated 'no-where else

\textsuperscript{121}Tom Griffiths, 'History and Natural History: Conservation Movements in Conflict?', in John Rickard and Peter Spearritt (eds), 'Packaging the Past? Public Histories', special issue of Australian Historical Studies (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991), 16-32, 23.
in the world could landscape so starkly remind you of the small position mankind occupies in the vast universe'.  

Greg Norman's 'Yellow Cab' campaign featuring a New York cabbie encapsulated this transformation. Immediately following the cabbie's recount of American misperceptions, including the stereotype that the continent is 'hot and dry and all red', the taxi magically transcended the streets of Manhattan and emerged out of Lake Pedder in the Tasmanian wilderness. The sound track stopped and the camera zoomed outwards to accentuate the interrelationships and precious nature of a World Heritage site. There were similar confrontations of city images during this latter period. Increasingly a more complex ATC rendition of urban Australia was visible. This emergence of contesting images suggested a new socio-cultural field was imminent.

THE USABLE PAST - WAVES OF ENTERPRISE

The ATC drew on two newly created 'deep' pasts and pushed back the dawn of Australian civilisation to pre-'Pharaonic' times. This link with Egypt legitimated Australia's claim to antiquity at a time when heritage tourism was big business. The ATC drew on 'recent archaeological findings' and the Commonwealth Historic Shipwrecks Act of 1976 (CHSA), to stretch Australia's history back forty thousand years and 'liberate it from British dependency'. The ATC used an organising principle of three waves of migration to construct the past as a cohesive chain of events and unite all Australians in a common enterprise of national development. Aboriginal people were reinvented as the 'first wave' of human migration with a culture that 'predate[d] all Western civilisation'. The CHSA enabled Australia to annex pre-settlement maritime history to the

125 ATC, 'Yellow Cab,' television advertisement, 1991, ATC Order No. 30992 (not in archives).
126 ATC, USA TG, 1986/7.
127 ATC, USA TG, 1984.
129 ATC, USA TG, 1984; ATC, USA TG, 1986/7.
national past and relegate Captain James Cook as a relative latecomer in the second wave of migration. The ATC defined this as European rather than British in nature. The new maritime past supported a trade orientated rendering of Australian settlement commencing with Jansz of the Dutch East Indies company in 1606; and developing through a series of Dutch, Portuguese and French exploratory missions. The third wave was anchored by the ATC in the mid-nineteenth century gold rush era, and was characterised by the 'arrival of many Chinese Australians'. This period was identified as the one during which these three waves coalesced into an 'ethnic mix' and 'a new society of free people evolved which was distinctly Australian in character'. The discourse of multiculturalism was projected back into the mists of time and the diverse Australian population was represented as one long cohesive chain of enterprising migrants.

Heritage images privileged a narrative of national development through bourgeois enterprise. This rendering differed considerably from earlier narratives of pioneer folk, or aristocratic cultural achievement. Penal and pioneer heritage sites were reinscribed, new images were incorporated, and images of refinement and architectural purity were marginalised or removed completely. Dominant ATC images back projected a coherent and continuous ethos of commercial enterprise onto the 1930 depression years, gold mining industries, the Australian frontier, penal settlements and maritime exploration. ATC productions invited travellers to 'relive history' and 'join in the fun' at heritage sites. Rather than encourage quiet contemplation, the ATC represented heritage spaces as postmodern theatrical

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events of spectacle and costume. Critics have since called these methods of representation 'simulacra',\textsuperscript{135} or populist 'hi-di-hi[s]'\textsuperscript{136} The deep sea past transformed the nature of settlement from its convict associations to Dutch East Indies Company trading ones and the expansion of commercial networks.\textsuperscript{137} Images of heritage docklands emphasised produce warehouses\textsuperscript{138} and crowded marketplaces.\textsuperscript{139} The key defining images of The Rocks and Port Arthur were a uniformed 'lobsterback' British officer and mercantile activities\textsuperscript{140} (Fig 91). 'Lobsterbacks' were British Royal Navy Marine officers that accompanied the First Fleet, and had a reputation for irreverent profiteering and entrepreneurial spirits.\textsuperscript{141} Images of established pioneer heritage sites including Sovereign Hill, and new ones at Kalgoorlie and Ophir, showcased agents of communication, trading expansion, and commercial settings\textsuperscript{142} (Fig 92). These included simulacra of heavily laden Cobb and Co coaches, Afghan cameleers servicing outback goldfields, paddlesteamers; and main streets, stage coaches, merchant negotiations, and retail trading (Fig 93). Heritage sites were reinscribed to narrate an alternative vision of the Australian past that privileged a bourgeoisie alignment.

\textsuperscript{135}Donzelot quoted by Tony Bennett in Don Barry and Stephen Muecke (eds). \textit{The Apprehension of Time} (Sydney: Local Consumption Publications, 1988), 22.
\textsuperscript{137}ATC, USA TG, 1984.
\textsuperscript{138}ATC, UK TG, 1990.
\textsuperscript{139}ATC, USA TG, 1991.
\textsuperscript{140}ATC, USA TG, 1985; ATC, USA TG, 1991.
\textsuperscript{141}Telephone Conversation with Colin Douglas, Manager at Old Sydney Town, 24 August 2000.
During this phase the ATC was supremely self confident. Annual Reports announced Australia was 'a tourism main event'. Travel guides projected this confidence internationally and nationally. They asserted proudly that Australia was making significant contributions to the world community through its manufactured goods, agricultural products and celebrity performers; and taking significant things away including the America's Cup and The Ashes. Many ATC productions, exploited stereotypical images of Australia in order to project a distinctive national identity to attract wealthy city-worn tourists and ward off international cultural influences during a period of heightened transnational activity in Australia.

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143 Managing Director, John Rowe, *Annual Report*, 1985/6, 8.
144 ATC, UK TG, 1987; ATC, USA TG, 1986/7.
145 These included the slogan 'Down Under: No Longer', maps placing Australia at the centre of the globe, and uniquely vernacular Australian expressions and style.

Fig 94 Visitor Arrivals by Target Market 1992 and 1999
DEBATES: THE GLOBAL-LOCAL NEXUS

During the 1980s globalisation became a 'megatrend'\textsuperscript{1} that precipitated a process of capitalist restructuring and reaction, in advanced industrial societies.\textsuperscript{2}

The decade was characterised by an increasing interdependence of markets and production, cross border flows of capital, international strategic alliances, a dramatic increase in world-wide tourism\textsuperscript{3}, and countries developing methods to deal with the new conditions. In Australia, like elsewhere, relations between the former urban-industrial and rural-agricultural areas underwent change as a new international division of labour emerged, and the mainstay of the national economy shifted from primary and secondary industry, to the supply of services and catering to the needs of international tourists.\textsuperscript{4} This phenomenon of world-wide leisure travel provoked considerable international debate about the impacts of mass tourism on natural environments and national cultures; and the need for governments to balance the interests of both host and visitor in socio-economic development.\textsuperscript{5}


\textsuperscript{3}1999 international tourism statistics included: total arrivals, 400 million (versus 60 million in 1960); total spend, US$209 billion, and jobs generated, 60 million. This meant Australian arrivals represented less than 1% of worldwide figures. See John Urry. *Consuming Places* (London/New York: Routledge: 1995), 173.

\textsuperscript{4}Tourism was Australia's largest single export earner, generating 11% of all export revenue, A$10.6 billion in 1993/4 (vs 7% and $2 billion a decade earlier) and provided employment for 6% of the workforce. See Jeffrey Beeston in WTO. *Asian Tourism: Towards New Horizons*. Proceedings of WTO Asian Tourism Conference, Islamabad, Pakistan 10-15 January 1995 (Madrid: WTO, 1997), 62-67.

These concerns were expressed in Australia from the 1970s. They increased in pitch after the Hawke government's economic rationalist, open door, customer sovereignty approach to tourism development. Intellectuals argued that tourism was the latest link in a chain of events in which the Australian landscape was exploited for economic gain. They advocated a more environmentally sensitive approach to resource management, along the lines of the Aboriginal conceptualisation of the earth as mother. Others criticised the way in which Aboriginal culture was commodified and irreparably damaged by the tourist industry. They opposed the way Aborigines were pressed to perform in cultural


centres, subjugated by Eurocentric representations and reduced to curiosities of the tourist gaze; and how indigenous cultural productions were trivialised and reduced to form without content, by intermediaries appealing to tourism aesthetics of the fast, simple and spectacular. These intellectuals advocated consultation with Aboriginal communities, equity strategies, land rights to ensure Aborginalines had some control over tourism development, and the faithful projection of traditions such as Aboriginal metaphysics to guide a greater appreciation of indigenous society. Critics suggested tourism could serve as a 'communicative lifeline' to help Aboriginal peoples regain a sense of community pride and 'orchestrate their own emergence' from poverty and misunderstanding.8

Other commentators contended tourism attractions often displaced a variety of other local land users; ephemeral tourism fashions often led to hasty, inappropriate development; and that urban tourism had turned cities into products to be sold, and middle class playgrounds, rather than public spaces accessible to all and where local communities could express themselves.9 They argued for a more equitable policy of multiple use, that long term interests of Australians be


privileged and that tourist sovereignty be replaced by host community consultation and endogenous development. Within a decade of Brown announcing tourism was a 'new star industry' and the panacea of Australia's socio-economic problems, many intellectuals viewed it as a complex network of exogamous power and a doubled edged sword.

The mid 1980-90s was also a decade marked by controversy about Australia's place in Asia\textsuperscript{10} and polemical culture debates. Both the Hawke and Keating governments were intent on solving Australia's economic problems by engaging intensively with Asia; and Prime Minister, Paul Keating's nationalism was committed to republicanism, Aboriginal reconciliation; and the recognition that geographically, strategically and economically Australia was part of Asia.\textsuperscript{11} The opposition party leadership however contended this deterministic conception of place was both unsophisticated and inappropriate for a predominantly Anglo-Saxon country.\textsuperscript{12} Keating acknowledged the previous consensus about a national identity had collapsed following the struggle over its definition during the lead up to the Bicentennial celebrations. This included the Blainey led support for Anglo supremacy, and the 'new racism' against Aboriginal land right claims, Asian immigration and special provisions for migrants.\textsuperscript{13} The Prime Minister also held a vision of Australia as cosmopolitan and cultured, civicly united and culturally


\textsuperscript{11}David Hollinsworth. 'Aboriginality as Cultural Marker in Post-Colonial Australia', in David Day (ed.) *Australian Identities* (Melbourne: ASP, 1998), 188. Since 1983, market and capital interdependency had increased significantly between Australia and Asia. During 1983 two thirds of visitors were from New Zealand, Europe, UK and USA. In 1993 Japan was the major contributor and it was forecast that East Asian 'Tiger' nation arrivals would increase from 23% to 40% by 2003, making the total Asian share of arrivals nearly 60% (vs 22% in 1983). In addition, tourism infrastructure development in Australia was increasingly financed by Japan. See Jeffrey Beeston in WTO. *Asian Tourism: Towards New Horizons*, Proceedings of WTO Asian Tourism Conference, Islamabad, Pakistan 10-15 January 1995 (Madrid: WTO, 1997), 62-67.


diverse, justly reconciled with and appreciative of indigenous Australians, and honestly at terms with its history of dispossession. The Hawke government initiated, ten year bi-partisan reconciliation agreement in 1991; the 1992 Mabo ruling and the 1993 Native Title Act, were important steps towards achieving this vision.

Keating attacked the Ocker image as only one face of a multi-faceted country. And the Chamber of Manufacturers also argued this image was thwarting their attempts to conduct serious business, and attract manufacturing operations and investment to Australia. Keating determinedly set about developing a clear and coherent national identity both in keeping with his government's vision and in dialogue with what 'significant others' wanted to see in Australia. Australia could only play a part in the region, Keating argued, if it 'went to the world' as One Nation, and with an identity with which Australians were proud and that reflected contemporary realities. Five major studies were commissioned to investigate this 'image problem' in Australia's major tourism markets including Japan, USA and Europe; and to develop research driven campaigns to improve international perceptions of Australia.

Within a short period the new national identity subsequently projected by the


\[15\] ATC, Channel 10 News interview, 'Keating and Santer on Ocker, 1992'. NAA: C4547, 548.

\[16\] For an explanation of the relationship between identity and 'significant others,' see Geoffrey Stokes (ed.) *The Politics of Identity in Australia* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 5-6.


Keating government unsettled conservative groups by its forceful recognition of Aboriginal land rights, prominent inclusion of 'black' Australians, and the rendering of the past as one of invasion. Despite the leader of the opposition's claim that 'national identity develops in an organic way' and politicians should not try to manipulate it, 19 John Howard created an environment to legitimate his counter vision of Australia, and asserted the Anglo-Celtic core culture still existed and needed shoring up. His election campaign of 1996 used the language of 'ordinary Australians' and unity through steadying sameness;20 and he spoke of blanket extinguishment after the Wik judgement of 1996. The 1990s was a period of sharp contestation in relation to Australia's place in the world, its cultural policy and self perception.

RESTRUCTURE AND RE-DIRECTION(S)

During this period the ATC was situated within three different government departments, had its normal appropriated funds increased from $76.1 million to $90 million/year (+18.3%) (Fig 96);21 and became a complex and influential statutory authority. The ATC also received an extraordinary appropriation of $40 million in 1993 to promote rural tourism over three years; in an attempt to offset the loss of primary industry revenue in country regions. During the period, visitor arrivals also increased significantly by 67% to 4.65 million/year (Fig 96). In 1991 a separate Department of Tourism was established and represented in cabinet by Minister, Michael Lee. The government was subsequently very proactive about the industry's development and the Department of Tourism had a strong voice in

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19 Quoting John Howard: 'National identity develops in an organic way over time...governments and their social engineers should not try to manipulate it'; in, Geoffrey Stokes (ed.) The Politics of Identity in Australia (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 1.


21 In 1995, the ATC promotional budget was the largest of all NTO's worldwide and the ATC was judged the global benchmark in tourism marketing at a USA White House conference. See ATC, Annual Report, 1995; World Tourism Organisation, Budgets of National Tourism Administrations (Madrid: WTO, 1996).
national economic debates.22

Within five years, a flurry of research project findings were used to guide ATC activities and undergird a major repositioning of Australia. The first National Tourism Strategy23 identified four goals for the ATC. They were the maximisation of economic return, preservation of Australian culture and the natural environment, and industry service. As a result, the ATC’s mandate was expanded in 1993 to include the coordination of industry development (including indigenous tourism), and the monitoring of environmental and cultural impacts.24 Other studies defined Australia’s key ‘factor endowments’ as natural, cultural and heritage resources;25 stressed the importance of maintaining the ‘authenticity’ of traditional Aboriginal culture, and recommended Aborigines be encouraged to participate in tourism industry planning, so that contemporary Aboriginal culture could be supported.26 One major project entitled the ‘Branding of Australia’27 combined the findings of visitor surveys, intellectual recommendations and marketing expertise to develop a new image for Australia in line with Australia’s core values, and the needs and desires of Australia’s major tourism markets. The published findings of the market research were as follows: Asian arrivals wanted

25This endowment categorisation was used by the WTO. See, WTO. Faced with Worldwide Competition and Structural Changes: What are the Tourism Responsibilities of European Governments? (Madrid: WTO, 1997), 10.
excitement and sophisticated, cosmopolitan cities; USA travellers sought fun, diversity and active adventure experiences; Europeans sought experiences that provided a source of memories; and Japanese visitors wanted surprises. Japanese market research also showed that Australia was perceived in Asia generally as a 'non-entity...[when] compared with Europe as far as performing arts [were] concerned'.  

By nature, market research creates as well as reflects attitudes, and these findings were used to legitimate both government policy and its re-direction of cultural support. The ATC stated it decided to 'zero in on the imagination of these target markets by showing a range of surprising adventures, and a culture and lifestyle not seen before'; and used Aboriginality extensively in their campaigns to project 'a new spiritual and historic' image of Australia.

During the Howard government's administration the ATC was relocated to the Ministry of Industry, Science and Tourism in 1995/6; and to the Ministry of Sports and Tourism in 1996/7, to assist the Prime Minister with the Sydney Olympic Games. During this latter stage the Board was purged, strategic alliances were established with major corporations of predominantly American extraction, and the USA replaced Japan as Australia's top priority market. A new socio-cultural field emerged in the final years of the millennium and resulted in another major redefinition of the Australian identity.

28Peter Brokensha and Hans Guldberg, A Report on Cultural Tourism in Australia, A Study Commissioned by the Commonwealth Department of the Arts, Sport, the Environment and Territories (Canberra: AGPS, 1992), 134. The ATC was obviously keen to re-direct some of the Asian travel market that was increasingly visiting Europe, which alone accounted for sixty percent of total worldwide arrivals in 1996. See World Tourism Organisation. Faced with Worldwide Competition and Structural Changes: What are the Tourism Responsibilities of European Governments? (Madrid: WTO, 1997), 3.


30A major review of the ATC was conducted in 1996, which resulted in considerable changes to the ATC board composition and methods. See Auditor-General. Aspects of Corporate Governance: The Australian Tourist Commission (Canberra: Australian National Audit Office, 1977).

31These included the Olympic Games sponsors Visa, Kodak, Microsoft, McDonalds and News Corp.
## Fig 96 Target Market Statistics and Government Funding: 1992/3 to 1999/00.

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<td>UK 445 10.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
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<td>USA 394 9.2</td>
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<td>Japan 723 16.7</td>
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<td>UK 483 11.3</td>
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<td>USA 429 9.2</td>
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<td>UK 540 11.6</td>
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<td>TOTAL 4652</td>
<td>8.4</td>
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33 Asia (excluding Japan) was elevated to market priority No. 1 with 20.9% of total arrivals.

34 Market boundaries were altered to the following: The Americas, Asia, Japan, Europe/Middle East/South Africa, New Zealand/South Pacific.

35 Japan and Korea were aggregated into one market region. This figure applies to Japanese arrivals only.

36 These figures were obtained from the ABS website: www.abs.gov.au because the ATC's 1999/2000 Annual Report had not been published at the time of writing. Market priorities were therefore not known.
WORLD CLASS BEGINNINGS

Rural Australia was represented as an unrivalled example of the complex forces of nature, and a pristine sacred site during this period. Images emphasised Australia's deep geological past, its geographic contrasts, Aboriginal spirituality and culture, and the indigenous philosophy of land stewardship. Advertising slogans linked this ideology with market research findings and included: 'Eons: Feel the Wonder', 'Wonder Continent, Australia', 'The Sooner You Go, the Longer the Memories', 'Australia: Come Discover', and 'Australia: Country of Surprises'. Rather than privilege utilitarian or picturesque values, the ATC applied the Aboriginal concept of Earth Mother, and ecological and romantic aesthetics to inculcate new attitudes to land. Nature was gendered female and represented as a powerful, nurturing life-force, that responded favourably to human care. A broad range of Australian sites were represented as complex


38 In the stark Outback, generations of Aboriginal tales whisper in the light breeze, bringing a sense of ageless peace, as old as the rocks, as ethereal as the clouds'. ATC, USA TG, 1994/5; 'There in the firelight, the spirits appear...Legends of Dreamtime...pass from generation to generation as it has for 60,000 years. No written language. The culture developed a rich artistic heritage which is still very much alive today. Stories as old as time are told in dance, or etched in rocks'. ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.

39 You can't fail to understand the mystical significance of Uluru. Aborigines don't understand the western compulsion to climb. They refer to climbers as ants. For people to survive as long Aborigines they must live in harmony with an omnipotent Nature. Their calendar reflects seven seasons. If the Aboriginal relationship with wildlife is a model of sustainable living, it also sounds an aesthetic wake up call'. ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.

40 USA campaign, 1992/3.


42 UK campaign, 1995/6.

43 USA campaign, 1995/6.


45 From land, water, wind and sun her beauty was shaped. From Dreamtime spirits and midnight corroborees her soul evolved. And from cattle stations, sports fields and vibrant cities her spirit learned to soar'. ATC, USA TG, 1994/5; 'Draped around this island continent is a necklace of beaches...along the 23,000 miles of coastline can be heard the Ocean's siren song, washing...crashing...kissing powdery white sand'. ATC, USA 1994/5; 'The pale blue waters...slowly warm you...waters gently lugging at the shore'. ATC, USA 1993; 'Aborigines have decorated Nature's face for centuries. ATC, USA 1993/4.
eco-systems, and images showed evidence of natural dynamism within larger patterns of environmental change (Figs 97, 98 and 99). Deserted landscape panorama was the preferred representational mode. This highlighted the ‘big picture’ and the interconnectness of all living things. Other techniques such as blending and montage achieved the same purpose in film. Romantic aesthetics were also used to seduce the imagination of travellers and imbue the landscape with elevated emotion, evoke a sense of spirituality, and suggest opportunities for personal freedom and adventure.

Fig 98 Complex Eco Systems. USA TG 1994

Fig 99 The Harmony of the Australian Bush. USA TG 1994

Rather than the ATC construct wilderness regions as inhospitable, worthless places awaiting man’s improvement as it had done in the 1960s; or works of art to be viewed and contemplated as in the 1970s; or as a pleasureground to be unreservedly consumed as in the 1980s; the Australian landscape was represented as a finite, precious resource to be respected, treated sensitively, and understood. It was the bearer of valuable lessons in harmonious coexistence. There were obvious similarities between Whitlam era representations of nature and this one, however contemporary conceptualisations went one step further, in
that they advocated the acquisition of environmental knowledge, rather than purely visual appreciation of the landscape. This all served three purposes. It helped allay concerns that mass tourism was incompatible with environmental preservation, gave ideological support to Aboriginal land right claims, and appealed to the niche markets of heritage and naturalist tourism.

ATC policy was to disperse travellers throughout rural Australia on an equitable basis. The continent was defined as an 'edenic' and pristine wilderness comprising 47,000 kilometres of coastline, more than 3000 national parks and reserves, eleven World Heritage sites, and 30,000 Aboriginal cultural heritage sites. Australia was categorised into five experiential zones, namely dramatic desertscape, high mountains, bushland, coastal regions; and dense, dripping, ancient rainforests. Whilst images from all of these zones were featured, the ATC privileged ancient, monumental rock formations and Aboriginal heritage sites.
(Figs 100 and 101) such as Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. Central Australia was said to epitomise the 'The Real Outback' with its rawness, monumentality and vast open spaces.\textsuperscript{50} Other key cultural sites included Kings Canyon, Kakadu, Chambers Pillar Historical Reserve and Hermannsburg Aboriginal historic precinct.\textsuperscript{51} Captions identified these as sacred sites of the 'Aboriginal Dreamtime', where 'rock spirits dwell', and 'speak through the drone of the didgeridoo'. They were locations where 'giant Ancestral Beings...[once] trod' and 'now [stood] the topographical markers we recognise as Australia's mountains...Nature's wardrobe...The Dreaming...here today and surround[ing] all people\textsuperscript{52} (Fig 102).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{aboriginal_dreamtime_sacred_sites.jpg}
\caption{Aboriginal Dreamtime Sacred Sites}
\end{figure}

ATC productions added this all embracing Dreaming had impacted on the Australian consciousness to an unquantifiable extent and that this found its resonance in society's renewed respect for nature.\textsuperscript{53} The concept of rocks infused with memories served to promote understanding of Aboriginal concepts of land

\textsuperscript{52}ATC, USA TG, 1993/4, ATC, USA TG, 1994/5.
\textsuperscript{53}ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.
stewardship and time, imbue these sites with historic authenticity, legitimate current environmental and social policies, and bestow a sense of drama and mysticism upon key tourist destinations. Human presence within the landscape was negligible, manmade structures were virtually non-existent, and varieties of wildlife were represented in terms of their adaptability and contribution to their natural environment (Figs 103 and 104). This was a complete inversion of the industrial sublime aesthetic of the 1960s, which perceived manmade and technological structures within the landscape as improvements. Panorama images of wilderness areas carefully excluded any signs of human development, other than the rare inclusion of attractive tourist resorts. Human activity was both environmentally sensitive and reduced in scale through camera positioning, to privilege the majesty and beauty of unspoilt nature (Figs 105, 106 and 107). The helicopters, light aircraft, zooming 4WDS and high powered water craft of the Hogan era were deliberately downplayed, and other modes of transport

54 'Aboriginal land ownership is essential to providing Aborigines freedom of choice in lifestyle and means for preserving traditions'. ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.
accentuated. Deserts and coastlines were sites of camel expeditions (Fig 108).
Other activities included bush walking, mountain trekking, golfing, windsurfing and horse riding (Fig 109).

One dominant method of nature representation was montaging sweeping panoramas with small images featuring delicate wildlife native to the region and well adapted to their specific environments. This highlighted the complex
interconnectedness of all living things (Fig 110 and 111). The Australian
wilderness was predominantly imagined as a world class, pristine and spiritually
enriched patrimony, which had been cared for by Aborigines for generations, and
was increasingly understood and respected by non-Aboriginal Australians.

Fig 110. The Interconnectedness of All Living Things
USA TG 1995

Fig 111 The Complex System of Nature
USA TG 1995
The incorporation of Aboriginal conceptions of time into ATC productions, was a further defining feature. The portrayal of the past as a living thing that was all 'around and within', and activated through performance, was explained by Oodgeroo Noonuccal in her *The Past*. Excerpts of her poem entitled *We are Going*, were often used in ATC productions to evoke a sense of mysticism:

Let no-one say the past is dead...
I am away
At the camp bushfire in the bush, among
My own people, sitting on the ground...
But a thousand thousand camp fires in the forest
Are in my blood.
Let no-one tell me the past is wholly gone.
Now is so small a part of time, so small a part
Of all the race years that have moulded me.

This wilderness-Aboriginal sacred site nexus and appropriation of Aboriginal ideology, commodified Aboriginality in order to invent an Australian tradition, develop a new national identity and generate a new form of tourist attraction. Traditional Aborigines had previously been essentialised as part of nature and contrasted with the mainstream culture, or as 'proud gentle hunters' and boomerang throwers, or as the first of three waves of migrants. During this period, the ATC re-invented Aborigines as one of the 'world's oldest living civilisations', indigenous to Australia, and the ancestors of all contemporary Australians. They were also models of spirituality, ecological beings and civic society. Travellers were urged to 'spend time with our [emphasis added] Aborigines', to 'go back in

59Aborigines 'watched winds, rains, grasses, trees and flowers and knew where to go for food, shelter, comfort. All the while developing a unique oneness with the land, a knowledge of their environment...rarely seen in the world's history. This oneness is seen through their culture, in the Dreaming...'. ATC, website, May 2000. http://www.australia.net.au/pl/atc; Aborigines looked after the land through 'controlled burning of vegetation known as fire-stick farming'. ATC, website, April 2000. Visit, http://www.australia.net.au/pl/atc.
time' and 'to visit sacred sites and learn' about their 'special relationship with the
land and spirituality'.

It was also emphasised that despite differences between
language groups, Aborigines held a uniform belief in the Dreaming, which united
them all in a common purpose of harmonious sustainable living.

ATC
productions stated that Aboriginal wisdom and spirituality had influenced the
values and behaviour of non-Aboriginal Australians, and the latter now held a
'renewed respect for nature', and were 'more sensitive to the plight of Aborigines,
had a greater recognition of Aboriginal land rights, and a growing appreciation of
Aboriginal culture'. Travel Guides contrasted Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal
attitudes to climbing Uluru, landscape aesthetics, and methods of measuring
time and seasons. They suggested tourists should try to understand alternative
ways of viewing the world because they too might recognise an important
'aesthetic wake up call'. This all served to re-invent Australia as both a nation
with a distinctively deep cultural tradition; and united in a new civic identity, which
placed national environmental protection, and equitable social justice and holistic
unity above ethnic, racial or any other forms of loyalty.

The commodification of Aboriginal culture also established Australia as a
destination that could satisfy international tourists' desires for 'authentic' travel
experiences. The ATC capitalised on the major world-wide tourism trend of the

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61 ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.
63 'Aborigines don't understand the western compulsion to climb. They refer to climbers as ants. For
people to survive...they must live in harmony with nature'. ATC, USA TG, 1993/4. ATC, UK TG,
1996.
64 'The Aboriginal 'calendar reflects seven seasons......is a model of sustainable living'. ATC, USA
65 'Take a tour with an Aboriginal guide, learn the stories of the Dreamtime and you will begin to
understand'. ATC, UK TG, 1996.
66 ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.
68 In 1994 Keating attempted to construct a new national civic identity with the introduction of a new
Oath of Allegiance to 'make an Australia' that worked. See Miriam Dixson. The Imaginary Australian:
Anglo-Celts and Identity, 1788 to the Present (Sydney: University of NSW, 1999), 8; Geoffrey Stokes
'quest for the authentic',\textsuperscript{69} and marketed Aboriginality as their top travel product\textsuperscript{70} and inextricably linked it with rural tourism. Tourists were told outback safaris combined adventure with Aboriginal culture,\textsuperscript{71} and were urged to seek out Aboriginal rangers and guides, to learn about indigenous culture and history.\textsuperscript{72} A plethora of Aboriginal exhibitions, performance centres and, arts and crafts outlets were promoted in ATC publications.\textsuperscript{73} ATC representations of Aboriginality can be divided into three phases during this period. The campaign 'Australia: Feel the Wonder'\textsuperscript{74} was a continuation of the late Hawke period style, which exoticised and primitivised Aborigines by juxtaposing or montaging images of 'stick figure', spear toting Aborigines dancing feverishly at sunset; or out-of-focus mystical Aborigines staring blankly into the distance. Sound tracks featured haunting drones of the didgeridoo and accompanying texts announced 'we are going' and '...a day trip will take you back three billion years'.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{70}ATC May 1999 website situated 'Aboriginal' as the top attraction on their Directory of Tourism Products. See, ATC, website, May 2000, http://www.aussie.net.au/pl/atc. The majority of television commercials between 1991 and 1997 also prominently featured Aboriginal dance, music and art; and most commercials either began or ended with strong images of Aboriginal culture. See, ATC, \textit{ATC Advertising 1983-1996}, compilation video, O/N 30992 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, \textit{ATC Loop Video}, compilation video, O/N 31297 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, \textit{Brand Australia: A New Image for the New Millennium}, video, 1995 (on sale through ATC head office).
\textsuperscript{72}ATC, USA TG, 1994.
\textsuperscript{73}These included the Strehlow Research Centre in Alice Springs which had an 'absorbing display of Aboriginal culture presented through creative use of light, sound and photographs'; the Araluen Centre for Arts and Entertainment, which featured a 500 seat theatre; the Cultural Centre at the base of Uluru which 'showcased the traditional culture of the area', and Kings Canyon which offered Aboriginal cultural tours. See, ATC, website, May 2000, http://www.aussie.net.au/pl/atc.
\textsuperscript{74}USA campaign, 1992/3.
From 1993, phase two featured contemporary and traditional Aboriginal cultural productions, and businesses in which Aborigines had equity interests (Figs 116 and 117). This located indigenous artists in time and showed Aborigines with a greater degree of control over their cultural production. The ATC also expanded the notion of cultural authenticity to include recent innovations in both method and content (Fig 118), and included endorsements of these.

76 These included the Tjapakai dance group from Cairns, see ATC, USA TG, 1994; ATC, Japanese TG, 1993; ATC, USA TG, 1995; ATC, Japanese TG, 1996. As well as the Centre for Aboriginal Arts and Craftsmen, see, ATC, Japanese TG, 1993.

contemporary expressions of Aboriginality by Aboriginal elders in their publications.\textsuperscript{78}

Phase three images featured a new generation of Aboriginals in both urban and rural locations, celebrating their Aboriginality (Fig 119). City images featured Aborigines in contemporary environments, wearing non-traditional clothing, using latest technology,\textsuperscript{79} and yet still performing uniquely original Aboriginal creations.

\textsuperscript{78}There are many who paint the Dreaming as well as more contemporary images with striking spirituality. There is now considerable popular acceptance of these: Aboriginal Elder: D. Roughesey', ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.

\textsuperscript{79}Didgeridoos blended with children dancing to sounds of electric guitars. '1996 Year of Festivals of
(Fig 120). These ATC produced images decorated covers of Travel Guides\textsuperscript{80} and Annual Reports.\textsuperscript{81} Recent ATC websites claim ‘this creativity continues to flourish, in both remote traditional communities and in Australia’s contemporary cities’.\textsuperscript{82} This construction of Aboriginality both reflected and prescribed increased Aboriginal empowerment and self respect in Australian society.

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WORLD CLASS CITIES

The discourse of harmonious interconnectedness, dynamic adaptation and local distinctiveness in a transnational world, was also used to construct Australian cities. This was where, the ATC contended, tourists could discover the ‘Real Australia’.\textsuperscript{83} Cities were represented as vibrant, sophisticated and dazzling gems.\textsuperscript{84} Sydney was the definitive opening or closing scene in most ATC productions and was heralded as the ‘world’s best city’, on one of the world’s most

\textsuperscript{80}ATC, UK TG, 1999.
\textsuperscript{81}ATC, Annual Report, 1997/8.
beautiful harbours, and a major 'financial, political and cultural centre'. Texts stressed that Australia was one of the world's most urbanised city dwellers, with nearly ninety percent of its population living in cities along the coastline. These cities accommodated a 'vivid tapestry' of people from '120 countries', that regularly engaged in cultural exchanges in 'cosmopolitan hearts situated on harbourside'; and were organised into a distinctive, balanced template of business, public and natural spaces. These 'hearts' comprised predominantly recently preserved historic precincts and newly constructed leisure facilities which had previously been industrial locations or working class suburbs. As these industrial enterprises became no longer viable and unemployed workers could no longer afford their valuable, centrally located homes; these sites were 'revitalised' or transformed into inner city waterside spaces and became an important addition to the urban template. These were represented as public spaces for local communities to mingle, enjoy their leisure time, and express themselves through cultural activities. The revitalisation projects were justified on the basis that these developments would attract tourist revenue.

The ATC resurrected some defining features of cities projected during the three earlier eras, and deconstructed some outdated stereotypes. By selecting, blending, and combining in new ways, images that had been framed by three distinctly different aesthetics, the ATC created a more complex representation of Australian cities. The energetic optimism of the inaugural ATC years resulted in city panoramas privileging aesthetics of 'the big' and technological sublime. The ATC resurrected them and featured CBD commercial skyscrapers of 'gleaming glass and concrete towers' that dominated the skyline (Figs 121 and 122); and

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89 Perth's towering skyline exaggerated both the height and dazzling reflections off glass towers, tilting the camera and long exposure. ATC, UK TG, 1995; ATC, website, August 2000,
zooming monorails and soaring telecommunication towers (Fig 123). But these were balanced by other images which privileged green or blue belts (Fig 124); and stately civic, heritage and cultural monuments, that were defining features of the Whitlam era (125, 126 and 127).
The Hogan era had privileged human experiences over the manmade environment and constructed cities as fun lanes and pleasure grounds. Contemporary ATC images privileged newly developed public spaces at the heart of the city, \(^9\text{2\cite{}}\) and conceptualised them as hallowed turf for joyous cultural exchange. Images lopped the tops of buildings and used strategic camera angles to accentuate numbers of people, and intensify the nature of their social interaction (Fig 128).

\(^9\text{2\cite{}}\) Including Circular Quay, Darling Harbour, Battery Point in Hobart, the Yarra River in Melbourne, and shopping malls and precincts. ATC, UK TG, 1994; USA TG, 1993 and 1994.
All these selective continuities were blended and given ideological hardening through repetition. Conversely, captions used Hogan-like humour to ridicule and deconstruct persistent myths created by the ATC during the 1960s. These included the images of Perth as a wild frontier town (Fig 129), Adelaide as a semi-‘civilised’ oasis in the desert (Fig 130), Hobart as an ossified British ruin; and Darwin as ‘uncivilised’, hostile, barren desert.\(^9^3\) Postmodern eclecticism was the dominant aesthetic, which intertwined images of culture and commerce,\(^9^4\) and seduced the viewer with an intoxicating melange of city images. Unlike previous periods, there was no off screen voice of God narration. Rather the interpretation of meaning was left to the viewer. However, sequencing and juxtaposition produced a narrative of organic urban growth, increasing complexity and interconnectedness, and the past living in the present. Images bricolaged grand heritage buildings including the ‘old quarter’ at The Rocks, the QVB, colonial

\(^9^3\) These stereotypes were identified in chapter one, as key defining features of the period. Deconstructive captions and supplanting images include: ‘I expected Perth to be a Down Under counterpart of the Old Wild and Woolly West’, juxtaposed with an image of towering sports and civic complexes. See ATC, USA TG, 1993; ‘South Australia is lush with English-looking farmland’, juxtaposed with an image featuring the dramatic arts centre and urban skyline’, USA TG, 1993; ‘Cut off from the continent 8000 years ago’, juxtaposed with an image of a bustling heritage marketplace in Hobart. USA TG, 1993; ‘The Australian Experience doesn’t get much richer or more colorful than in Darwin’, juxtaposed with an image of a sophisticated shopping mall and public space. USA TG, 1993.

banking chambers and churches; modern commercial complexes, shimmering postmodern skyscrapers with playful decorative pediments, and symbols of latest technology. This layering and blending of old and new city sites, conceptualised Australian cities as sophisticated, dynamic and world class (Fig 131). It also defined cities as distinctively Australian in terms of their 'personality' which was unpretentious, friendly, tolerant, youthful and stylish;\textsuperscript{95} and an eclectic mix of east and west cultural influences.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Fig131.png}
\caption{Sophisticated, Dynamic and World Class Cities \USA TG 1991}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{95}ATC, \textit{The Making of 'The Branding of Australia'}, film.
Within these vibrant, world class cities Australianess was constructed in terms of a harmonious, creatively dynamic, multi-cultural community. Instead of privileging images of aggressive Anglo-Saxon males and passive females engaged in hedonistic outdoor play; or a degree of cultural pluralism with either extremes of cultural refinement or Ocker outdoor adventures; this period privileged images of tolerant, urbane Australians from every ‘corner of the earth’, displaying and exchanging their cultural creativity in public spaces. Australians were represented as comprising peoples of Aboriginal, Anglo-Celtic, Asian, European and Middle Eastern origins. All were all described as ingredients in a ‘melting pot’. Accompanying text advised that whilst Australia’s culture began with the Aboriginal people, ‘it didn’t end there;’ and the ‘flavors’ of more than 120 countries were harmoniously blended to form a new culture, which was ‘indelibly unique and delightful’. The ATC located this process of blending in the hearts of cities (Fig 132).

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97 A page on the ATC website captioned ‘People’, had twelve images. Four were Aboriginal (two traditional, two urban); four were Anglo-Celtic, and four were of European and Asian origins. ATC, website, August 2000, http://www.aussie.net.au/pl/atic.
99 ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.
100 ATC, USA TG, 1993/4 and 1995.
101 These comprised newly constructed leisure venues around city harbours and riverbanks, including Darling Harbour. See, ATC, website, May 2000. Visit, http://www.aussie.net.au/pl/atic; renovated heritage precincts including the Old Woolstores at The Rocks, which had been converted into restaurants and shopping precincts. ATC, UK TG, 1995; Hobart’s Battery Point, which was ‘new again’, ’spick and span’ and renovated to accommodate antique shops and bakeries. ATC, USA TG, 1994; Melbourne’s Shot Factory had been renovated as a ‘precinct’ to house a new sophisticated shopping centre. ATC, USA TG, 1994; and ‘amongst the shadows of the skyscrapers’ in the ‘labyrinths of interconnected courts and arcades’, see, ATC, website, August 2000. Visit, http://www.aussie.net.au/pl/atic.
portrayed diverse groups intermingling, observing and celebrating their culture in both formal and informal festivities. In 1992, 'the arts community's narrow elitist view of Australian culture' was redefined and broadened for tourism marketing and development purposes. Subsequent ATC productions emphasised the breadth of Australian culture. This redefinition gave institutional legitimacy to a diverse range of activities, and helped normalise an environment which encouraged cultural experimentation and freedom of expression.

During an era when the world tourism industry identified national cultures and heritage as 'resources' and 'factor endowments', Australian cities were reinvented as 'cultural supermarkets'. The ATC selected the best examples of Australian cultural productions and showcased them to attract tourists. Captions invited visitors to come 'meet some locals', 'get an insight into the real Australia by including an event' and 'experience it all'. As part of the ATC's newly expanded role of travel industry coordination, it developed an events database which featured 'an incredible range of 2000 events', and constructed Australia as 'a nation of festival goers;' where 'multicultural celebrations [are] as much a part of contemporary Australian culture as Christmas and cricket' (Figs 133 and 134). Events were categorised into 'indigenous', 'sport', 'high', 'multicultural',

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102 Peter Brokensha and Hans Guldborg. *A Report on Cultural Tourism in Australia, A Study Commissioned by the Commonwealth Department of the Arts, Sport, the Environment and Territories* (Canberra: AGPS, 1992), 82.
103 Examples include 'we have created a culture which is indelibly unique and combines a love of sports and lively arts. You can attend a cricket match, an Aussie Rules game, horse racing, the Opera House, outdoor concerts, theatre, Greek tragedies, performing arts -- and all in between'. See, ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.
105 This expression was inspired by the title of, Gordon Mathews. *Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket* (London: Routledge, 2000).
107 ATC, USA TG, 1999.
‘fringe’, official celebrations including Moomba, ‘popular’, ‘dining’, and ‘shopping’. Between 1993 and 1997 each year was given a specific cultural theme, which reinforced these categories and enabled them to be represented in further depth for the burgeoning special interest niche markets.

Fig 133 Year of Art and Culture, Multicultural Celebrations UK TG 1995

110 Images of fringe events included the Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras and avant-garde performance artists. ATC, UK TG, 1996; ATC, USA TG, 1996.
111 Prominent images featured avant-garde street theatre, buskers, oz rock and excerpts from Australian films including Priscilla and Strictly Ballroom. ATC Loop Video, compilation video, O/N 31297 (on sale through ATC head office).
112 Key defining images of dining events privileged outdoor waterfront locations including Doyle’s Restaurant, Watson’s Bay. ATC, UK TG, 1998; or ‘international cuisine precincts’ which were identified as Chinatown, The Rocks, Balmain, Kings Cross, Darlinghurst and Leichhardt. ATC, website, May 2000. Visit, http://www.australia.net.au/pl/atc;
113 ATC Loop Video, compilation video, O/N 31297 (on sale through ATC head office).
This five year strategic marketing plan was launched with the 1993 Year of Sport (Fig 136), which marked the news that Australia would host the 2000 Games. During the intervening years, images of sporting events became increasingly prominent (Fig 135).\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{114} The language of the Olympics was particularly self assured. Texts identified Australia with the ‘world’s biggest sporting event’, described the opening of Stadium Australia as an ‘extravaganza’ and ‘spectacular’. The torch relay was conceptualised as one which would demonstrate to the world the ‘uniqueness of Australian celebrations and festivities’. And the Olympic Park Railway Station was proudly defined as ‘impressive’ because it could ‘handle 50,000 people per hour’. ATC, website, August 2000. Visit, http://www.aussie.net.au/pl/atc. The majority of illustrations in the 1998 Annual Report conceptualised the Australian landscape and culture through the prism of competitive sport. For example, silhouettes of sporting figures, including a tennis player, framed the image of a drover and his dog; and the road leading to Uluru had an Olympic racing track superimposed upon it. See, ATC, Annual Report, 1998.
The other themed showcases of Australian culture included the Year of The Great Australian Outdoors, Art and Culture, Festivals of Oz, and Good Living Down Under. All these diverse cultural celebrations were bricolaged in videos and television commercials. These were characterised by their brilliant colour, evocative musical accompaniments, zestfulness, extreme variety, dramatic performance and Exotic costumes. These ATC productions blended local and international, old and new in an ensemble which changed their original meanings and created a new composite form. The theme of interconnectedness, identification of what seemed best from various cultural sources and the combination of them to create a harmonious whole, was a dominant motif in both cityscape and cultural representation. Australian culinary and artistic creativity was frequently described in terms of it being a complex, unique ‘branch’ of world culture. The ATC’s construction and promotion of Australianness commodified a diverse range of cultures, in order to seduce international tourists to Australia. It also constructed a new image of the nation which was more cosmopolitan, sophisticated and distinctive, in terms of its unity

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116 See, ATC, ATC Advertising 1983-1996, compilation video, OIN 30992 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, ATC Loop Video, compilation video, OIN 31297 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, Brand Australia: A New Image for the New Millennium, video, 1995 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, Japanese TG, 1993, UK TG, 1995 and 1996.
117 See some Aboriginal Dance, European Opera or Country and Western ‘down under style’, ATC, USA TG, 1995; ‘Experience designer fashion with a distinctly Australian flair’, ATC, USA TG, 1995; ‘Australian entertainment has developed its own persona’; ‘Australian literature is a vital branch of contemporary English language’; and ‘Australian Fare: Our chefs have taken the best of all the nationalities that live here and created a fantastic combination of ideas and flavours, which suit the local climate and environment’. ATC, website, August 2000. Visit, http://www.australian.net.au/pl/atr.
through diversity and creativity.

THE PAST, ALIVE IN THE PRESENT

Australia's heritage was conceptualised by the ATC during this phase, as a mosaic of heritages brought to life in the present through performance.\textsuperscript{118} They were situated all throughout Australia and included the natural, Aboriginal and cultural traditions of a diverse immigrant population. These images inculcated more tolerant attitudes towards diversity during a time of social fragmentation and postmodern identity problems. Rather than privilege Australia's pioneering common man or rural traditions of the 1960s, the cultural refinement of the colonial aristocracy of the 1970s, or the waves of bourgeois enterprise of the 1980s, the ATC created a new and deep tradition based on Aboriginal stewardship and the Dreaming (Fig 137). This provided a new dimension to the Australian identity that was ecological, spiritual and civic minded. Aboriginal heritage was conceptualised as the spiritual centre of a new complex heritage upon which a multitude of other heritages were layered to make a composite, rich tradition with which a diverse population could identify, and gain a sense of belonging and pride (Fig 138).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander heritage was a major component of the ATC's 'Brand Australia' campaign.\textsuperscript{119} Images privileged traditional ceremonies,

\textsuperscript{118} Australia's heritage is still very much alive today. Stories as old as time are told in dance, etched in rocks, where spirits dwell'. ATC, USA TG, 1993/4.

dance, music and galleries of rock within authentic world heritage and Aboriginal sacred sites.¹²⁰ Both these sites and Aboriginality were imbued with an aura of reverence. Other images included performances in manmade cultural and public

¹²⁰ATC. *Loop Video*, compilation video, O/N 31297 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, *Brand Australia: A New Image for the New Millennium*, video, 1995 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, USA TG, 1995.
spaces, and street festivals.\textsuperscript{121} All these were promoted as part of the ATC events calendar. Captions invited tourists to come and ‘feel the wonder of our art, history and culture’.\textsuperscript{122} During this period, the ATC established both natural and Aboriginal heritage as distinctive markers of Australia.

ATC images also featured the cultural traditions of a wide range of newer Australians. Images of lively and colourful cultural festivals, dramatic and musical performances, and ‘award winning cosmopolitan dining and shopping’;\textsuperscript{123} were captioned: Australia ‘blends its rich Aboriginal heritage with the arts and culture of 120 countries’. ATC productions also asserted that ‘Multiculturalism [was] not a word in Australia, but a way of life’.\textsuperscript{124} Web sites featured migrants displaying their cultural heritage and wearing national costumes;\textsuperscript{125} television commercials included Chinese festivals, European maypole and Scottish Highland dancing, Indian street parades, and Turkish and Middle Eastern performances.\textsuperscript{126} These events were predominantly located within heritage precincts including Chinatown, Hahndorf and The Rocks;\textsuperscript{127} which imbued them with an aura of cultural authenticity. Others featured brilliantly coloured activities within bustling harbourside entertainment zones including Darling Harbour, and state cultural institutions including the Sydney Opera House. Although gestures were made to include the Australian rural traditions, ATC images privileged cultural heritages that had previously been marginalised to create a narrative of inclusivity and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{121} These included the newly constructed centres at Uluru and Alice Springs; Aboriginal dance, theatre and major festivals including Guenduma at Alice Springs and Danggalaba at Darwinmajor; and urban cultural institutions, including the Art Gallery of New South Wales and the Sydney Opera House. ATC, \textit{Loop Video}, compilation video, O/N 31297 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, \textit{Brand Australia: A New Image for the New Millennium}, video, 1995 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, USA TG, 1995; ATC, UK TG, 1995.
  \item \textsuperscript{123} ATC, USA TG, 1995.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} ATC, USA TG, 1995.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} ATC, website, August 2000. Visit, http://www.aussie.net.au/pl/atc.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} ATC, \textit{Loop Video}, compilation video, O/N 31297 (on sale through ATC head office); ATC, \textit{Brand Australia: A New Image for the New Millennium}, video, 1995 (on sale through ATC head office).
  \item \textsuperscript{127} ATC, USA TG, 1993 and 1995; ATC, UK TG, 1995.
\end{itemize}
diversity. Interestingly, the ATC selected Sidney Nolan’s ‘Ned Kelly’ series as the representative sample of the Anglo-Australian fine art tradition in state art gallery collections (Fig 139).\textsuperscript{128} This series was in the Robin Hood tradition of redistribution of resources from the wealthy, to all members of a community. Within the context of Aboriginal reconciliation and multicultural normalisation, this was a strategic statement by the ATC in support of the current policy of greater social justice.

Australia’s history was represented by the ATC as a narrative of the development of Australian settlement and civics. Aboriginality was constructed by the ATC as a model of ‘civilisation’,\textsuperscript{129} in terms of its attitudes to the environment and social cohesion. Despite the differences in language, all groups were united by a common value system which was encoded in the Dreaming.\textsuperscript{130} Consistent with Keating’s vision of a country reconciled with its history of violent dispossession, the ATC represented the nature of British cultural contact as bloody. Contemporary to the Mabo decision, ATC productions stated ‘Aborigines held the entire continent before the Europeans arrived powered by an imperialism they enforced with guns’.\textsuperscript{131} This approach to Australia’s cultural contact history was revised by the ATC in 1996, following a change of government to: ‘The arrival of white people gradually bought an end to the traditional Aboriginal way of life.'

when settlement began to encroach on tribal lands'. Captain Cook's Bounty voyage was presented as the representative example of Anglo-Aboriginal cultural contact during this latter stage. It was characterised by a botanist's appreciation of the natural heritage and Cook's admiration for the harmonious and happy Aboriginal way of life. This revision erased the violence of the frontier and created a seamless story of harmonious British relations with both the natural environment and Aborigines, through from Cook to the present time. This demonstrates the way history was manipulated by the ATC to legitimate current trajectories and create cultures of consent. During the Keating era the ATC projected an image of Australia coming to terms with its violent history of dispossession, and attempted to create an environment of reconciliation and redress. During the Howard era, the ATC projected images of a nation in denial, and attempted to create an environment of uncritical nostalgia for the British heritage and pioneering tradition.

ATC accounts of Australia's history subsequent to British-Aboriginal contact were likewise inconsistent. During the Keating era, the ATC privileged a reading in terms of the evolution of an autonomous civic society. During the Howard era, the British contribution to the development of the landscape and Australian economy was privileged. A common thread throughout all ATC productions of the period, however, was the narrative of urban settlement. As well as shoring up the British tradition, latter ATC images also undermined the founding assumption of Aboriginal land rights and the integrity of Aboriginal culture. It did this by resurrecting the narrative of Aborigines as Australia's first wave of migration, and asserting doubt about the accuracy of the 'stories' of the Dreaming, and the Aboriginal claim that certain sites were of significance to their culture. These contestations over Australia's history and the noticeable resurrection and incorporation of images featuring the Anglo-Celtic rural and 'ordinary' Australian

traditions (Fig 140 and 141), indicated the emergence of a new socio-cultural field during the final years of the millennium. This shift was apparent in ATC campaigns following John Howard’s election as Prime Minister in 1996 and images underwent a major strategic shift in the revised Brand Australia campaign of 1998.135

Various maps in ATC productions provide insight into the way Australia’s place in the world was perceived. One communicated a strong sense of belonging and increased status within the Asia-Pacific region. Earlier ATC maps had located Australia between the African and South American continents in the southern hemisphere. These imagined Australia as ‘down under’ and insignificant, in north/south and relative landmass terms. The new ATC map removed any landforms to the east of Australia, tilted the globe upwards and located Australia vertically nearer to the centre, and horizontally to the extreme right. This reinvented Australia’s place in the world to the centre of the Asian region. And in traditional linear representational terms, Australia also led the way.

135 The 1998/9 ATC Annual Report announced a revised Brand Australia campaign would reinforce an ‘unsophisticated, uncultured [my emphasis] image because tourist’s [don’t] come to Australia for sophistication, but a welcoming laid back, irreverent lifestyle’. Consistent with the new government’s economic rationalism, the Minister for Tourism announced in the preface to the Annual Report that the department would ‘tap into the Dreamtime because Aboriginal culture was a drawcard and a distinguishing Australian feature’. This blatant language of commodification did not occur in ATC productions during the Keating phase. The new Brand Australia campaign resurrected the Aussie Ocker Hogan style in their USA advertisement of 1998 entitled ‘Come and Say G’Day/Meet the Locals’. All the presenters were of Anglo-Celtic origin and most were engaged in stereotypical activities such as outback pub workers, lifesavers and sheep farmers. ATC Annual Report, 1998/9.
The new ATC corporate logo of 1993 (Fig 141) captured this spirit of national confidence, vitality and engagement with the world community. In very stylised terms it featured three blue waves, and a yellow kangaroo bounding from left to right, across the face of a vivid red circle. This symbolised a fresh and energetic nation, comprising three streams of heritage, (natural, Aboriginal and multicultural immigration), confident in the belief that it was both world class and recognised as such. The kangaroo had recently been judged one of the most recognised symbols in the world today,¹³⁶ and its movement towards the right hand side of the globe symbolised that Australian tourism was forging new transnational links, and that Australia was a unique part of a larger system of identification.

¹³⁶AAP. 'Roo Leaps Ahead as Top Icon', Sydney Morning Herald, 10 March 2000, 10.
The history of the Australian Tourist Commission’s (ATC) marketing of Australia is one of power, seduction and social engineering. As one of the nation’s official image-makers, it was given the power to define the nature of Australia and in the latter years identify tourism attractions that should receive cultural support, the resources to create elaborate and idealistic marketing campaigns to woo tourists to Australia; and opportunities to influence Australian attitudes, behaviour, cultural production and self perception.

The ATC’s defining of Australia was a dynamic, creative process that was determined to varying degrees over time by Australian foreign, social and economic policies; ideas of nature and community, the level of government control, and market desires. As a consequence, ATC images simultaneously combined and oscillated between description, nostalgic reflection, prescription and pure fantasy.

In order to lure tourists to a largely unknown land ‘downunder’ and away from the travel hotspots such as Europe, the UK and the USA, the ATC had to project images that would capture the international travel market’s imagination. This meant that the imagining of Australia was also tied to international travel and tourism trends and the dictates of the market place. Overtime these shifted from convention and business travel, budget travel including backpackers, affluent 'silvers' (post 45 years); and independent fly-drive special interest groups including nature lovers, culture and heritage tourism, and ‘civilised’ adventure seekers. As competition between national tourist offices (NTOs) grew more intense over the past twenty years, (by 1995 there were 170 official NTOs), the ATC had to project images of Australia as both an authentically different travel experience and a destination that could satisfy outsider’s every whim. As a consequence, ATC images represented Australia in terms of both internally driven self perceptions
and ambitions, and what international travellers expected and wanted to see in Australia.

On occasions when there was a gap between the idealistic images produced by the ATC and Australian attitudes and behaviour, domestic campaigns were developed to socially engineer change. In addition, ATC images created international tourist expectations and these impacted upon the way tourists related to Australians during their visit. Both domestic campaigns and the international tourists' 'gaze', served to inculcate alternative perceptions of Australianness, which included racial and cultural tolerance, the appreciation of high and Aboriginal culture, sensitive attitudes to land; and the economic importance of tourism to Australia's development, and the need to welcome tourists and make them feel at home. The ATC represented Australia in terms of social and cultural ideals, which impacted upon host-visitor relations, and Australian cultural and social development.

It has been demonstrated that during the ATC's history, four different Australian national identities were developed. It has also been demonstrated that Australian history was re-written on at least four occasions by the ATC to legitimate contemporary trajectories, and maps were manipulated to communicate different versions of Australia's place in the world. But questions remain as to whose interests were served by these strategically selected images, and what this tells us about the way in which national identities are formulated.

The national identity of a large, empty and worthless outback landscape in chapter one served the interests of mining companies, reflected both economic and foreign policies, and was developed with an eye to the tourism market. The narrative of natural resource exploitation legitimated contemporary mining activity and Australia's history was marshalled to normalise this, by glorifying a frontier
pioneering heritage. Australia's defence policy was reinforced by the nation's inclusion in an American spatial configuration of the Asia-Pacific. Images also reinforced the importance of Australia's economic relationship with the USA by glorifying technology including mining machinery and USA financed development. The imaging of Australian cities in terms of the American modernist aesthetic, and leisure activities in terms of Hollywood hedonistic consumption, also legitimated the trajectory of material wealth accumulation. The imaging of Australia as a second American frontier, also served to lure American tourists, and particularly R&R serviceman. This also served to legitimate Australia's support of the USA in the Vietnam war. During this phase, the selection of tourism images and therefore the Australian national identity was determined by economic and foreign policy, American cultural imperialism and tourism market orientation.

The Whitlam government took a more interventionist role in defining the national identity; and ATC images reflected radical social and foreign policies, and to a lesser extent, tourism market orientation. Government institutions including the Australian Film Development Corporation marginalised the contemporary popular culture ocker phenomenon, because it was considered too parochial and vulgar to gain local and international acceptance. Cultural support was directed instead towards period films which privileged a more tasteful, cultivated and moral image of Australia, in terms of anti-consumerism. ATC images privileged a similar cultural projection to the period film. Other social policies included stemming the braindrain to the USA and UK, unifying a culturally diverse society and decentralisation. Tourism promotion to the domestic, as well as international markets, provided an excellent medium to inculcate and project the visions of a more intellectual, culturally refined, tolerant and environmentally appreciative society. Images drawn from the new National Estate encouraged Australians to move outside the cities and get to know their own country. This not only helped arrest the balance of payments deficit, it aspired towards uniting Australians in an
appreciation of their natural and cultural heritage, and encouraging rural
resettlement. The foreign policy of an independent role in Asia, was reinforced by
images which stressed Australian autonomy and downplayed British and USA
associations. As well as normalising domestic policies, these images coincided
with international travel trends. Increasing numbers of affluent European urban
tourists sought quality tours to remote locations within the Asian region; as well as
sophisticated, cultural experiences in cities as they passed through. ATC images
disregarded the popular ocker culture; reflected the visions of new social, cultural
and foreign policies; and capitalised on international tourist desires for more
culturally refined and remote adventure travel experiences.

The national identity projected during the Hogan era served the priorities and
needs of several different interests; reflected economic policy and imaged
Australia as tourists wanted to see it. To a lesser degree it projected a
commercialised version of organic cultural development. After the Kennedy
Enquiry of 1985, ATC board members were selected by the Ministry responsible
for tourism, and government assumed firmer control over national identity
formulation. Unlike the Whitlam era which shut out the influences of world markets,
prioritised domestic tourism and encouraged endogenous cultural development;
the Hawke administration deregulated the Australian economy; and sought
international investment to develop rural tourism, aid decentralisation and provide
jobs. This coincided with international tourism trends. Lucrative segments
including the city weary, affluent 'silvers' (the 'baby boomer' generation, 45 years
plus) and FITs (fit, independent travellers), sought 'civilised' adventure, luxury
accommodation and first class service, and romance in rural surroundings. As a
consequence of all these factors, ATC images promoted Australia as a land of
pleasures and treasures, populated by people that were happy, willing and able to
satisfy the needs of international visitors. Concurrent to the introduction of radical
economic reforms, the government lent cultural support to a populist ocker image,
in order to provide a sense of continuity with the past and a bulwark against international cultural hegemony. ATC images revived the vernacular Australian frontiersman type and used it domestically to reassure, promote favourable attitudes towards tourism, and enlist acceptance for structural and economic change.

The national identity of the Keating period reflected the foreign, social, economic and cultural policies of a reformist government; and was developed dialogically in conjunction with what Australia's 'significant others' wanted to see in Australia. Prime Minister, Keating wanted to forge closer strategic and economic links with Asia, and the ATC 'Branding of Australia' campaign incorporated images they knew would appeal to Asian tourists; including sophisticated, cosmopolitan cities and diverse cultural performances. These particular images lent weight to government imaginings of Aboriginal reconciliation and land rights, multiculturalism and urban revitalisation. Aboriginality also provided Australia with an ancient cultural heritage native to the Asian region, which reinforced Australia's legitimate inclusion in Asian affairs; and disassociated Australia from its British heritage when republicanism was being actively promoted. Images also heavily featured Australia's diverse cultural and natural heritage when it was known these were what international tourists generally were seeking. Images during this phase featured an eclectic mix of place and people, and were designed to capture the tourist's imagination, associate Australia with Asia; inculcate new attitudes towards cultural pluralism, Australian civics, environmental protection; and promote social change including Republicanism and economic restructuring.

Based on the findings of this research, it is clear that tourism marketing authorities 'imagineer' national identities for domestic and international marketing campaigns to serve a complex range of functions. Each period is characterised by a unique creative mix of interests and degrees of weightage between advancing
the interests of the dominant class, legitimating government policy, inculcating
social and cultural change, and seducing international tourists to Australia. It would
be very difficult, however, to find evidence to support the case for national identity
formation through organic cultural evolution in tourism marketing images.

Whilst it is difficult to measure the effectiveness of the drawing power of ATC
campaigns, some speculations are possible. Motivations to travel are complex and
factors influencing decisions are many. During the ATC's history, these included
international terrorism, major events including the America's Cup Challenge and
the Olympic Games, the value of the Australian dollar, regional opportunities and
tourism fads. During the thirty-three years of its operation, tourism arrivals
increased from 222,000 in 1967 to 4,652,000 in 2000. Whilst this latter figure
represented less than 1% of total world arrivals, tourism became Australia’s
largest single export industry and provider of foreign exchange. The close
correlation of arrival numbers and monies spent on marketing campaigns, and in
particular television advertising (Fig 3), would suggest a direct causal relationship
existed between ATC advertising and tourists travelling to Australia. The sharp
increase in arrivals from 1984 (Fig 2) would also suggest that the inaugural Hogan
television commercials were effective in triggering an awareness overseas that
Australia was an attractive tourism destination. The increase in arrivals after 1984,
and the startling increase of Japanese travellers from 1986, would also suggest
that images of a spiritually enriched landscape, Aboriginal culture; and
sophisticated, cosmopolitan cities were successful. Interestingly, the ATC’s
resurrection of the Australian bush tradition images in 1996, (after the Howard
government’s election and the Hanson debacle), coincided with a sharp decline in
Japanese arrivals, and increases from USA and Britain. But tourist desires and
needs are perpetually shifting. As a consequence, tourism images must be equally
dynamic and creative, in order to seduce the golden hordes.
Due to the nature of the subject being so contemporary, it proved difficult to distinguish between primary and secondary sources because works were often used for both purposes. For this reason the bibliography has been sorted into Australian and International publications.

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