NYUNGAR TOURISM IN THE SOUTH WEST REGION OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF TOURISM

“….the Nyungar (Aborigine) not only welcomed the sailors [in 1821] but eagerly engaged in what was possibly the first tourist trading in Western Australia” (D'Urville 1826 in Green, 1984:37)

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NIDJA GNULLA MIA. NIDJA GNULLA MOORT KARL.

This is Our Home. This is our relations camping place,

NIDJA NYUNGAR KARLA: DJINANG KARLA BOORN NAARINY

This is the peoples campfire: Look the fire stick is still burning

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INTRODUCTION

Kura, Yeye, Benang, Kalykool
Past, Present, Tomorrow, Forever

Ngulla Boodjar
Our country

Tourism is defined as the “activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for less than one year, for leisure, business or other purposes not related to remuneration from within the place visited” (WTO 2003a). In many countries tourism is the number one industry and the fastest growing economic sector in terms of foreign exchange earnings and job creation despite recent slowdowns due to international terrorism, the Iraq War and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) (WTO 2003a), plus political unrest and aviation issues (WATC 2003a). The importance and value of tourism globally was recognised in November 2003 when the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) was granted the status of a specialized agency of the United Nations. Within Australia the Federal government, at this time, decided to rejoin the WTO after several years of absence (WTO 2003b).

Tourism is one of the world’s fastest growing industries contributing over 10% to global Gross Domestic Product (WATC 2002a: 12). The number of international visitors travelling to Australia reached almost five million in the 2000-2001 financial year, boosted by the Sydney Olympic and Paralympic Games (ABS 2002: 612). The tourism industry contributed approximately 4.5 percent to Australian GDP, employing approximately 5.4 percent of the Australian workforce and generating export earnings of $12.8 billion (WATC 2002a:12). According to figures released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Overseas Arrivals and Departures preliminary June 2001 figures showed an 8.8 per cent increase during the financial year prior to September 2001, compared with the 8.5 percent increase for same period the previous year (ABS 2002:613). The Federal Minister for Sport and Tourism Jackie Kelly, said these results suggested a landmark achievement for the Australian tourism industry.

This is good news for the industry and means that tourism will continue to be a key driver of growth in jobs and economic activity throughout Australia (WAITOC 2001).
Indigenous Tourism

Indigenous tourism is a form of ‘special interest’ tourism and depends on the primary motivation of the tourist (Hall & Weiler 1992). Harron and Weiler (1992) discuss ‘ethnic tourists’, and say that most Indigenous/ethnic tourists seek “first hand, authentic and sometimes intimate contact with people whose Indigenous and / or cultural background is different from the tourist” (Harron & Weiler 1992:84). They seek direct experience, the human element, more intimate and authentic contact than that classed as ‘cultural tourism’ (which involves culture in an indirect way as a backdrop). Indigenous tourism also links to environmental / nature-based tourism, arts and heritage, plus adventure tourism (Harron & Weiler 1992). Harron and Weiler (1992) suggest that the motives of Indigenous / ethnic tourists are poorly understood. There are a variety of reasons to seek this form of tourism; some are motivated by curiosity and seek elite peer approval, some only want short-time and not-too-close encounters. However demand is growing and influenced by marketing, the images of which create preconceived ideas in the tourist (Walle 1996). Harron and Weiler (1992) suggest that marketing is often half-true, perpetuating stereotypes of aboriginality as an “exotic, inanimate curio…” (p87), not as a complex living culture. The term ‘ethnic’ tourism is not commonly used in Australia, most marketing refers to Aboriginal or indigenous tourism.

Indigenous tourism is defined as

Tourist activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and / or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction (Hinch & Butler 1996:9).

Hinch and Butler (1996) describe a range of types of indigenous tourism that they illustrate by use of a matrix; this varies between two key aspects - range of control and indigenous theme of the attraction – and gives four possible scenarios:

‘Culture Controlled’- High degree of indigenous control, indigenous theme present;
‘Diversified Indigenous’- High degree of indigenous control, with indigenous theme absent;
‘Culture Dispossessed’ - Low degree of indigenous control, indigenous theme present; plus
‘Non-indigenous tourism’ - Low degree of indigenous control, no indigenous theme (See Figure 1).
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDIGENOUS THEME</th>
<th>LOW DEGREE OF CONTROL</th>
<th>HIGH DEGREE OF CONTROL</th>
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<tr>
<td>Low Degree of Control</td>
<td>CULTURE DISPOSSESSED</td>
<td>CULTURE CONTROLLED</td>
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<td>Indigenous Theme Present</td>
<td>NON-INDIGENOUS TOURISM</td>
<td>DIVERSIFIED INDIGENOUS</td>
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<td>Indigenous Theme Absent</td>
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**Figure 1. Indigenous Tourism (Hinch & Butler 1996: 10)**

Hinch and Butler (1996:11) state that overall “indigenous tourism occurs within the context of a global tourism industry that is dominated by non-indigenous actors”. This raises issues such as local control and the synergies with the global industry as well as the broader environmental contexts of power, transport, and marketing (Hinch & Butler 1996).

Pitcher, van Oosterzee and Palmer (1999) suggest that ‘indigenous’ tourism offers a more inclusive term than ‘Aboriginal cultural tourism’, as it means

> All forms of participation by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in tourism as employers, employees, investors, joint venture partners, providing indigenous cultural tourism products or providing mainstream tourism products (Pitcher, van Oosterzee & Palmer 1999:3).

This fits with the aims of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (ATSIC 1997) to increase indigenous participation in the tourism industry – to be integrated into the whole rather than seen as a separate component, to then benefit from the use of mainstream infrastructure and support mechanisms (Pitcher et al 1999:3).

Aboriginal cultural tourism is a growing phenomenon due to growth in special interest tourism throughout Australia (Altman 1989; ATA 2003; CDT 1994; Hall & Weiler 1992; Hinkson 2003; Hollinshead 1996; SATC 1998; TNSW 1997; Zeppel 1998a, 1998b; Zeppel & Hall 1991). Many tourist brochures entice national and international visitors to pay large amounts of money, or ‘big bucks’, to witness the uniqueness of Aboriginal culture at first hand. For example, a Western Australian Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM), Yanchep National Park, 2001, brochure proclaims, “Yanchep National Park, Perth’s Natural and Cultural Meeting Place” where “Local Aboriginal People (Nyoongars) teach their traditional lifestyle and
Aboriginal Tourism in Australia is based on the cultural aspects of traditional indigenous lifestyles. Much the same is happening in Northern Europe and the United States of America (Coopers and Lybrand 1995:13). The growing interest in Australian Aboriginal tourism augers well for Aboriginal people wishing to become involved in tourism. However, there are many different facets to the Aboriginal Tourism industry that needs addressing, not least of which is Aboriginal ownership of Aboriginal tourism outlets (Altman 1989; Altman & Finlayson 2003; ATA 2002; Finlayson 1994; Hinch & Butler 1996; Johnston 2000; Pitcher, van Oosterzee & Palmer 1999; Sofield 1991; Venbrux 2000; Zeppel 1998a) in unique and diverse settings in Australia.

Aboriginal ownership of indigenous tourism outlets is one area that will be covered in this report. Other topics for review are:

- a history of Aboriginal tourism in Western Australia;
- tourism interest in Aboriginal tourism;
- Native Title, Cultural Heritage and Aboriginal Intellectual Property Rights;
- policy direction of major government market operators;
- commissioned reports on Aboriginal tourism;
- market research on Aboriginal tourism and finally,
- research gaps in Aboriginal tourism studies. Incorporated are tourism issues including tourist motivation, sustainability, authenticity, commoditisation and marketing.

The purpose of this research and report is to ascertain the position of the Aboriginal tourism market in Nyungar lands in the south-west of Western Australia (See Figure 2) written from an Aboriginal perspective, as Zeppel (1999:20) suggests is needed in tourism research.
Nyungar Tourism in the Southwest of Western Australia

The portion of this map represents the lower southwest portion of the southwest of Western Australia.

Figure 2. Tindale Map

The project participants examined five (5) of the regions that comprise Nyungar traditional country through case studies that will reveal the state of Nyungar tourism in the South West. The areas of traditional Nyungar ownership or geopolitical language groups within these regions are Yuat, Kaniyang, Goreng, Minang, Nyaki-Nyaki, Bibbulman, Pindjarup, Wardandi, Wajuk, Willman and Wudjari (Tindale, 1974), (See Figure 2). While researching the section
‘History of Aboriginal Tourism in Western Australia’, the report will focus on Aboriginal tourism in south-west Western Australia, with brief mention made to Aboriginal people situated in regional Western Australia. This includes the Wongi people of the Goldfields and Eastern Goldfields; the Yamatji of the Murchison, Gascoyne and Pilbara regions, and the Kimberley Aboriginals who comprise many different language groups (See Figure 3 Indigenous Language Groups in WA).

While it is beyond the scope of this report to examine each and every group in these regional areas of Western Australia, it is important to acknowledge that Aboriginal tourism in the northern and Kimberley areas appear to be flourishing because of the interest in “Nature-based, Aboriginal and Cultural Tourism” by intrastate, interstate and international tourists. While a review of literature suggests there appears to be a dearth of research on Aboriginal
tourism in the Goldfields region, the main objective of this project is to examine Aboriginal tourism in the South West Nyungar region of Western Australia.

The researchers looked at case studies of tourism and outlets that are Nyungar-owned and operated, non-Nyungar owned (CALM & private enterprise) but operated by Aboriginal people, and also tourism outlets that Nyungar people hope to establish in the near future. An example of the latter is the now defunct Moore River Native Settlement (established in 1917), which became the Mogumber Methodist Mission in 1951 (WAC 1992). This site is currently managed by the Moore River Heritage Committee and comes under the auspices of the Wheatbelt Aboriginal Corporation (Heritage & Conservation Professionals 1997). The rejuvenation of the Moore River area presents a good example of the Tourist Area Life-Cycle model advocated by Butler (1980, see Figure 4). He suggested that over time tourist sites underwent an evolution through the stages of involvement, exploration, development, consolidation and stagnation, leading to either decline or rejuvenation of the site depending on how it was managed (Butler 1980). In the Moore River case, tourism is being advocated to help rejuvenate an area that is in decline due to a discontinuation of development and use.

![Hypothetical evolution of a tourist area (Butler 1980:7)](image)

**Figure 4. Hypothetical evolution of a tourist area (Butler 1980:7)**

(Key: A Rejuvenation; B Reduced growth; C Stabilization; D Marked decline; E Immediate decline)

This research will also include mention of the Carrolup Mission “Child Artists of the Australian Bush” and the Coolbaroo League that flourished in Perth during the 1940s and 1950s (Miller & Rutter, 1952; Drewe 1996; Long 1996). These institutions were instrumental in promoting Aboriginal arts and crafts, not only to the mainstream culture in Australia, but to international visitors as well.
This report will trace Aboriginal input into assisting the colonials to open up this country for white expansion. There are many instances where Nyungar people worked side by side with white people, examples include Tommy Windich a Balardong Nyungar who John Forrest with his many expeditions throughout Western Australia. Wylie, a Minang Nyungar youth who assisted Edward John Eyre cross the Nullarbor; Sam Isaacs a Wardandi/Pibelmen Nyungar who helped Grace Bussell save many passengers from the wrecked ship Georgette in 1876 and other instances where, without Aboriginal expertise and knowledge of the land, white people would have perished (Palmer & Collard 1998). The report will briefly cover the Western Australian Aborigines Act of 1905, the Aborigines Act of 1936 and the The Commonwealth Referendum of 1967 (Bennett 1985; Milnes 2001; van den Berg 2002), which gave Aboriginal people citizenship in Australia, their ancestral country. It will also mention the topical issues of Native Title, Cultural Heritage and Aboriginal Intellectual Property Rights that intersect with Aboriginal Tourism.

On the contemporary level, this report will examine policy direction, marketing research and research gaps in Aboriginal tourism. It will identify the direction Nyungar Aboriginal Tourism is heading and what can be done to assist operators promote and market their businesses. It will look at Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) research into Aboriginal tourism, the Western Australian Tourism Commission (WATC), the Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Committee (WAITOC), and private enterprise interest in the indigenous tourism industry. The case studies to be studied include Kwillana Dreaming, Maali Mia, Middar, Wardan, Waljin Consultancy, Kepa Kurl, Southern Aboriginal Corporation, Kodja House, Nyungar Cultural Centre (Bunbury) and Yirra-Kurl. (See Figure 5). In all, this research will shed light on Nyungar Aboriginal Tourism in the South West of Western Australia, an under-researched area.
The Case Study locations of:

Kwillana Dreaming – Pinjarup Nyungar country
Wardan Cultural Centre – Wardandi Nyungar country
Waljin Consultancy – Wardandi Nyungar country
Kodja Place – Kaniyang Nyungar country
Maali Mia – Wajuk Nyungar country
Yira-Kurl – Wajuk Nyungar country
Southern Aboriginal Corporation – Minang Nyungar country
Bunbury Cultural Centre – Kaniyang Nyungar country
Middar Dance Group – Pinjarup Nyungar country

Figure 5. Location of Nyungar Case Studies in Nyungar boodjar
HISTORY OF ABORIGINAL TOURISM IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Kangaroo meat
And Damper
I will always remember
Trendy foods and lavish hampers
Just give me
Kangaroo meat
And damper
(Alf Taylor in Winds, 1994).

Prelude – Nyungar Heritage and History

Nyungar means a person, or the people, of the south-west of Western Australia who lived in a veritable Eden. The climate of their country ranged from mild to temperate and was divided into six seasons, that is,

*Bunuru*, with hot easterly and north winds (February to March)
*Djeran*, becoming cooler with winds from the south-west (April to May)
*Makuru*, cold and wet with westerly gales (June to July)
*Djilba*, becoming warmer (August to September)
*Kambarang*, rain decreasing (October to November)
*Birak*, hot and dry with easterly winds during the day and south-west sea breezes in the late afternoon (December to January)

(Swan River Trust, 2002)

Throughout these seasons Nyungar found ample food, such as kangaroo, emu, possum, snake, goanna, fish and other marine life, and edible vegetation to sustain their people and maintain their cultural, religious and social customs (van den Berg, 2001:96). Nyungar land contains twelve separate language groups comprising Yuat, Kaniyang, Goreng, Minang, Nyaki-Nyaki, Bibbulman, Pindjarup, Wardandi, Wajuk, Wiliam and Wudjari (See Fig 2; Tindale, 1974; and Collard 2002).
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However, all these groups identify as Nyungar and are interrelated. Trails criss-crossed Nyungar territory as family matters and other social, cultural or trade businesses were carried out. Messengers were sent ahead to inform the particular groups that family or business matters were at hand and preparations would then be made to accommodate the visitors. Nyungar lived as one with their land and pre-European Nyungar culture was thriving in their isolation (van den Berg 2002).

According to van den Berg (2002) pre-European Nyungar practised specific cultural, social and religious customs and laws were made to protect the collective, not the singular. Elders made the laws and if people did not abide by these laws, they were punished, either by spearing or death. Their life was focused around their family and relations, and their spirituality was conceived by their surroundings and the tenets of the Rainbow Serpent and Waakal. They lived in harmony with their environment and knowledge of their land was fundamental to their survival. They utilised the six seasons of the year for food and sustenance and never damaged or killed their sources unnecessarily. The land was their Mother, and Nature their guiding light. The Nyungar of the South West lived in a veritable Eden and the Serpent was by no means their enemy. The coming of the Djanga, or white people, who the Nyungar took to be the spirits of their dead, proved a far more deadly foe than any serpent, for the Nyungar lost their lands, their lives and their culture to an insidious adversary (van den Berg 2002).

In this 21st century, Nyungar are now rebuilding their culture and pride. One of the ways to encourage Nyungar cultural renaissance may be through the medium of Indigenous Tourism.

**EUROPEAN HISTORY or the Coming of the Djanga (White Men)**

From time to time, the coastal Nyungar witnessed strange activity along their shores. White specks sailing on the ocean and sometimes evidence of strangers visiting their land were found, which left Nyungar wondering about these white beings. Were they djanga, the returned spirits of their dead relatives? Nyungar believed that when their people died, their spirits went to Karranup, the home of the Bibbulmen (Nyungar) dead that lay beyond the great Western sea (Bates, 1992: 4-6).
The Dutchman, Dirk Hartog, in the ship, Eendracht, left a plaque in 1616, at a site now known as Shark Bay (Rienits, 1971:28). Hartog was the first known European to make landfall in the “Great South Land” or Terra Australis Incognita, as the Portuguese and Spaniards called it (Rienits 1971: 2). When the Dutch became a sea power of renown, many other Dutch mariners sailed along the west coast of New Holland, as this country then became known, enroute to Batavia, Java, in the East Indies (now Jakarta the capital of Indonesia).

Other ships that sailed the Western Australian coast included the Leeuwin (1622) and Gulden Zeepaard (1627) (Rienits 1971:28). Dutch ships that were wrecked here included the Batavia (1629), Vergulde Draeck (1656), Zuytdorp (1712) and the Zeewijk (1727) (Gerritsen, 1994:14; VOC Shipwrecks ND). It is interesting to note that the survivors of the Zeewijk landed on Gun Island and using materials from the Zeewijk and local timber were able to build the small ship Sloepie in four months. The Sloepie has the distinction of being the first ocean-going ship to be built in Australia by Europeans by following the directions of Captain Steyns (Gerritsen 1994; VOC Shipwrecks ND).

Collard, Collard and Henderson (1997) state that on 29 December 1696, Dutchman Willem de Vlamingh sighted an island now known as Rottnest where he and his party, comprising three ships Nijptangh, t’Weseltje and Geelvinc, anchored. After exploring the island by longboat, he decided that the three ships should anchor off the mainland. De Vlamingh and his crew saw the smoke of many fires rising in the distance and knew that people were living on the mainland. Murdoch University (Collard, Collard & Henderson 1997) assisted in researching a map outlining de Vlamingh’s arrival and exploration of the Swan River between 29 December 1696 and 13 January 1697. De Vlamingh and his crew explored the Swan River close to Heirisson Island near Perth Waters, looking for the inhabitants from 4 January 1697 to 12 January 1697. He saw plenty of black swans and many signs of Aboriginal habitation, but no people (Collard, Collard & Henderson 1997). It seems that the Wajuk Nyungar did not want direct contact with the djangas or white people. These early international visitors pulled anchor on 13 January 1697 and took with them the black swans caught on the river. De Vlamingh named the place Black Swan River, later changed to the Swan River (Rienits 1971: 30).

After de Vlamingh’s departure from the Swan River, other Dutch ships, French and English explorers came to these shores in search of new lands to ‘discover’ during the 18th century. Cape Leeuwin or Doogalup, Cape Naturaliste or Kwirreejeenungup, Ratsnest or Rottnest
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Island or Wedjemup and Fremantle or Walyalup are just several of the places along the south-west and south coasts that bear witness to their passing being re-named by these early seafarers (Rienits 1971). Nyungar knew every landmark, fresh water source, flora and fauna found in their country and it was because of this knowledge that the early explorers wanted to make contact with the Aboriginal people (Collard & Palmer, 1984: 4-5).

Toward the end of the 18th century, the British, having settled the east coast of Australia in 1788 decided to colonise the west coast and, in 1791, George Vancouver in the ship Discovery, sailed along the south coast of Western Australia and dropped anchor in King George Sound (Green, 1984:31). Although Vancouver found signs of Nyungar, he never sighted any. The next influx of explorers and navigators to reach the south coast of Western Australia included Englishman Matthew Flinders in 1801 whose crew did have interaction with Nyungar; and Frenchman Nicholas Baudin who sailed from King George Sound around Cape Leeuwin, on to Garden and Carnac Islands near Rottnest Island in 1803 (Green, 1984:34). Green (1984) states that between 1818 and 1822, Captain Phillip Parker King made three journeys into King George Sound. He found the Nyungar on these occasions to be friendly and welcoming and was able to give a more detailed description of Nyungar in the Albany region. Later, in 1826, another Frenchman, Dumont D’Urville sailed into King George Sound on a scientific expedition. An entry in D’Urville’s journal is worth mentioning, it says,

They [Nyungar] posed for sketches and were most co-operative in contributing to their linguistic studies. Of an evening the Aborigines entertained the French with corroboree songs and the Frenchmen responded with light duets which were received with excited shouts and applause (Green, 1984:38).

It could be suggested that this was the first time that international visitors were subject to Nyungar dance and song, so becoming one of the first tourist attractions ever performed in Nyungar territory. However, D’Urville was the last Frenchman to sail into King George Sound. The English, via Major Lockyer of the brig Amity in December 1826, subsequently claimed the south coast of Nyungar country, thus winning for the British Empire the sole ‘ownership’ of New Holland, now called Australia. On 30 December 1828, Captain James Stirling was placed in command of the Swan River colony and on 25 April 1829, Captain Fremantle anchored off
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Fremantle or Walyalup with the first influx of settlers to begin life in the ‘new’ colony (Green, 1984:48).

COLONISATION

According to official reports, the British intruders were to treat the Nyungar with respect, “amity and kindness” (van den Berg 2002:20). The edict from the Home Office was to ensure that the ‘natives’ did not become too restless and start causing trouble for the settlers. Captain Fremantle and later James Stirling, up to a point, emulated the good intentions of the King George Sound explorers by treating the Nyungars with respect. Lockyer, Scott Nind, Collier and Captain Barker, who had befriended a Nyungar called Mokare, all had established friendly relations with Minang Nyungar (Green 1984). It was through Mokare that Scott Nind and the others learnt more about the local Nyungar customs. In fact relationships with the Minang Nyungar were very amicable and as a result, the colonisers permitted them access to their cultural creativity via the art media (Green 1984). As reported in the West Australian,

In January 1833 a Minang Nyungar named Gyalput sketched a native encampment at King Georges Sound in Albany for government storekeeper John Morgan. The colonial official had given the curious Nyungar pen and ink and the drawing was done at his desk while Morgan was writing a report to the Colonial Office. Impressed by what he described as “the first sketch certainly drawn by any Aborigine of this country”, Morgan bundled it up in his official despatch to London, where it is now held in the Public Records Office (Banks 2003:12).

No one could have predicted, in 1833, that Aboriginal art would play such a major part in Indigenous Australian tourism as it does now in the 21st century (ATA 2002, 2003; Crabb 2003; DCITA 2003; CDT 1994; Simons 2000; WAITOC 2003a; WATC 2002, 2003B; Zeppel 1998b, 1999; Zeppel & Hall 1991). Zeppel (1998b: 24) cites ATSIC and the Office of National Tourism (1997) estimating the annual income in 1997 from selling Aboriginal arts, crafts and souvenir products at $200 million, with half of that coming from overseas tourist sales. Simons (2000) says that between 80 and 90 percent of all Aboriginal art and crafts are exported, with up to 75 percent of customers being international tourists (p422), and that as far back as 1989 exports of Australian art earned $56 million, of which $8 million was for Aboriginal art (Simons 2000:}
426) often prompted by tourist promotion or visits (Austrade 1989, cited in Simons 2000). This is a remarkable achievement considering indigenous people made up approximately 2.4 percent of the Australian population in 2001; with a lower 2.1 percent of the population in 1996 (ABS 2003).

As colonisation spread, explorers, farmers and pastoralists used Nyungar to assist them find water and open up new land for the settlers. At first the Swan River Nyungar were friendly with whites but clashes occurred more frequently as more land was stolen by colonists (Durack, 2001:92-93). Later coercion and violence were used in dealings with Nyungar (Elder 1998). However, sometimes real friendships developed as in the case of Scott Nind and Mokare, and Edward John Eyre and Wylie, who assisted Eyre with his crossing of the Nullarbor Plain from Adelaide to Perth (Green, 1984). In all aspects of colonisation Nyungar have helped the colonisers in their search for new land to open up. An article by Len Collard and David Palmer entitled “... we cleared and built all that run: Nyungs, work and cultural incorporation” (Palmer & Collard, 1998:19-29), stresses the relationship between the colonisers and Nyungar, and the fact that Nyungar were not an invisible people when it came to showing and teaching the white people about their country. Yet Nyungar and other Aboriginal people hardly rate a mention in the history of Australian economic expansion (Bulbeck 1991; Hillyer 2001; Hinkson 2003; Jones 1997). Pastoralists, farmers and city people have Nyungar to thank for the colonist’s ultimate success in opening up new land.

Although tourism probably never entered the heads of the colonisers at that time, as it was not a common concept, it can be suggested that many subsequent visitors and immigrants to these shores would have wondered at the beauty they encountered in Nyungar land. For example, when viewing the Swan River from Mt Eliza in Kings Park, Perth, and visualising how it must have been pre-colonisation, one stands in awe of the scenery as one considers the story of the Waakal as told by Nyungar for millennia (Collard, 2000).

20th CENTURY DEPRIVATION AND RECOVERY - SUSTAINABILITY

As new territory was made accessible to white people, Nyungar were slowly pushed further and further away from their homelands, until finally in the early years of the 20th century, they were
hounded and herded into settlements and missions or “native” reserves (Haebich, 1988:147), leaving white people in total control of their [Nyungar] lands. Nyungars became subjected and subservient to the new State’s laws and regulations, made especially for indigenous people. The WA Aborigines Act of 1905 and the WA Aborigines Act of 1936 were inhumane (Milnes 2001), yet Nyungar survived, and the aftermath of the The Commonwealth Referendum of 1967 gave Aborigines citizenship across Australia (Bennett 1985; Milnes 2001; van den Berg, 2002:33), which enabled them the right to rediscover their heritage and culture.

One way Nyungar are reclaiming their heritage is through Aboriginal Cultural Tourism, although there are other areas where Aboriginal people are striving to recapture their cultural heritage. It is suggested that Aboriginal Tourism is a valuable resource that may be utilised by indigenous Australians to assist economic independence and cultural preservation (ATSIC 1997; CDT 1994; SATC 1995; TNSW 1997; Venbrux 2000; WATC 2002). According to the ATC (2003a, 2003b; also Foo 1998; Moscardo & Pearce 1999; Wilson-Clark 2003a) not only does Aboriginal tourism hold the interest of multicultural Australians, but it has growing potential in some international markets too such as North America, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, northern Europe, Japan and lately China. The Aboriginal people of the mainland, Tasmania and Torres Strait Islands, have found that Aboriginal tourism is one way of maintaining cultural links to the traditional ways of their ancestors (ATA 2003; ATSIC 1997; CALM 1998; CDT 1994; pers. comm. Mann 2002; Venbrux 2000). This could be seen as sustaining Aboriginal culture.

**Sustainability**

Sustainable development is an area of major policy debate of our generation (Hall & Lew 1998:1). While there has always been historical concerns for the ‘wise use’ of natural resources, the recognition of global ‘environmental crises’ in the 1970s brought the concept of ‘sustainability’ to the public attention with the 1980 World Conservation Strategy (Hall & Lew 1998:2). The strategy recognised the relationship between economic developments and the conservation or sustenance of natural resources, with new impetus added due to the global nature of the problems. The term ‘sustainability’ was used by several authors in the early 1980s, but the publication in 1987 of ‘Our Common Future’ (the Bruntland Report) by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) placed sustainable development in popular usage. Sustainable development is defined as
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Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need (WCED 1987 cited in Hall & Lew 1998:3).

According to the WCED the five basic principles upon which sustainable development were based include:

1. Holistic planning and strategy making
2. Importance of preserving essential ecological processes
3. Need to protect human heritage and biodiversity
4. Development so that productivity can be sustained over the long-term for future generations
5. Achieving a better balance of fairness and opportunity between nations
   (Hall & Lew 1998:3)

These principles are appealing but there are many issues involved such as the uncertainty over precise definitions, the relationship to economic growth, the implementation or operationalisation, and the impacts upon the lifestyles of populations in Western countries (Hall & Lew 1998). These issues present major challenges and raise issues that are political, economic, environmental and social. They also require the rethinking of development and growth, the roles of individuals, governments and the private sector (Hall & Lew 1998).

Because tourism has long been a part of natural resource linking sustainability to tourism naturally occurs. The changing nature of conservation strategies, integrated tourism management and relationships to specific communities of interest has raised the issue and debates over ‘sustainable tourism’ and the rise of ‘alternative’ forms of tourism (Hall & Lew 1998). These issues are much debated, however, Butler (in Hall & Lew 1998:7) suggests that the focus should be on how to apply the concept rather that endlessly debate and define it. Butler argues that the issues are about limits on use and numbers of tourists, technological and infrastructure developments, local values or external values, local cultural and natural heritage, economic benefits, sustaining tourism markets and the major challenges of mass tourism, carrying capacity and the control of tourism (Hall & Lew 1998:7).

Pigram and Wahab (1997) similarly describe widespread attention and research into ‘sustainable tourism’, though they suggest that it may be a contradiction in terms. They ask
‘can tourism grow in a sustainable manner?’ (Pigram & Wahab 1997:4), and recognise the need to see reality rather than myths. They discuss a history of degradation of resources due to unsustainable tourism and suggest this causes a decline in the attraction, a drop in tourist numbers and negative biophysical and socioeconomic impacts (Pigram & Wahab 1997). They argue that ‘sustainable tourism’

Implies meeting current uses and demands of tourism without impairing the natural and cultural heritage, or opportunities for collective enjoyment of tourists of the future (Hawkes & Williams 1993, cited in Pigram & Wahab 1997:4).

Pigram and Wahab (1997) suggest that the main issues include whether tourism can grow and contribute to the enhancement of the host environment, natural or human, and whether tourism requires strategic management to grow sustainably within environmental constraints. They maintain a positive outlook and believe that a balance can be found between short-term returns and longer-term viability and sustainability (Pigram & Wahab 1997:5). Harrison (1996) discusses the problems in applying sustainable tourism in the socio-cultural dimensions of societies. He suggests an ‘emic’ view is needed; that consensus cannot be assumed in host populations; that social change also impacts on sustainability and cultural structures; that we need social analyses, morals, value judgements and concern for equity; that local knowledge is important and necessitates consultation, local democracy, and considering locals as experts, to adequately apply sustainable principles (Harrison 1996). He summarises by stating that “sustainable tourism does not necessarily denote a sustainable tourism industry” (Harrison 1996:73), meaning that even if one site meets all sustainability principles that the industry and the global environment as a whole must also embrace these principles to go forward into the future. These are important issues for tourism as a whole and for indigenous people involved in the tourism industry.

AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS CULTURAL TOURISM – DANCE or KENINY

Whilst this report focuses on new possibilities arising from current Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Western Australia, historical records show events that could be construed as Aboriginal Cultural Tourism from early days of colonisation. The Perth Gazette, 16 March 1833,
contained an article titled “Native Corrobory [sic] at Perth”. This article was reproduced in the promotions booklet for the late Jack Davis’ play, *The Dreamers* (Davis 1983) and was perhaps the first to mention Nyungar cultural practices which were put on show for an alien audience and reads in part:

At the solicitation of Yagan, who had not been present at the celebration of this native festival on previous occasions, Captain Ellis was induced to allow the Swan River and the King George’s [Albany] men to hold a corrobory [sic] in Mr Purkis’s yard, on Wednesday evening last, which attracted an overflowing audience. About dusk, the two tribes assembled, and commenced their preparations by chalking each others breasts . . . They appeared highly flattered by the interest the audience took in their manoeuvres [sic], and preparatory to the entertainment, stalked to and through rehearsing their chants, and exercising their singular attitudes, with all the self complacency of our more cultivated artists. As a novelty the corrobory [sic] is well worth seeing, but much of its interest is lost to us, from the want of a programme of the performance. The representation of killing the Kangaroo, the one performer assuming the character of the Huntsman, the other the Kangaroo, was striking from its fidelity indeed was a fine specimen of acting . . . The display on the whole was interesting, but rather tedious. His Honour the Lieutenant Governor honoured the natives with his presence, and we observed nearly the whole of the respectable inhabitants of Perth, including several ladies, all of whom seemed highly entertained . . . Yagan was the master of ceremonies and acquitted himself with infinite dignity and grace (Davis, 1983).

It is interesting to note that Yagan presented himself with dignity and grace in these circumstances. Could this festivity be one of the first Aboriginal cultural attractions to gain recognition as a tourist commodity? It had all the ingredients that make for a tourist event, or attraction (Pearce, Morrison & Rutledge 1998:269-72) – the painted faces and bodies, the dances that displayed Nyungar expertise, the showmanship that heralded crowd-gathering applause, the spectators themselves who comprised colonial interest and even ladies of the elite graced their presence at this corroboree, and finally, the great warrior himself, Yagan, who acted as Master of Ceremonies at this special function to entertain the *Wedjela* or white people with Nyungar traditional cultural dance or keniny.
The instance above was one of the first recorded examples of Aboriginal ceremonial keniny or dance for European spectators in the south west of this State; however it would not be the last. There have been times when Nyungar people have permitted the Wedjela to witness one of their keniny or corroborees and J. E. Hammond, in his book *Winjan’s People* (1933:49) talks at length of how Nyungar people conducted themselves at a keniny he witnessed in the 1870s. As he says, “A large corroboree of mixed tribes was worth going far to see”. Hammond’s description of the corroboree re-enforces the images as described by the *Perth Gazette* of 1833 (Davis 1983). The late Revel Cooper also captured the essence of Nyungar keniny with his painting “Corroboree Grounds” created in the 1950s (Miller & Rutter 1952; Stanton 1992).

The keniny or corroboree was still performed throughout Western Australia post colonisation; in fact all over Australia and although the government and religious bodies slowly discouraged Aboriginal people from maintaining their cultural dance and songs, many a corroboree (keniny) was held away from those in charge of the settlements or missions, especially initiation rites (Haebich, 1989: 219).

**The Coolbaroo League Newsletter – The Westralian Aborigine**

The Coolbaroo League began promoting Aboriginal culture through its newsletter, *Westralian Aborigine*, in Perth during the mid-1950s. Besides news of interest to Aboriginal people, it also ran advertisements promoting Aboriginal cultural items for sale. Such advertisements could be seen in the newsletter as –

Now is the time to buy those Exclusive Overseas Christmas Gifts
Visit The “Coolbaroo” Aboriginal Shop, 110a Barrack Street – Perth.
Phone BA 6407 – The only shop of its kind in Australia.
Genuine Aboriginal Tribal Weapons and Instruments
Special Aboriginal Miniature Weapons set in strong, attractive boxes ready for overseas posting
A child’s delight! A Book of Picture Stories by Mary and Elizabeth Durack. Exclusive to the Aboriginal Shop.
Contemporary Aboriginal design Chinaware and many more different, interesting, attractive and rare articles for your gift selection.
MAKE THE COOLBAROO ABORIGINAL SHOP YOUR FIRST CALL FOR YOUR CHRISTMAS SHOPPING, July 1954.
(Coolbaroo League 1954: 3)

Another advertisement relating to Aboriginal culture, was –

Here’s some easy money for you
We are calling for Aboriginal craftsmen and craftswomen
for the first Aboriginal shop in Perth (Coolbaroo League 1956: 2).

Judging by these promotional publications, The Coolbaroo Club Shop was the first Nyungar-run tourist outlet that catered solely for Aboriginal cultural material. Exceptions to the rule were the Durack sisters’ children’s literary material and the chinaware. Possibly the chinaware had Aboriginal motifs painted on the plates, cups and other items of culinary use, but the main objects sold in the shop were authentic Aboriginal hand-made articles (Coolbaroo League 1954).

Over a period of time, Nyungar dancers were called upon to perform corroborees for the benefit of important dignitaries who visited Perth from interstate or overseas, or just to entertain spectators, as in the case of the All Saints Fair in Nedlands in 1954. The Westralian Aborigine newsletter published by the Coolbaroo League in 1954 proudly displayed a photograph of four Aboriginal men dressed in corroboree gear while entertaining tourists at the All Saints Fair. (Coolbaroo League Oct/Nov, 1954:NP). Another instance where Aborigines were called on to perform before an audience was at the Claremont Showground on Labour Day 1955. The newsworthy item was published in the Westralian Aborigine under the heading:

ABORIGINAL SPEAR-THROWERS IMPRESS LABOR DAY CROWDS

Loud cheers of applause went up at the Claremont Showground on Labour Day when native spear-throwers pierced a 24in (inch) by 18in cardboard box from a distance of 75 yards. Spectators were also amazed by their boomerang-throwing display.
(Four men from Cunderlee Mission gave this display).
(Coolbaroo League Jan.1955 NP)
The Coolbaroo Dance Club

The Coolbaroo League also established a dance club called the Coolbaroo Club for Aboriginal people such as the Wongi, Nyungar, Yamatji or Mulba people in the Perth area. A flyer and reviews for the movie \textit{The Coolbaroo Club} state,

For 14 years, from 1946 to 1960, in the city of Perth, Western Australia, the Coolbaroo Club was a meeting place and community focus for the local Aboriginal community. The Club was the only Aboriginal-run dance club in a city which practiced unofficial apartheid, submitting its Aboriginal population to unremitting police harassment, identity cards, Fraternisation bans, curfews and bureaucratic obstruction. During its lifetime, the Club attracted Black musicians and celebrities from all over Australia and occasionally from overseas – among them Nat "King" Cole, Harold Blair and the Harlem Globetrotters. Although best remembered for the hugely popular Coolbaroo dances attended by hundreds of Aborigines and their white supporters, the Coolbaroo League, founded by Club members, ran a newspaper and became an effective political organization, speaking out on issues of the day affecting Aboriginal people. (Drewe 1996; Long 1996; Luna Cinema ND).

In retrospect, the Coolbaroo League was the first Aboriginal group that promoted Aboriginal entertainment in the form of Western dance and song for Aboriginal people. As Rosemary van den Berg claims,

It was a time when Aborigines could enjoy themselves without the curse of alcohol being brought into the equation; when the Club held bathing beauty contests for young, single Aboriginal girls and the young men thought all their Christmases had come at once, seeing the bather-clad girls parading around the dance floor hoping against hope that they would win the coveted award; when parents and children could attend a function together as a family and return home and marvel at the sight of so many Aborigines together, having a good time and enjoying themselves; when teenagers gathered to flirt with the opposite sex without a hint of alcohol and drugs around to spoil the moment. The Coolbaroo League dances was a place that brought the
Aboriginal community together like nothing else did. Its passing had nothing to fill the void and the Aboriginal people became dispersed and fragmented (van den Berg, 2003).

Some Aborigines in country towns like Pinjarra, Roelands, Narrogin and Pingelly emulated the Coolbaroo Club dances, but most petered out after a while. Interest waned and the Referendum of 1967 altered Aboriginal lifestyles with the introduction of citizenship and drinking rights for Aboriginal people (van den Berg 2003).

THE MOORE RIVER NATIVE SETTLEMENT AND CARROLUP MISSION

The Moore River has a long history of Aboriginal involvement beginning as a place of incarceration for Aboriginal children removed from their families because of the Aborigines Act of 1905 (WAC 1992). It later became a Methodist Mission that trained Aboriginal youth in farming and agriculture. It became vacant between 1967 and 1989, when the State government gave it a ninety-nine year lease and the land was vested in the Wheatbelt Aboriginal Corporation (WAC) (Heritage & Conservation Professionals 1997; WAC 1992). The Moore River Native Settlement and the Mogumber Methodist Mission are both defunct, however, they hold extreme Aboriginal cultural and heritage value as they were places where Aboriginal children and adults were incarcerated 'for their own good' (Haebich 1989; WAC 1992). The Moore River area has been listed as a State Heritage Site and currently management at the Wheatbelt Aboriginal Corporation (WAC) and the Moore River / Mogumber Heritage Committee have plans to turn it into a tourist attraction (Heritage & Conservation Professionals 1997).

Another place with significant cultural history and heritage is the old Carrolup Mission, now known as Marribank, near Katanning in Western Australia. According to Stanton (1992), it was established as an Aboriginal settlement in 1915 under the Aborigines Act of 1905 in order to provide a facility where Aboriginal persons could be sent, to remove them from the public eye, from the fringes of Wheatbelt and South-West towns (Stanton 1992:5).

Initially the Australian Aborigines Mission were involved with setting up the Carrolup Mission where Anne Lock assumed responsibility for issuing rations, but by 1915 it was taken over by
A. O. Neville, the Chief Protector of Aborigines and turned into a compulsory holding camp for Aboriginal people of the south-west of the State (Stanton 1992). Like the Moore River Native Settlement, Carrolup became an institution where Aboriginal children and adults were placed to keep them away from the fringes of towns as:

Europeans considered Aborigines to be a nuisance, and a menace to the morals of youths of Katanning and the European women were afraid that they would be interfered with by some black man (Stanton, 1992: 5).

With these attitudes it was hardly surprising that Aborigines were herded up and forced to enter the Carrolup Mission at the behest of the Chief Protector of Aborigines, Charles F. Gale between 1911-1915 (Haebich, 1989: 146-152).

Besides being a place of internment for Aboriginal children, Carrolup Mission produced some of the most well-known and respected Aboriginal artists. Names such as Revel Cooper, Parnell Dempster and Reynold Hart come to mind when discussing the Carrolup Art Movement. There were others, like Keith Indich and Claude Kelly whose drawings of the south-west landscape were executed with such a naturalistic approach that an exhibition was held in London to rave reviews from the art critics (Stanton, 1992:20). Florence Rutter who promoted Carrolup art in Great Britain, reflects on the boys’ paintings when she first saw them at Carrolup Mission in 1950,

I was so thrilled I couldn’t believe my eyes, the drawings were amazing for untrained children. I was determined to do something for them. I am hoping a drawing may be put in the British Museum (Stanton, 1992: 20).

Some other comments from the media of the time include,

The collection is remarkable for the vigour and vitality which shows in nearly every work . . . camp life scenes are full of amazing activity and characterisations (Studio, September 1950)

Pure and easy to read as the face of heaven, the children’s landscapes and inevitable kangaroos, with their mature realism, made every Australian

The remarkable drawings which we illustrated were made by Australian Aboriginal children who, it is stated, had had no previous instruction in art, and had not seen any European paintings or water colour drawings. The young artists, whose work has the characteristic freshness and naïve charm of primitive paintings, have remarkable powers of observation and a great feeling for composition and atmosphere. *(Illustrated London News, August 1951)*

(All cited in Stanton 1992:p20-21)

The children of Carrolup Mission were becoming famous for their interpretation of their natural bushland but unfortunately, Native Welfare policies were changing under Mr S. G. Middleton, and Carrolup Mission closed its doors in 1951 (Stanton, 1992:28). It later became the Marribank Farm School for young Aboriginal boys and men to train in the rural and technical fields. Marribank is currently managed by the Southern Aboriginal Corporation and is developing an aquaculture project in trout production. According to John Hayden, CEO of Southern Aboriginal Corporation (GSDC 2002) this has the potential to become a significant tourism attraction linked to other indigenous tourism sites in the region.

In retrospect, John Stanton gave an interesting view on the Carrolup Aboriginal children’s art stating,

Carrolup child art may be seen, then, as part of a wider reaction against European authority, a clear statement of Nyungar social identity, and an affirmation of cultural solidarity. These children were not alone in this, but the acceptance of their art by many members of the broader Australian society has had a strong impact on the emerging social dynamics of the South-West. That the boys painted a number of large dancing figures, recently revealed beneath a fading whitewash on the inner walls of their dormitory, underlines the nature of their collective relationship with settlement administrators. Put simply, it can be interpreted as an act of defiance against their collective incarceration. *(Stanton 1992:29)*
Irrespective of the importance of their art, when Carrolup Mission closed, most of the children had left school and only continued painting spasmodically. Yet their expertise in portraying Nyungar art astounded their critics. Today, Revel Cooper, Reynold Hart and Parnell Dempster’s art remain a guideline for contemporary Nyungar artist like Tjyllyungoo (Lance Chadd), Shane Pickett and Yibiyung (Roma Woods) (Stanton 1992). Tourists and art lovers often spend a lot of money to obtain these Nyungar works of art. At the time of writing, there is an art exhibition *The West Australian Indigenous Arts Showcase* at the Western Australian Art Gallery where paintings by Revel Cooper, Reynold Hart, Lance Chadd, Shane Pickett and other south-west Nyungar artists are on display. Artefacts and crafts made by Nyungar are also on show at this venue (ARTSWA 2003). Mention has already been made of the importance of indigenous art and cultural artefacts for tourism, the issue of cultural commoditisation will be discussed later in this paper.

**CONTEMPORARY TIMES**

In contemporary times, especially since 1967, Nyungar have experienced huge upheavals to their social and cultural perceptions. Gone are the days when Nyungar roamed the bush for subsistence and pleasure. Times have passed when they were herded into incarceration camps and treated like common criminals by the Aborigines Protection Board and the Native Welfare Acts that denigrated the Aboriginal people and isolated them from the wider Australian society (Haebich 1989; van den Berg 2002; van den Berg pers comm. 2003). In the present time, Nyungar people are citizens of their country and many have promoted their culture through the medium of tourism (CALM 1998; pers. comm. Mann 2002; WAITOC 2002, 2003).

Tourism, like the Arts, has allowed Nyungar to display and promote their artistic abilities to their full potential. There are many Nyungar talents in different media outlets. ARTSWA (2003) recently published and held a *Western Australian Aboriginal Showcase*, including the following people –

- Dr Richard Walley who was one of the founders of Aboriginal theatre and dance in Western Australia. In 1978, Richard began his career in the Arts by establishing the Middar Aboriginal Theatre. Throughout his illustrious career, he has entertained
countless audiences, including tourists, all over the world. He is widely travelled and brings to his dance and theatre company an authenticity of Nyungar culture.

The Wadumbah Dancers whose founder and manager is James T. Webb. While James comes from the Kimberley, he has affiliations with Nyungar on the matrilineal side.

Gina Williams is a Nyungar singer of renown who performs at Art functions.

Percy Hansen who owns Nyoongah Dreaming with his wife, Louise, entertains audiences with his country and western music. They regularly perform at festivals all over Western Australia.

Penny Williams is an Albany Nyungar girl who has studied Aboriginal dance and also classical ballet, tap, jazz, modern/contemporary dance and mime.

These are just a few of the Nyungar people who have proved themselves in the sphere of dance, music and theatre (ARTSWA 2003). One of the most noted Aboriginal theatres is the Yirra Yaarkin Noongar Theatre, established in 1993. It is committed towards developing Aboriginal people in all aspects of theatre (ARTSWA 2003). Although not mentioned in the ARTSWA Showcase, another Nyungar dance group who are performing well for the tourism industry is Abodijeri which works at Tumblulgum Farm, near Byford. All these Nyungars are professional people in their own right and a great asset in the promotion of Nyungar Aboriginal culture through the performing arts.

TOURISM INTEREST IN AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS TOURISM

According to the World Tourism Organisation (WTO 2003a) people travel for various reasons including: leisure, recreation, holidays; visiting friends and relatives; business and professional; health; religious/pilgrimage. It is important to know something of the motivation of visitors, and that this can also be shaped by marketing representations.

Graburn (1989) described tourism as recreation, not work and that the differing goals of travel were due to the motivation of humans for variety. He contrasted the ‘profane’ workaday life with the non-ordinary, voluntary, ‘sacred’ time of tourism, and said that the contrast between the two is defined or marked by rituals and ceremonies. Graburn (1989) described the evolution of
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travel and that earlier motivations were religious, cultural, historic and educational, whereas in the 20th Century nature, recreation and ‘ethnic’ interest (Indigenous) were added. He also noted that tourist types and motivations combine and overlap on a trip. He described modern travellers as ‘nomads of affluence’ who go to see how the other half of the world lives yet safe in their home-grown ‘bubble’ in which they travel (e.g. organised tours, picture windows, air conditioned buses, safe water and food) filtering what they experience (Graburn 1989:35). In a similar vein, Boorstin (1992/1964) critically describes tourism, as opposed to ‘travel’, as trivial, superficial, a frivolous pursuit of contrived experiences or ‘pseudo-events’. In contrast, MacCannell (1973) suggested that tourists were on an earnest quest for the ‘authentic’ - a form of pilgrimage of modern man or ritual, to see life as it really is.

Cohen (1979) also described tourism as a quest for the ‘centre’, with leisure and recreation as relief from work and ‘real’ life. He described five modes of touristic experiences along a continuum which related one’s relationship with the ‘centre’ of one’s society. The experiences sought ranged from the superficial modern tourist seeking ‘recreation’ and entertainment only; to the ‘diversionary’ mode of alienated persons not seeking meaning; to the ‘experiential’ tourist looking for authenticity and meaning to life in the life of others; followed by the ‘experimental’ tourist continually searching for meaning in many directions yet never committing; finally the ‘existential’ tourist on a profound pilgrimage who may live in two worlds, seek to ‘go native’ and commit to an elective centre (Cohen 1979). These issues are complex, not simple, and also relate to authenticity, such as the falsification of experiences or making supply to meet perceived demand. The issue for the tourist is whether their ideals are met or not, as they will feel disappointment if the latter occurs. Cohen (1979) also discussed coping with ‘strangeness’ or culture shock, for some it may be a lure, for others a difficult challenge.

Pearce (1993) states that tourist motivation comes from individual psychology, which, whilst affecting demand, is not the same. Tourist demand relates to motivation, marketing, supply factors plus tourist’s money, health and time. Pearce (1993) compares three theories: ‘psychographic profiles’ of tourists based on their characteristics, adventuresomeness and confidence; to his ‘travel career ladder’ which is based on a hierarchy of human needs plus the biological and social motives of tourists; and an ‘intrinsic motivation-optimal arousal’ model to examine leisure motivation and stimulation seeking behaviour.
Pearce, Morrison and Rutledge (1998) say that there are diverse tourism motivations depending on traveller type, and that most studies have been on the motives of pleasure travellers. Motivation represents a ‘push’ factor in tourism and relates to personality theories, psychological approaches and historical analyses of tourism. They suggest that the current trends in motivation, depending upon market segment, are:

1) To experience the environment;
2) To meet local people;
3) Understand local culture and the host country;
4) Enhance family life;
5) Rest and relax in pleasant settings;
6) Pursue special interests and skills;
7) To be healthy and fit;
8) Self-protection / safety;
9) To be respected and earn social status;

**Motivation to visit Indigenous / Ethnic Products**

The motivations of ethnic or Indigenous tourists according to Moscardo & Pearce (1999) vary, just as levels and types of interest vary. They suggest that many tourists need to balance the desire for contact with feeling comfortable – an approach / avoidance conflict, and how to cope with this (Moscardo & Pearce 1999:420).

Moscardo and Pearce (1999) studied the Tjapukai Cultural Park in Queensland and found tourists were mainly groups and couples; with an even age spread; 70% were international tourists (North American & European mainly); approximately 50% had been to an Aboriginal art centre or gallery; and about 25% had seen Aboriginal dance before (Moscardo & Pearce 1999:422).

The three main aspects that tourists were seeking in tourism, (in descending order) were:

1) Learning new things and knowledge;
2) Seeing wilderness and nature;
3) Seeing different culture and experiencing this (Moscardo & Pearce 1999:423).

The important things to tourists at an Indigenous site, in descending order were:

1) Information on history of people;
2) Information on traditional lifestyles and current way of living;
3) Then contact with indigenous people; Art & crafts; Dance (Moscardo & Pearce 1999:423).

Moscardo and Pearce (1999) also caution in using these results as the sample was obtained at an Indigenous attraction and this will overestimate the importance of Indigenous tourism compared to general population. In addition, the following points should be noted: the high satisfaction rating obtained here cannot be generalised to other sites or products; that cultural and Indigenous products were among the lowest rated reasons for visiting the region; and that Indigenous tourism is a specialised subset of the wider regional tourism market (Moscardo & Pearce 1999).

Ryan & Huyton (2000) sought to discover ‘Who is interested in Aboriginal tourism in the Northern Territory’? They suggest that tourism planners need to understand demand, as this will assist sustainability, in addition to economic reality (Ryan & Huyton 2000). They studied an Aboriginal tourism product at Katherine NT and found seven Clusters of tourist types (in descending order according to numbers present):

1) Active Information Seekers;
2) Older Professionals = Nature Oriented;
3) Comfort/Intellectual;
4) Sightseers;
5) Visiting Friends and Relatives;
6) Low Score Responders (Ryan & Huyton 2000:75-80).

Ryan and Huytons’ research findings have identified other tourist types at Aboriginal sites: More females than males; Mostly international visitors; Mostly professionals (Ryan & Huyton 2000). They also found that these were not simply cultural tourists; but were also interested in the wider culture and natural settings (Ryan & Huyton 2000:80). It was argued that Aboriginal
Tourism is not a major attraction by itself. They found that demand for Aboriginal tourism products in NT came from approximately one-third of visitors who were not only cultural tourists but also nature & adventure tourists. Overseas interest was mainly from North America and Northern Europe (Ryan & Huyton 2000:81-82).

Ryan and Huyton also advise caution when incorporating Aboriginal tourism into the mainstream as it may lead to the simplification of complex culture and relationships; loss of authenticity, commoditisation, loss of Aboriginal control and become market driven (Ryan & Huyton 2000:82). They argue that marketing needs to change to avoid stereotyping Aboriginal people. It cannot be assumed that demand is greater than the supply of indigenous product, this needs to be proven. They suggest that Aboriginal contemporary life is of interest to tourists too, not just the ‘traditional’, and that commodification may be positive in helping to protect culture. The important issue they argue is to obtain an indigenous voice, and that as stakeholders in tourism Aboriginal people also have the right to refuse to participate – that demand does not automatically convey ‘rights’ to indigenous culture (Ryan & Huyton 2000:84). This research paper into Nyungar Aboriginal tourism will give an indigenous voice.

Ryan and Huyton (2002) again state the right of Aboriginal people not to be involved in tourism if that is what they wish. They suggest that Aborigines have been linked to the ‘outback’ as a part of the image of the Australian landscape due to the use of Aboriginal culture in promotions to tourists, and that this influences tourist perceptions (Ryan & Huyton 2002:632). They suggest that the reality of tourist interest in Aboriginal tourism is relatively small; mainly comprised of young, female, Northern European and American tourists, with older Americans pre-booking tours in the outback (Ryan & Huyton 2002:639-40).

Ryan and Huyton (2002) highlight some contemporary issues for Aboriginal tourism. These include the stereotypical images of a past life; that new vibrant contemporary music and art is being ignored by tourism marketers; the diversity and strength of contemporary Aboriginals is ignored; and that the indigenous, plus the tourist voice or realistic demand is missing in much marketing of Aboriginal tourism (Ryan & Huyton 2002:634-35). They advise caution in competing with other tourism products especially new urban-based products and that tourism may not be the main answer to unemployment for Aboriginal people due to the limited market at present. They suggest operators seek ‘value-added’ tourism within the mainstream and
locate Aboriginal tourism within the context of landscape, as satisfaction is increased where tourists participate rather than just observe (Ryan & Huyton 2002:642-43).

Aboriginal tourism is becoming a popular economic endeavour in the tourism industry in Western Australia and the number of tourists visiting Aboriginal heritage sites is increasing (Atherton & Atherton 1998:495-507; Brown, 1999:676). There is a growing tourist demand for Aboriginal cultural experiences and according to Zeppel (1999:43), environmental, cultural and spiritual aspects of Aboriginal heritage and traditions are especially featured in eco-tourism, cultural tourism and alternative tourism markets. As mentioned previously Aboriginal tourism and culture has experienced a rapid rise in interest, especially with international tourists (ATA 2003; CDT 1994; Hinkson 2003; Hollinshead 1996; Mercer 1994; SATC 1998). According to the Western Australian Minister for Culture and the Arts, Sheila McHale;

In WA the fusion of indigenous, European and Asian cultures is an attractive lure for visitors looking for new music, theatre, dance, literature, food and lifestyle (WATC 2002b; also WATC 2003b).

Aboriginal tourism is also strongly linked with nature-based tourism in Western Australia (CALM 1998; WATC 2003a:11) as a form of niche tourism product (WATC 2003a:13).

**Indigenous Tourism Product and the Australian Landscape**

The uniqueness of Aboriginal cultures comes from the diversity of the climatic zones throughout Australia. Aboriginal people have had to adapt to their surroundings to survive for the 40,000 years or more that they've inhabited this land (Berndt & Berndt, 1978:7); greater than 60,000 years according to Mercer (1994:130). Australia has a vast 12,000 kilometres of coastline that encompasses the tropical and sub-tropical rainforests regions of the north, to the temperate and semi-temperate zones of the south and Tasmania. The hinterland consists of mountain ranges, rolling plains and vast desert areas where only the hardiest of flora and fauna survive in the harsh environment. Over millennia, Australian Aboriginal people from these regions have learned to adjust to the various climatic conditions and have developed their cultures to suit their ecological environment (Berndt & Berndt 1978), resulting in very interesting variations to Aboriginal tourism product in this country.
**World Heritage Sites**

Nationally, nature-based, Aboriginal and cultural tourism often involves Australia’s World Heritage Sites and these represent a diversity of the country’s natural beauty. Heritage sites, according to the Australian Heritage Commission are:

Those places being components of the natural environment or the cultural environment that have aesthetic, historical, scientific or social significance or other special value for future generations as well as the present community (cited in Johnson 1993:8).

World Heritage Sites have been described as:

The common treasure of all peoples. They hold and explain history, society, the passions and the purposes of all the peoples whose civilizations are bound up with them. More than any book, more than any movie, more than any college course – they are living lessons for all who see them… (Wakiki, cited in Johnson 1993:1).

As important places they have always been a magnet for tourists, and this is increasing. They may be seen by nations and locals as a means to generate foreign exchange as well as being cultural resources. There is a need for visitation to be controlled, planned and interpreted to ensure a site is sustainable (Johnson 1993).

Heritage sites are alive, layered in contexts of culture, community, history, religion, economy and survival mechanisms, incorporating dynamic relationships with surroundings and cultures, including tourism. Heritage sites are key assets for tourism (Johnson 1993). Tourism has the power to degrade as well as enhance heritage, environments and people. Heritage and tourism enjoy a special symbiotic relationship, and this requires dialogue between conservationists, developers and locals. It is important for sites to not only enrich tourists but to benefit local communities as well (Johnson 1993). Tourism has a responsibility to the sites it uses – to protect them; consider the uses or abuses of power; the motivation for tourists; responsibilities to the community, and the wider environment (Johnson 1993).
Atherton & Atherton (1998) discuss some of Australia’s World Heritage Sites that have relevance to Aboriginal people and to tourism, and state that Australia possesses the highest number of sites combining both natural and cultural features in the world. These include:

**Kakadu National Park in the Northern Territory**

This Park is significant for its land form ranging from wetlands to dramatic sandstone plateau and escarpments, and for its flora and fauna and legacy of Aboriginal art and occupation sites from the Ice Age to the present day. This area was the subject of the Ranger uranium inquiry under the *Environmental Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act* 1974 and the Coronation Hill mining inquiry under the *Resource Assessment Commission Act* 1989 (Commonwealth) in 1991. It was listed in stages in 1981, 1987 and 1992 and there was always competition between conservation and mining. The listing in the second stage was challenged in the High Court. The land in Stage 1 is owned by the Aboriginal people under the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* 1976 and leased back to the federal government for national park purposes. Stage 2 and 3 are subject to native title claim. Aboriginal culture is a key part of the attraction for visitors and Aborigines take an active part in the Administration and operation of the park and associated tourist facilities, individually and through the Gagadju Association (Atherton & Atherton 1998: 501).

**The Willandra Lakes Region, New South Wales**

The Region comprises 6,000 kilometres of far western New South Wales exhibiting evidence of the life and culture of early Aboriginal societies including skeletal remains, stone tools, ancient hearths and middens up to 40,000 years old. This is one of the earliest known sites for Homo sapiens in the world. The central feature is Lake Mungo. Willandra Lakes was one of the first sites to be nominated by Australia and was listed in 1981 (Atherton & Atherton 1998: 501).

**Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, Northern Territory**

The Park covers 130,000 hectares and is dominated by Ayres Rock and the Olgas. Ayres Rock or Uluru is 9.4 kilometres in circumference, rising dome-like 340 metres above the plain and containing ancient Aboriginal caves and paintings. The Olgas comprise the 36 steep-sided domes of Kata Tjuta, which rise to 546 metres above the surrounding desert. The park
management plan aims to reconcile the preservation of Aboriginal culture and heritage with the demands and opportunities of tourism. As in Kakadu, the land is owned by the Aboriginal people and leased to the federal government for national park purposes. It was listed in 1987 as a natural site. In 1994 it was successfully renominated as a cultural landscape, becoming the world’s second site to be listed in this category (Atherton & Atherton 1998: 502).

**Shark Bay, Western Australia**

Shark Bay is one of the few sites in the world to have satisfied all four listing criteria for a natural site. Although not a specifically identified world heritage value, its most famous attraction is the ‘wild dolphins’ which come to the beach and frolic with the tourists. The site was listed in 1991, and this has caused a great increase in tourist numbers, with resultant debate and controversy over how many tourists and what activities they should partake in (Atherton & Atherton 1998: 503).

**Purnululu, Western Australia**

In July 2003 Purnululu National Park in the East Kimberley of WA joined Shark Bay as a listed World Heritage Area (Kemp 2003). This was granted for its unrivalled natural values – it features as a site of outstanding universal value from aesthetic, scientific, conservation and natural beauty viewpoints. The Federal government is also pursuing the cultural listing of Purnululu due to its rich Aboriginal cultural history and importance to local indigenous communities. The prestigious World Heritage Listing attracts widespread tourism interest and may provide a financial boost to the region (Kemp 2003).

There are several other places of World Heritage significance around Australia, but the listed are the most notable from an Aboriginal viewpoint. Tourists have visited and are interested in these famous places on a major scale (Atherton & Atherton, 1998: 498). It is interesting to note that most of these areas have historic cultural significance for the Aboriginal people dating back thousands of years. Yet, according to Zeppel (1998a), present-day Aboriginal tourism in Australia began in the Northern Territory in the 1980s, and according to Burchett in Zeppel (1998a: 26), the first Aboriginal tourism manager was appointed by the Northern Territory Tourist Commission as late as 1984.
Nyungar Country, Western Australia

In the south-west of Western Australia, natural tourism sights include Wave Rock, a site of significance for Nyungar people which is tied to Dreamtime stories; Devil’s Lair and other lesser cave sites around the Margaret River area. These sites, in archaeological terms, denote Nyungar longevity in this land, and other panoramic sights around the south-west coastline are a tourist delight (van den Berg pers comm. 2003). The natural beauty of the South West has the capacity to enhance the Nyungar tourism industry because Nyungar have close affinity with their land (CALM 1998; Collard 2002; Collard & Palmer 2001; Jones 1997). In this respect Nyungar tourism operators should promote their businesses so that visitors can see their country through Nyungar eyes, giving voice to the indigenous perspective (Mercer 1994; Sofield 1997; Zeppel 1999). This should lead to respect for the land and for Nyungar culture (Johnston 2000; Venbrux 2000).

NATIVE TITLE, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ABORIGINAL INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

Native Title Throughout Australia

*Kwodjungutnidja Wadjalla koortingalar Nyoongar balaba*
Before this whiteman come our people they
*Kaaree wangkiny, Maalukal iddliny balaba waangk – ngyne yung*  
Spirit talk. In the wild forest walking they talk – give me
*Yongka daartj ka ngyne yung noona walbrinniny, Ngulukkudijdiny*  
Grey kangaroo meat or give me your healing. We understanding
*Ngala moorital-kaarny koor-idldiny yukkininy, nidja yongka ka*  
Our family’s spirit returning (and) driving this grey kangaroo or,
*Ngalar demangar kaarny walbrinniny ngalakut, Yay balaba Wadjalla*  
Our grandparents spirit healing us. Now they (the) whiteman
*Maarlukal barminy – bee an dukaniny ka, kalunginy, Windjarl ngalal*  
(the) wild forest knocks down - destroys – breaks or burns, Where
*(does) our Kaarnykoortlyay? Kenyak!! Moen Nyoongar kudijdiny jidja waangk*  
spirit go now? Finished!! Few people understand this talk
Ka kaaree wangkiny. Balaba Wadjalla ngalar koolunga borl

Barunginy or spirit talking. They (the) whiteman our children stole (and) grab

yay balaba borl barunginy ngalar kaarny. Boordoo nidja ngalar

now they steal grab our spirit. Later this our

nookert djinninginy kudidjiny ngalar deman, kenyak balaba

sleep seeing – understanding our grannies finished – they

barminy ngalar maarluk ngalar kaarny koort minditj.

Knock down our wild forest our spirit goes sick.

(Humphries ND)

It has always been a point of contention with Aboriginal people that the European history books proclaim their country as being *terra nullius*. Captain James Cook used this term to describe Australia when he circumnavigated the east coast of Australia in 1770 and “wrongfully proclaimed sovereignty and dominion over the continent now known as Australia for and on behalf of King George III . . .” (Reynolds, 1996:5). For over two hundred years when the British colonised this country in 1788 to justify the theft of Aboriginal land, the concept of *terra nullius* was acted upon by successive colonial and state governments. The notion of *terra nullius*, giving the British intruders the sovereign right to settle this land and to claim Australia as wide-open for settlement, was a grave miscarriage of justice for the Aboriginal people. As Henry Reynolds states,

The Australian colonists . . . felt no need to adapt to the presence of Aboriginal people - they lived out the legend of *terra nullius*. Aboriginal culture, laws, customs and interests could be ignored (Reynolds 1996: xii-xiii).

Australia was built on British ignorance of the Aboriginal people and colonists and governments have compounded this state of affairs for over two centuries (van den Berg pers comm. 2003; Pearson 1995).

Although the “Battle of Pinjarra”, now known as the Massacre of Pinjarra, was a well-recorded event in the annals of early colonial history of this State (Green, 1984:99-106), there have been many more instances where Nyungars and the colonials have fought for the possession of Nyungar land. In her book *To Be Heirs Forever* (2001), Mary Durack writes about the conflict that developed between the Nyungar and the intruders in the early years of British colonisation.
of the Swan River colony. Durack presents a very interesting biography of the Shaw family, based on Mrs Eliza Shaw’s letters back to her friends in England. Other instances of conflict between Aboriginal and white people are recorded in texts by Green (1984) and Elder (1998). By no means were the Nyungar and other Aboriginal people giving up their lands without a fight, however, the colonists’ weaponry proved too powerful for the Aboriginal people of this land.

In the 19th century, two land claims presented by Aboriginal people to the colonial governments came before the courts. The first was in 1836, the second in 1889, when the judges in both these cases denied Aboriginal people the right to their own land by saying that in these particular cases “it was a tract of territory practically unoccupied without settled inhabitants or settled law” (Reynolds, 1996: 16). Reynolds questions these decisions and asks,

Were these reasonable assessments given the state of
European knowledge about Aboriginal society in 1836
and 1889 respectively or could – or even should – the judges
have known better? Is our law founded on unavoidable
misunderstanding or wilful ignorance, on judicious assessment
of known facts or on prejudice inspired by European racism
and cultural arrogance? (Reynolds, 1996: 16-17).

The historic record speaks for itself, in that the British did not appear to want to acknowledge that Aboriginal people inhabited this country and had had their own laws and cultural mores based on their Dreamtime tenets for 40,000 years or more. In 1788, the British assumed that Australia:

1. Was practically uninhabited
2. Was without ‘settled inhabitants’
3. Had no ‘settled law’
4. Had no land law or tenure
5. Had no political authority and no sovereignty (Reynolds, 1996: 17)

These assumptions, which underpinned *terra nullius*, were based on prejudice and arrogant bias for all cultures that were not British. The invaders did not want to acknowledge that
Aborigines were the legal owners of the land, nor did they want to acknowledge that the Aboriginal people had sovereignty over their territories. In other words, Aborigines became the invisible people (van den Berg 2001:37). They had no acknowledgement or recognition as the first owners of this country and their cultures were ignored as heathen practices. This state of affairs lasted until 1967 when Aborigines were finally recognised as citizens of their country in a Referendum of that year, when all citizens of Australia were asked to vote whether Aborigines should be made citizens of Australia or remain the wards of the different State governments (van den Berg 2002: 83-84). The vote was an overwhelming ‘yes’ for Aboriginal citizenship (Bennett, 1985:26; Milnes 2001) and after two centuries of British colonial, and then State government rule, the Aboriginal people of Australia were classed as citizens in their own country.

With citizenship came rights and responsibilities and a freedom to express Aboriginal views in the wider political sphere. On 26 January 1972, Aboriginal people in protest against the blatant racism shown them erected a tent embassy in the grounds of the old Parliament House in Canberra (Smith 1995). The Aboriginal ‘tent’ Embassy has been a beacon for Aborigines in the fight against racism and for a fair political deal for Aboriginal people for thirty years now. It is a symbol of the struggle for equality that the Aboriginal people still strive for today, and is still a contested site as evidenced by another attempted eviction and an arson attack, both in 2003 (ABC 2003).

In 1976 the Northern Territory Land Rights Act was passed by the Fraser government at the close of the Milirrpum v Nabalco Land Rights claim in 1971. Aborigines lost this historic and infamous case because the common law of Australia did not recognise native title (Pearson 1995). However, in 1992, Native Title was recognised at common law by the High Court of Australia. In Mabo versus Queensland (The Mabo Case) involving the Murray Islands off the Queensland coast (Bachelard, 1997:2), Eddie Mabo, a Murray Islander, made land rights claims on behalf of himself and the other Merriam people of Murray Island. The Mabo decision was handed down, in favour of Eddie Mabo, on 3 June 1992 (Bachelard 1997:2). The Keating Government passed the Native Title Act of 1993 which recognised Aboriginal rights to Native Title by continually living on their land, hunting, gathering and fishing. However, Aborigines could lose Native Title if they lost their connection to their land and their laws (Bachelard, 1997: 10).
According to the 1975 *Racial Discrimination Act* it became difficult for the government to undermine the Act by not acknowledging Native Title: it would be breaking the law to discriminate against Aborigines who applied for Native Title (Bachelard 1997). However, in 1996 Prime Minister John Howard devised a *Ten Point Plan* in favour of the pastoralist and graziers. Native Title could not underscore pastoralists’ or graziers’ rights to the land (Bachelard 1997), so once again Aborigines were the losers.

**Native Title Defined**

According to the National Native Title Tribunal (2002),

Native Title describes the rights and interests of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in land and waters, according to their traditional laws and customs ... Native Title is held by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people who have maintained a continuous connection with the land or waters in keeping with the traditional laws or customs (National Native Title Tribunal 2002: 1-2).

Nyungar have lived on their land for generation after generation (over 40,000 years of generations) and their spirits are tied to the land. In such a temporal content, the past 200 years of forcible displacement is a relatively short time in which to lose such a connection with the land (Pearson 1995). As one Nyungar Elder says:

Before the coming of the Wadjalla, our forests played an important part in our spiritual well-being, identity and survival. The spirit of our dead were placed inside both dead and living trees. Our capacity to hunt, seek healing and communicate spiritually was dependent upon our practises of putting into and returning to our country, the spirit of our people from where it had come. The Nyungar forests are sacred to us. These places of old forests, untouched by the Wadjalla, were and continue to remain spiritual reservoirs. The destruction of these very sacred places will destroy links to our ancestors which in turn will eliminate our capacity to remain spiritually healthy (Humphries ND).
Native Title exists in areas of vacant or unallocated Crown Land, forests, beaches, national parks, public reserves, some types of pastoral leases, land held by government agencies, land held in trust for Aboriginal communities and any other government or Crown lands. It may also exist in inland or off-shore waters such as oceans, seas, reefs, lakes, rivers, creeks, swamps and other waters that are not privately owned (National Native Title Tribunal, 2002:3).

Some Aboriginal holders of Native Title are reaching agreements with mining companies, such as the uranium mining royalties received by traditional owners in Kakadu National Park (Mercer 1994:134); or are turning their traditional lands into tourist venues to boost their incomes, as are the traditional owners of Kakadu, Uluru, Nitmiluk and Gurig National Parks via joint management agreements. Here the parks benefit economically through tourism, although levels of control vary from Park to Park, and State to State (Pitcher, van Oosterzee & Palmer 1999:33). This, in itself, may prove profitable for Aboriginal communities as, besides mining, there are many beautiful landscapes that are unseen by the outside world. Holding Native Title to these sites would ensure that Aboriginal people have control over the management of these places within the tourism industry. This type of tourism could be a sustainable means of income for the Aboriginal titleholders as suggested by ATSIC (1997). This may occur providing a realistic evaluation of the issues related to tourism industry involvement is undertaken first (Altman 1989, 1993; Altman & Finlayson 1992, 2003; CDT 1994; Finlayson 1994; pers. comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; Hollinshead 1996; Mercer 1994; Pitcher, van Oosterzee & Palmer 1999; Ryan & Huyton 2000, 2002; Sofield 1991, 1997; Smith 1996; Whitford, Bell & Watkins 2001; Zeppel 1998a, 1999).

After the Howard Government came into power in March 1996 and the outcome of the Wik Decision the same year, Prime Minister John Howard implemented his Wik 10 Point Plan, whereby Native Title holders and pastoralists could coexist side by side if each reached a compromise on Native Title (Bachelard 1997; National Native Title Tribunal, 2002). One such instance where pastoralists and Aborigines have come to an agreement over Native Title claims was when pastoralists Karen and Alan Pedersen from Karma Waters Station in North Queensland reached an amicable coexistence agreement with the Western Yalanji people (National Native Title Tribunal, 2002:5). John Howard’s 10 Point Plan briefly covers:
Nyungar Tourism in the Southwest of Western Australia

1. Validation of acts/grants between 1 January 1994 and 23 December 1996
2. Confirmation of extinguishment of native title on ‘exclusive’ tenures
3. Provision of government services
4. Native title and pastoral leases
5. Statutory Access Rights
6. Future Mining Activity
7. Future government and commercial development
8. Management of water sources and airspace
9. Management of claims
10. Agreements

(Bachelard 1997)

According to Howard’s 10 Point Plan, there are stringent laws under Native Title by which Aboriginal people must abide; otherwise their claims become null and void. It appears that Aborigines are still living under the strict laws of colonialism and the concept of Australia being *terra nullius*. Unfortunately, it has been seen that the government will not concede any land outright to Aboriginal people without a struggle of gigantic proportions. For example, the western desert Martu people persisted for over six years in their endeavour to obtain native title over their traditional land, with negotiations continuing over Rudall River National Park due to prolonged deliberation over the neighbouring Miriuwung-Gajerrong claims in the Kimberley (Wilson-Clark 2002).

**AUTHENTICITY, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ABORIGINAL INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS**

**Authenticity**

Authenticity is one of the most prominently debated issues in tourism research (Cohen 2002; Sofield 1991; Wang 1999). This debate can be traced back to Boorstin (1992/1964) who discussed ‘the image’ of tourism in America, describing modern tourism as a ‘pseudo-event’ made up of fake experiences. Boorstin disparaged tourists saying they were ‘stupid’, passive and satisfied with superficial contrived experiences.

MacCannell (1973, 1976) studied the sociology of tourism, basing his work on that of Irving Goffman (1959) who had debated ‘front’ and ‘back’ regions in how one presents oneself in life.
MacCannell (1973) related this work to host / guest interactions in tourism saying that the tourist was on a quest seeking ‘authenticity’ or the ‘real thing’ in the back regions of other places. He suggested that tourists became prone to ‘staged’ authentic events which were made to look like back regions, and developed a continuum stretching between totally staged to totally back regions, with several variations in between. This work was place and location specific, with MacCannell’s (1976) later work expanding on this to discuss the use of markers and signs to assist and guide the tourist seeking authenticity.

Cohen (1979) expanded this idea to look at tourists themselves. He theorised what the tourist sought and formulated five categories of tourist, from ‘recreational’ through to ‘existential’, based on the reason for travelling. He suggested that tourists were seeking various types of ‘centre’ to their life, and that this would alter what they considered as ‘real’ or authentic.

Feifer (1985) described ‘post-tourists’ as delighted in inauthenticity and tourist games, as there were no authentic tourist experiences. She suggested that tourists were aware of change, were realistic and self-conscious, and delighted in their ability to choose from contrasting experiences as they knew it was all a game.

Moscardo and Pearce (1986) studied historic theme parks in Australia and suggested that tourists can recognise staged authentic tourist settings yet still enjoy the experience, though this depends on the accuracy of the reproduction. They suggest that the tourist’s perceived authenticity is an important factor in satisfaction, and said that several new criteria were needed to judge authenticity: the importance of visitor’s perceptions; there is no need to keep defining authenticity; do not deny authenticity to well-staged recreations; distinguish between authenticity of place and authenticity of people gazed upon (Moscardo & Pearce 1986).

Cohen (1988) debated the earlier ideas on authenticity, deciding that authenticity itself needs critiquing as it is a ‘modern’ value. He says that it is not ‘given’ but socially constructed and negotiable, with differing conceptions applied by intellectuals, anthropologists, alienated moderns or various types of tourists. This links with differing symbols of what one accepts as accurate or representative ‘authenticity’, depending on one’s criteria and rigorousness of application. He says that ‘emergent authenticity’ is important as over time items considered as ‘inauthentic’ may become accepted as authentic, by the process of invention of traditions, new cultural expressions and cultural change. Cohen (1988) describes tourism as a form of ‘play’,
and says that most tourists accept shallow authenticity. He links authenticity to ‘commoditization’, saying that this does not necessarily destroy meaning and authenticity of cultural products, and that tourists are not fools or victims – they will judge authenticity for themselves.

Urry (1990) discussed social change and a ‘post-modern’ shift of awareness in media coverage with an upward shift of what is considered as ‘ordinary’ and ‘extraordinary’ due to people’s increasing sophistication. He says that immediate pleasure is important due to our ‘three-minute culture’, and that people keep demanding more out-of-the-ordinary experiences. Due to this he suggests that tourism can be constructed around virtually anything, and that this has important implications for what is considered as ‘authentic’. Urry (1990) suggests that it is difficult to differentiate what is authentic due to people being harder to satisfy; dissolving boundaries in Western life; a proliferation of objects on which to gaze; media and representations increasing; the merging of tourism and culture; and the pressures of a growing ‘nostalgia’ industry.

Cohen (1995) added to this debate over cultural change, suggesting that ‘alternative’ tourism, that is not mass-tourism, allowed a more ‘authentic’ experience as well as being sustainable. He questioned tourism development suggesting that due to concern for tourism destinations and hosts, tourism should be deflected to man-made contrived destinations to protect sites and hosts, though this would have been condemned as ‘inauthentic’ in the past. Cohen (1995) describes a levelling of attractions in the post-modern ethos, due to decreased boundaries, and the importance of signs and markers as well as staged attractions to help keep culture viable. He says that the past is becoming ‘commoditised’ and debates whether this is authentic. Cohen (1995) describes how the playful search for enjoyment is culturally sanctioned in the West, and represents a fusion of tourism and leisure. He questions whether this may lead to loss of ‘placeness’, that the contrived may become authentic over time (e.g. Disneyland), and that these are dynamic and complex issues.

Wang (1999) updated the authenticity debate further. Wang described and debated four types of ‘authenticity’: objective, constructive, post-modern and existential. ‘Objective’ authenticity uses criteria and categories to judge objects as true originals or not, using knowledge or truth. ‘Constructive’ authenticity relates to social construction such as beliefs, perspectives, points of
view, images and symbols. It also relates to the power and authority over these, and how they may affect people's expectations.

‘Post-modern’ authenticity means that tourists can recognise and still enjoy the inauthentic; it changes over time like ‘emergent’ authenticity, and may protect originals by staging settings (Wang 1999). Post-modern authenticity also relates to the authenticity of tourists and other people too. By ‘Existential' authenticity Wang (1999) means the authenticity of ‘being', how one experiences travel to know oneself in a truer way as the authentic self emerges away from daily constraints. This is similar to the views of Graburn (1989) who differentiated the ‘profane' (everyday) from the ‘sacred' (tourism). Wang (1999) says that the existential has intra-and inter-personal aspects, and that tourists seek the authentic self. He suggests that objects become less important than the experience of tourism, that there is a limit to ‘object-related' authenticity and that existential authenticity provides an alternative motivation for tourism and may provide greater variety of tourist experiences (Wang 1999).

Once again Cohen (2002) critiques authenticity, this time relating it to ‘sustainability'. He says that the concern for equity and protection of natural sites and local people needs to be placed within socio-political contexts. He says that sustainability may be used to restrict access to valuable sites, and questions whether the quest for authenticity helps or hinders sustainability. There is a double-edged sword in the protection of vulnerable sites / people perhaps creating increased interest in some tourists to seek them out, yet there is the issue of restrictions being placed on tourist numbers or increasing pricing levels to achieve sustainability, which he sees as inequitable. Cohen (2002) suggests that tourists simultaneously seek objective and existential authenticity, and that they cannot be separated.

To relate the issue of authenticity more directly to indigenous tourism Sofield (1991) suggests that criteria be applied to assess not only the authenticity of tourism products but also authentic or inauthentic behaviour of tourists when visiting indigenous tourism products. Mercer (1994) questions the issues of power and politics and who decides what is authentic in indigenous tourism presentations. He gives the example of staged authenticity at Yulara near Uluru (Mercer 1994:139), and questions the choice and control that local indigenous people really have.
Hollinshead (1996) discusses authenticity in post-colonial Australia, saying that it relates to the process of identification. He suggests that Australia is undergoing 'identity chaos' (p335) and that authenticity can only ever be emergent or negotiated, not fixed, due to hybrid forms of difference in this country.

Moscardo and Pearce (1999) suggest that authenticity has to be judged / valued by the observer, similar to Wang (1999) and Cohen (1988), and that by interactive involvement with hosts tourists may reshape their conceptions of authenticity and increase their understanding of Indigenous people. This links to Aboriginal Tourism Australia’s (ATA 2003:4) aim to immerse tourists in an experience of Aboriginal tourism. Moscardo and Pearce (1999) also suggest that commoditisation and simplification of indigenous culture leads to a loss of authenticity, that this is often done to satisfy the demands of marketers, and that these stereotypes and resultant demands for authentic experiences need addressing.

Ryan and Huyton (2000) however, suggest that commoditisation can also help to protect culture, as does Cohen (1995), and that this maintains authenticity by keeping tourists at arm’s length. Ryan and Huyton (2002) suggest that new processes of authentification will help protect Aboriginal interests. They suggest that urban areas are no less authentic than remote or ‘outback’ parts of Australia, and that academics focus on authenticity yet few tourists search for ‘reality’ – they just wish to enjoy themselves, and that authenticity is a bonus if it happens. Ryan and Huyton (2002) argue that there is a danger in promoting cultural attractions promising authenticity, as with a complex culture one needs to be honest about the ability to deliver authenticity in a short space of time. They suggest that ‘authorization’ (Ryan & Huyton 2002: 644) may be a better term to use as it redirects attention to who authorizes and what is authorized. This links to discussions regarding ‘accreditation’ of authentic indigenous tourism products, a current issue for Australian indigenous tourism bodies (ATA 2003; Fransen pers. comm. 2002, 2003; WAITOC 2002).

Hinkson (2003) suggests that ‘authentic Aboriginality’ is consigned to the past in an imagined pre-colonial moment plus remote locations by most tourism marketers. She says that questions of authenticity loom large in developing indigenous cultural experiences and issues that need addressing include: what kind of ‘culture’ are tourists interest in; what are they prepared to pay; how is this interest shaped; are indigenous people involved in commodifying culture and
history; are cultural stereotypes of Aboriginality difficult to change; is Aboriginal culture seen as a ‘monoculture’; is urban Aboriginality important too (Hinkson 2003)?

**Intellectual Property & Copyright**


Simons (2000) discusses art and moral rights in Australia with reference to Aboriginal heritage. He says that though Australia is a signatory to the Berne Convention recognising moral rights of artists as personal rights to their creativity, it has not been recognised and enacted in Australian law. He says that until the 1980s, governments ignored Aboriginal cultural heritage issues which led to commodification, exploitation and appropriation of Aboriginal images, and that continued despite cases of litigation (Simons 2000). He states that Aboriginals have different ideals, which are non-Western, tribal and relate to group sovereignty which means that intellectual property rights need redefining and legal recognition.

Simons (2000) argues that as tourism had increased there has been an increase in the demand for Aboriginal art, and to protect indigenous artists this trade needs to be well managed, authentic and market-educated about the ‘touristic’ items produced. At the time of his article a change to the Copyright Amendment Bill of 1998 was being sought to offer full rights of protection, attribution and integrity to Aboriginal and other artists, and to give them power to take action if works are not attributed or were used in a derogatory way (Simons 2000).

**Collective Cultural Copyright**

Morrison (2001) discussed the Copyright Amendment (Moral Rights) Act, enacted in December 2000. This grants authors of literary, dramatic, musical, artistic works and films the rights of attribution and integrity of authorship. At the time, Senator Aden Ridgeway moved for more
amendments to recognise collective moral rights in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
cultural works – this was not passed as the government was still considering amendments to
protect indigenous intellectual property (Morrison 2001).

Crabb (2003) describes Federal Communications Minister Richard Alston announcing in 2003,
extensive new rights over the artworks and stories of members of indigenous communities to
be introduced to parliament. These laws will relate to ‘cultural copyright’ that will enable a
community to sue where legends and stories are misused, distorted or exploited by purchasers.
The Amendments in 2000 protected individuals, whereas this new legislation will create a class
of collective rights for Aboriginal communities who can assume moral rights on behalf of an
artist (Crabb 2003).

The Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts state that the new
laws come at a time of growing international interest in Australia’s rich heritage of indigenous
art and culture (DCITA 2003). Communal moral rights will result where there is an informed and
consenting agreement between an author / artist and an indigenous community, then the
community may take legal action to protect against inappropriate, derogatory or culturally
insensitive use of copyright material. In late 2003 this law is still being formulated. The Federal
government supports trade in ‘authentic’ Aboriginal art and cultural products and recognises a
growing demand. It also has concerns over trade in imitation products. The Department assists
by providing information and links to the many organisations and bodies concerned with
promoting and distinguishing authentic indigenous product (DCITA 2003).

Misappropriation of Aboriginal Culture

Aboriginal cultural heritage is as diverse as the people. The many different language and
culture groups throughout Australia stand testimony to this diversity, each has their own cultural
heritage that has been handed down for millennia (Singh 2001). Aboriginal Australians are
proud of their cultures and heritage and, in years gone by, were only too willing to reveal their
art and artefacts to anthropologists and archaeologists when these learned people approached
them for information on their respective Aboriginal cultures (Berndt & Berndt 1978; Eggington
2002; Wilson-Clark 2003b). The Aborigines did not foresee that many of their art and artefacts
would be lost to them forever, as some academics took possession of their cultural works and
spirited them away to be placed in museums and art galleries across the country and oversees
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(Eggington 2002; Wilson-Clark 2003b). Other entrepreneurs of Aboriginal art and artefacts would buy this material for a pittance from Aboriginal people and then sell it for many more times that value (Wilson-Clark 2003b). Aboriginal people were the losers in this misappropriation of their art, culture and copyright.

Albert Namitjira was one of the first Aboriginal artists to experience this duplicity in buying and selling Aboriginal art. Later Aboriginal designs were bought and sections of it were printed for floor coverings (linoleum and carpet) without acknowledging the fact that it was initially an Aboriginal artist design that was used to enhance floor-covering designs for commercialism (Eggington 2002). Other Aboriginal Property materials that were misappropriated included some specimens of flora (the smoke bush comes to mind), literature (non-Aboriginal writers writing under an Aboriginal pseudonym) and art (non-Aboriginal people painting under the guise of Aboriginal art) (Eggington 2002). It appeared that people were ignoring Aboriginal Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights and using Aboriginal inexperience in the Copyright and Intellectual Property Rights to further their own ends.

Dumbartung Aboriginal Corporation, situated in Waterford WA at the old Clontarf Boys Home, now known as Clontarf College, has been fighting for nearly twenty years to bring people misappropriating Aboriginal Art to justice (Wilson-Clark 2003b). Robert Eggington, who manages Dumbartung has established a Wall of Shame and has been prominent in trying to reclaim many Aboriginal Art materials taken unethically from Nyungar and other Aboriginal groups. As Wilson-Clark claims,

Dumbartung and Mr Eggington have attracted an international reputation for a no-holds-barred approach to exposing international theft and cultural fraudsters such as Californian New Age writer Marlo Morgan who claimed to be custodian of the purest remaining Aboriginal culture in her worldwide best seller Mutant Message Downunder. The book was exposed as a fable and a group of Dumbartung Representatives hijacked a 1997 Japanese lecture tour by the author condemning her as a fraud and a spiritual thief. (Wilson-Clark 2003b:8)

This is not the first instance of misappropriation or theft of Aboriginal Australians' materials. According to Wilson-Clark (2003b), many articles of cultural significance were taken from the
Nyungar people and sent overseas or interstate. Sometimes, these articles had reached their curiosity value and were delegated to recipients' attics or garages where they lay forgotten in total disuse. Many items, like Nyungar bookahs or kangaroo skin cloaks, spears and other weaponry and traditional artefacts, were taken from Nyungar lands. According to Mr Eggington, it takes years to track these down and negotiate to have them returned to Dumbartung, this Nyungar Keeping Place (Eggington 2002; Wilson-Clark 2003b). It is not only traditional materials that have been lost to Nyungar culture, but matters of a spiritual nature as well. Many secret sacred artefacts, which are integral to Nyungar culture, have been spirited away and it is uncertain if Dumbartung and Robert Eggington can recover these treasures, although it is hoped they will be recovered. In the meantime, Aboriginal people from all over the country met with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) in the 1990s (Frankel & Janke 1998) as something had to be done to safeguard Aboriginal cultural material from fraudsters or people who have taken Aboriginal materials from Keeping Places and are lost to the people forever.

**Safeguarding Aboriginal Cultural and Intellectual Property**

To assist safeguarding cultural materials, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) held meetings and talks with Aboriginal people to put in place laws that will protect Aboriginal cultural material. In the report *Our Culture: Our Future, Report on Australian Aboriginal Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights* (Frankel & Janke 1998), the question was posed ‘What is Aboriginal cultural and intellectual property?’ The answer provided is:

*Aboriginal Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights refer to Aboriginal Australians’ rights to their heritage. Such rights are also known as Aboriginal Heritage Rights (Frankel & Janke, 1998: xvii).* 

The report is an in-depth account of the findings of ATSIC and the Aboriginal people who participated in the research, and is now the criteria by which Aboriginal Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights are measured. Aboriginal [Cultural and] Heritage Rights consist of:

*The intangible and tangible aspects of the whole body of cultural practices, resources and knowledge systems developed, nurtured and refined by Aboriginal people and*
passed on by them as part of expressing their cultural identity (Frankel & Janke, 1998: xvii).

Aboriginal Heritage Rights include –

1. Literary, performing and artistic works (including music, dance, song, ceremonies, symbols and designs narratives and poetry)
2. Languages
3. Scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge (including cultigens, medicines and sustainable use of flora and fauna)
4. Spiritual knowledge
5. All items of moveable cultural property including burial artefacts
6. Aboriginal ancestral remains
7. Aboriginal human genetic material (including DNA and tissues)
8. Cultural environment resources (including minerals and species)
9. Immovable cultural property (including Aboriginal sites of significance, sacred sites and burials)
10. Documentation of Aboriginal peoples heritage in all forms of media (including scientific, ethnographic research reports, papers and books, films and sound recordings)

(The) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act of 1984

The Act states that:

[It] was originally introduced as an interim measure pending the development of proposed national land rights legislation. The Act was designed to provide the Commonwealth Government with the legal means to protect areas and objects of particular significance to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders under threat of desecration, but not adequately protected under State and Territory laws. The Act is intended only as a last resort to protect Aboriginal heritage where State and territory laws are ineffective or where no equivalent law applies. Aboriginal people have increasingly resorted to the Commonwealth as a primary protection for their
cultural areas and objects because of inefficiencies in the State and Territory laws (Frankel & Janke, 1998: 283).

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act was formulated to protect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art, artefacts, sacred sites and other areas of significance from indiscriminate destruction by the States and Territories as well as mining companies, pastoralists and others who would destroy Aboriginal heritage, cultural and spiritual places, and objects. In the south-west of Western Australia, there have been many secret/sacred objects and places which have been desecrated by uncaring government and private developers (van den Berg 2003). A survey carried out in 1985 for the Department of Aboriginal Sites in conjunction with the Western Australian Museum, listed many sites of special significance to the Nyungar (O’Connor, Bodney & Little 1985). Some sites listed (that have since been developed) include Lake Claremont (Nyungar camping ground), Swanbourne Senior High School (fringedwellers camp), Lake Monger (Aboriginal camp), Hyde Park (meeting place), Wargardu Spring (waterhole), Waugal Site, Kings Park, the Gosnells Golf Club, Winjan’s campsite and waterhole Mandurah (O’Connor et al 1985; van den Berg 2003).

**Aboriginal Heritage and Tourism in WA**

Several heritage walk trails to sites of significance to Nyungar were recently launched around Perth and Fremantle to coincide with 2003 NAIDOC Week (In Touch 2003). Many more sites of significance have disappeared due to developers clearing the land for housing and road works; old growth forests are disappearing too. Nothing much is left of Nyungar Land heritage and those that are still standing are in danger of complete destruction (Humphries ND: van den Berg 2003). It is sad that Nyungar country has been raped and destroyed for Western culture’s advancement, development and commercialism; so places of significance that have been saved in Nyungar country should be vested in Native Title for Nyungar and protected from the wholesale destruction of the once virgin forests, springs, swamps, lakes and rivers - not forgetting the *Kaata Munda* or the Darling Ranges. Perhaps one way Nyungar and other Aboriginal groups may be able to protect the ecology and environment is through cultural and nature-based eco-tourism, or ‘alternative’ tourism (Butler 1992).
Ecotourism is

Nature-based tourism that involves interpretation and education, and is managed to be ecologically sustainable (recognising that the ‘natural environment’ includes cultural components and that ‘ecologically sustainable’ involves an appropriate return to the community and long-term conservation of the resource) (Commonwealth Dept of Tourism 1995, cited in EAA 1996:4).

Whatever form of tourism development chosen, it needs to be entered into with full knowledge and an evaluation of the merits and possible problems that it may entail (Butler 1992).

**Dynamic Aboriginal Heritage**

Frankel and Janke (1998) state that the heritage of Aboriginal cultures is not static. Cultures are living and changing all the time, and any future cultural material is the property of particular Aboriginal groups or individual who create/d the material. As Aboriginal people are aware, their cultures are changing all the time and the wider, Australian community should realise this. Although most Aboriginal people do not live their traditional lifestyles anymore, many still promote their cultural and heritage practices through their art, story telling, dance and other means associated with their particular cultures. The tourism medium is one way of exhibiting Aboriginal expertise in areas of traditional as well as contemporary cultural practices, which is an issue in tourism marketing (ATA 2002, 2003; CALM 1998; CDT 1994; Hinkson 2003; Hollinshead 1996; TNSW 1997; WATC 2002; Venbrux 2000; Zeppel 1998a, 1998b, 1999). As an example, in 2003 ARTSWA launched the inaugural *Western Australian Indigenous Arts Showcase* as a promotional vehicle for Western Australia’s contemporary Aboriginal music and performing arts (ARTSWA 2003). As the Director of ARTSWA, Allanah Lucas states:
In many ways, Australian society is only now fully appreciating that which the international community has recognized for some time – namely the importance of Aboriginal arts as the nation’s most prized cultural asset. In presenting this exciting ‘best of’ program, we are attempting to chart the spiritual connections between people, land and sea. And in doing so, transcend simplistic white/black dichotomies in giving voice to three fundamentals essential to both good art and reconciliation: mutual understanding, enjoyment and respect (ARTSWA 2003).

The Showcase featured Aboriginal performers from Kununurra, Fitzroy Crossing, Derby and Broome in the Kimberley; Port Hedland, Carnarvon and Geraldton in the north-west; Kalgoorlie in the Goldfields; Perth and Albany in the south-west. The Nyungar artists included Dr Richard Walley (Middar Theatre Group), Gina Williams (singing), Wadumbah (dance), Dindima (dance), Percy Hansen and his wife Louise Hansen (singing), Yirra Yaakin Noongar Theatre (drama) and Billie Court (singing). It was a well-presented showcase that promoted Aboriginal theatre, dance and song, which is equivalent to mainstream entertainment. These are professional people and deserve to be showcased in this manner. There are many more Aboriginal entertainers in Western Australia promoting Aboriginal culture through the tourism industry (pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; WAITOC 2002, 2003; WATC 2002; pers comm. Mann 2002). The performers in the ARTSWA Showcase plus other lesser-known performers and promoters of Aboriginal cultural entertainment are leading the way in showing overseas and interstate visitors the diversity of Western Australia’s Aboriginal people. This research paper will further add to the evidence of contemporary Nyungar diversity.

**POLICY DIRECTION OF MAJOR GOVERNMENT AND MARKET OPERATORS**

Tourism has become one of the biggest businesses in the world. The Western Australian tourism industry has firmly established itself as a major contributor to the state’s economy and is set to become one of the fastest growing industry sectors during the 1990s and into the next century (Coopers and Lybrand, 1995:1).
Although these words were written in 1995, their meaning is just as relevant now in the early 21st century, for the simple reason that people’s wonder at the new and strange places they visit whilst on holidays, remain with them for the rest of their lives. People are fascinated by the sights they see and, in most cases, are in awe of the majesty they witness in the vistas presented to them (van den Berg 2003). It takes them away from their mundane lives of work, worry and responsibility and if, for a little while, they can forget the tediousness of their existence, so much the better.

These people are the TOURISTS; tourist motivation has already been discussed, and tourist money is worth millions of dollars to the government and those who are involved with the tourism trade (Hockey 2003; Howard 2003; WATC 2002, 2003a, 2003b; WTO 2003a, 2003b). For example, tourism contributed $3.8 billion to WA in visitor expenditure in 2002, providing 80,000 jobs, employing more than 8 percent of the WA workforce and contributing approximately 4.5 percent to Gross Domestic Product (WATC 2003a:4).

Sightseeing is only one component of the tourism industry. People who visit such places may want more. They may want to see locals going about their daily lives; they may want to see authentic Aboriginal cultures as it was before colonisation overtook the traditional ways of the Aborigines; they may want to taste nature in its rawest and to feel its heartbeat. They want new experiences, but by the same token, they want comfort and satisfaction and are willing to pay for these commodities. They pay ‘big bucks’ for their pleasure and want to be catered for in the most appropriate ways; after all, they are the tourists and want value for their hard-earned money. Boorstin (1992/1964) discussed the importance for present day tourists to obtain ‘value for money’, and he laments the passing of the age of ‘travel’ where the visitor actively worked hard to get to their destination experiencing adventure and hardships as a part of travel. He says that now travel is a safe packaged commodity that the passive tourist ‘buys’ in order to experience (Boorstin 1992/1964).

Due to the economic value of tourism, governments and tourism operators have worked together to formulate policies to cater to and control tourism trade. Whitford, Bell & Watkins (2001) review 25 years of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) tourism policies at the Federal and State level. They question the effectiveness and appropriateness of policies at both levels. They had three main findings -
1. ATSI tourism policies are published in an ad hoc reactive manner, responding to broader social and economic issues.

2. Economic concerns dominate ATSI tourism policies, with an emphasis on commodification of Aboriginal culture.

3. Policies reflect ‘economic-rationalist’ ideology underpinned by political party ideologies and platforms e.g. economic competition, valuing reason more than emotion, human resources as tradeable, policies of limited government, decreased public sector, vertical and horizontal concentration of business ownership (Whitford et al 2001)

Whitford et al (2001) discuss how ATSI tourism policies link to the political issues of native title, and Aboriginal ownership of land. They argue that Federal government involvement in ATSI tourism development has three main themes: Tourism is used as an economic tool aimed to improve well-being of ATSI people; Tourism policy usually occurs as a reaction to broader political and social agendas; Use of ATSI tourism as an international marketing tool for the broader tourism industry; with similar findings in Queensland ATSI tourism policies (Whitford et al 2001:156). However, Whitford et al (2001:176) stress the importance of Government policies, as they do impact on the growth and direction of ATSI tourism.

Whitford et al (2001) discuss several issues that concern them regarding ATSI tourism policy, summarised as:

- Disparate approach to development of specific ATSI tourism policies – changing departments, authors, lack of continuity
- Small amount of policy emphasis on ATSI tourism compared to mainstream tourism
- Apparent reactive acknowledgement of government responsibility to improve economic and social environments of ATSI people - the economic has become more of a focus; Ignored social relations and social capital; How to measure success?; Can tourism improve the economic position of ATSI people?
- Related hurdles to overcome: Capital; Bargaining Power; Funds, Information; Cultural gulf; Education, Training and Skills ‘Commodifying’ ATSI culture – marketing using ATSI culture
• Positives of commodification – economic gains, status, empowerment, dignity
  (need to protect Intellectual Property rights)
• Negatives of commodification – Loss of value & meaning, simplification, exposure
  of secret/sacred knowledge (Whitford et al 2001:169-74)

Whitford et al (2001) argue that ATSI Tourism and Economic Rationalism are diametrically opposed,

If economic rationalism underpins further government ATSI tourism policy, then the future development of ATSI tourism may not be conducive to other goals and aspirations of ATSI people (Whitford et al 2001:177).

Federal Input into the Indigenous Tourism Industry

As a result of the 1991 Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody it was suggested that indigenous tourism may increase employment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and assist in strengthening cultural values (ATSIC 1997:6). One of the main contributors to Aboriginal Cultural Tourism is the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC). Extensive research and consultation led by ATSIC occurred over three years into indigenous tourism culminated in the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (NATSITIS) (ATSIC 1997). ATSIC has a federally funded government role to facilitate industry development of Aboriginal Tourism within the Aboriginal community. ATSIC has been instrumental in helping Aboriginal communities and individuals establish their own tourism trade throughout the country (ATSIC 1999). However, in a report written about Aboriginal tourism strategy in 1999, ATSIC stated:

This part of the Strategy looks at the various ways in which Aboriginal people can participate in the tourism industry, and the strategies that can support these forms of participation. Participation rates are currently very low, well below that of the non-Aboriginal population. There are obvious opportunities for removing obstacles to increase involvement, and therefore
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providing greater economic benefits to Aboriginal people. However, tourism is not an industry which provides for quick and easy profits, and the Strategy presents a realistic framework for future growth of participation (ATSIC, 1999).

According to the ATSIC (1999) report, Aboriginal people have been slow to be involved with the tourism industry. This may be due to lack of sufficient information, or insufficient funds, to commence their own tourism businesses; both major barriers to setting up a business (Altman & Finlayson 2003; ATA 2002, 2003; pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; Pitcher et al 1999; TNSW 1997). Major barriers to involvement includes not being able to borrow funds for land that is covered by Native Title rather than Freehold Title (ATA 2002:6-7), along with reduced capital, funds, bargaining power, information, education, skills and training as identified by Whitford et al (2001:172-3). To overcome this, ATSIC has some suggestions for the removal of obstacles that deter many Aboriginal people entering the tourism trade. These include some ‘administrative’ aspects of running a business:

- To provide Aboriginal people with advice on investment of funds, including valuations to achieving successful investment in Aboriginal tourism enterprises
- Review guidelines and policies for use of funds i.e. training and employment of Aboriginal people
- Promote use of Joint Venture Guidelines for possible advice on potential joint venture partners
- Develop proposals for removing land tenure obstacles to joint venture investments in tourism on Aboriginal land
- Provide advice to Aboriginal employers about their legal responsibility
- Promote use of the Aboriginal Tourism manual to meet the needs of the people
- Support initiatives aimed at increasing Aboriginal employment within mainstream tourism enterprises, at all levels and within all functions (ATSIC 1997:29-44)

To manage the ‘cultural’ aspects of Aboriginal tourism ATSIC suggests:
Develop proposals for government funding of culture revival and maintenance as a base for development of Aboriginal Cultural Tourism

Promote use and recognition of the authenticity label through available national and regional networks and through educational materials directed at both tourists and the tourism industry

Provide advice to potential developers of Aboriginal tourism, given their location and infrastructure

Encourage use of Torres Strait Islander imagery and regional Aboriginal themes

Support development of regional identifiers or brands that can be used in conjunction with the national authenticity label

Encourage tourism development where it can be linked to development of commercial Aboriginal arts and crafts industries

Encourage Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander representation in the allocation of permits for environmental tours within conservation areas

Encourage employment of Aboriginal people in National Parks supported by appropriate training

Encourage existing nature-based tourism operators to employ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to provide environmental and cultural interpretation

Identify and promote Aboriginal cultural tourism products that are capable of being widely marketed

(ATSIC 1997:29-44)

Other Federal tourism departments with links to indigenous tourism include the Office of National Tourism, Department of Industry Science and Tourism (DIST) (Canberra); Aboriginal Tourism Australia (ATA) (Melbourne); Australian Tourist Commission (ATC) (Sydney) and Tourism Training Australia (Sydney). State and Territory departments include Tourism New South Wales (TNSW) (Sydney), Queensland Tourist and Travel Corporation (Brisbane), Tourism Victoria (Melbourne), Tourism Tasmania (Hobart), South Australian Tourism Commission (SATC) (Adelaide), Western Australian Tourism Commission (WATC) (Perth), Northern Territory Tourist Commission (Darwin & Alice Springs), Department of Business, the Arts, Sport and Tourism (Civic Square, ACT), and Canberra Tourism and Events Corporation (Civic Square, ACT).
These references were current in 1999, from the ATSIC *Tourism Industry Strategy Report* (ATSIC 1999), and help illustrate the complexity, as well as the broad interest and links to indigenous tourism in Australia. For example, Aboriginal Tourism Australia (ATA) is a national association formed in 1995 as an outcome of the ATSIC *Draft Tourism Strategy* 1994. ATA was formed to heighten the profile of indigenous tourism nationally and internationally and to actively address some of the unique problems indigenous people face in the tourist industry. The ATA is a member of the main tourism industry representative body, Tourism Council of Australia (TCA), and works closely with the Australian Tourist Commission (ATC) who market Australia internationally (Pitcher et al 1999:12).

**Western Australian Tourism Industry**

Prior to restructuring the tourism industry in 2003, The Western Australian Tourism Commission (WATC) distributed a discussion paper on tourism in this State. Entitled ‘A New Concept for Regional Tourism’, it outlined the intended guide for future tourism in WA. The Vision of the WATC was “To make Western Australia the world’s natural choice”, and included strategies to:

- Make Western Australia a natural choice for tourism investment
- Develop regional tourism through local empowerment
- Gain worldwide recognition for our icons
- Grow tourism faster in WA than our national competitors
- Ensure visitors become advocates for Western Australia
- Achieve recognition for tourism as a leading economic contributor to the State

(Mulgrew & Muirhead 2002:3)

In 2003 WATC released ‘Pathways Forward: Strategic Plan 2003-2008’, which included the above objectives as well as the aim to ‘enhance visitor experiences in WA’ (WATC 2003a:8-9). According to Mulgrew and Muirhead (2002) strategic directions had been identified in four key areas: Advisory Councils (Communication arrangements); Marketing; Eventscorp; and Regional Tourism (Marketing and Industry Development) (Mulgrew & Muirhead, 2002: 3)
The Western Australian Labor government in 2003 restructured its tourism industry in the belief that a new direction for tourism was needed in this State (WATC 2003a). The Labor government believes that Western Australia’s environment, climate, culture and heritage have enormous potential for expansion which could provide a major boost to employment, especially in regional areas (Mulgrew & Muirhead 2002: 7). They suggest that each region possesses a wide range of natural features and attractions that are as different as they are spectacular including historically significant Aboriginal culture and heritage dating back at least 40,000 (WATC 2001). One of the current WA Government’s initiatives for Aboriginal Tourism is to

Assist Aboriginal people to set up and participate in economically and socially beneficial tourism ventures based on their culture and affinity with the environment (WATC 2001:3).

A report on Tourism entitled ‘Labor’s Plan for Western Australia’s Tourism Industry’ states that,

The culture of Aboriginal peoples and their traditional affinity with the natural environment is increasingly important in attracting tourists especially from overseas, to Western Australia. Economic and social benefits may be available to Aboriginal people from tourism, and Labor will work to encourage new tourism initiatives by Aboriginal people. Labor will assist Aboriginal people to set up and participate in economically and socially beneficial tourism ventures based on their culture and affinity with the environment. (WATC 2001: 10).

**Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Committee**

The Western Australian government recognises that Aboriginal Cultural Tourism could become a tourism boon as international visitors show interest in this aspect of tourism (WATC 2001). It is in Western Australia’s financial interest to assist Aboriginal people develop their tourism businesses and so capture this possibly lucrative trade. To this end, the Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Committee (WAITOC) was established in May 2002 to manage and promote Aboriginal tourism for the overseas and interstate markets, assisted by WATC (pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; WAITOC 2002, 2003). Some of the key initiatives of WAITOC were to:
Establish a website;
Establish indigenous Accreditation;
Raise indigenous tourism profile;
Raise awareness and participation in Information Technology in communities;
Attend and run Workshops/Forums (WAITOC 2002).

Some of the issues they are addressing include: Stereotypes of indigenous people and tourism businesses; Education and Training of businesses, and the wider tourism industry; Authenticity labelling and issues; Increasing interest from domestic tourists; Teaching reality of tourism business; Establishing protocols of behaviour; Integration into mainstream tourism; Regional infrastructure issues (pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003).

WAITOC now has its own website which operates at two levels; for interested tourists and for the tourism industry (WAITOC, September 2001). The website is an essential communication tool for WAITOC members who are spread throughout Western Australia, plus it is a marketing tool to show everyone the unique tourism experience available in this state. In 2003, in conjunction with the Western Australian Tourism Commission, a CD-ROM was released containing much information on Western Australia, WAITOC, and its members, to assist in marketing and disseminating information (WAITOC 2003). Also in 2003 the Executive Officer of WAITOC, Angelique Fransen, was seconded to the WATC to give indigenous input into the new WA Tourism Strategy and Cultural Tourism Strategy (Fransen pers comm. 2003).

WAITOC Chairperson, Mr Lewis said,

WAITOC believes that the time is right to increase Aboriginal participation in the tourism industry… we have only scratched the surface. There is still a long way to go. This critical change will only happen with the support and real . . . commitment from the Tourism Industry, the State Government and relevant support agencies (WAITOC 2001).

State government assistance to build WAITOC can assist Aboriginal tourism to grow and compete more equitably with mainstream tourism – this should benefit both Western Australia and indigenous people in the long-run.
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WATC oversees tourism for Western Australia as a whole yet there were few specific mentions of Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Mulgrew and Muirhead’s *New Concept for Regional Tourism* (2002). One would expect WATC to cover indigenous tourism, and the current, as at 2003, WATC Strategy *Pathways Forward* (WATC 2003a) does mention it in two places. Firstly, as part of recognising iconic tourism experiences under Nature-based tourism advocates “Aboriginal tourism product development targeted as a specific area of development” (WATC 2003a:11). Secondly, a ‘niche sector’ under the Natural Choice for Investors should include indigenous tourism (WATC 2003a:13). This fits with Whitford et al (2001) who say that there is a relatively small amount of policy emphasis on ATSI tourism compared to the mainstream, with only two mentions of indigenous tourism in the entire WATC document. There is evidence to suggest a growing demand and interest for indigenous tourism by international visitors, due to marketing and promotion (Zeppel 1998a, 1998b), yet only a small percentage actually visit Aboriginal tourism sites or attractions out of all tourists (Ryan & Huyton 2000, 2002; Pitcher et al 1999). For example, evidence from South Australia states that up to 48 percent of International visitors were very interested in indigenous tourism before visiting, yet only 6 percent visited an actual site or attraction (SATC 1998:5).

Many international visitors’ highlights may be to witness Aboriginal culture in its natural state. Although they enjoy the fruits of Western Australian tourism outlets, many may feel as though their visits are not complete without seeing Aboriginal cultural song, dance, arts and crafts (SATC 1998). It is important to develop Aboriginal tourism products to meet the increasing interest of international visitors in indigenous song, dance, art and crafts. Furthermore, the increasing inclusion of Aboriginal tourism in WATC reports reflects a growing awareness of indigenous tourism by the tourism industry and policy makers.

**Nyungar Aboriginal Tourism and Wider Issues**

A case study entitled ‘Aboriginal Tourism: Sustainability and Opportunities’ by Simone Ruane states that,

> Aboriginal Tourism, if carefully implemented and managed, has the potential to provide a number of social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits for many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians as well as the large numbers of international tourists
One of the issues in promoting indigenous tourism development is that the participants may be considering tourism for reasons other than economic gain, such as protecting culture and authenticity (Ryan & Huyton 2000, 2002), sustainability (Cohen 2002; Johnston 2000), or other wider social, cultural, political or environmental benefits, especially in marginalised or regional societies (Blundell 1993; Hinch & Butler 1996; Hollinshead 1996; pers comm. Mann 2002; Smith 1996; Sofield 1991, 1997; Venbrux 2000; Zeppel 1998a).

In Western Australia, Aboriginal tourism in the south-west of the state includes several sites, with new programs commencing regularly. Some of the more established tourism businesses owned by Nyungar people or communities in the South West include–

Maali Mia
Kwillana Dreaming
Wardan Cultural Centre
Djinang Kwop Art Gallery
Waljin Consultancy
Manjimup Aboriginal Tours
Southern Aboriginal Corporation Art Shop in Albany
Winjan Aboriginal Corporation Ecotourism and
Middar Aboriginal Theatre

An Aboriginal Heritage Tour of the Swan River and Point Walter is run by the Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM), as is the Yanchep National Park Tourist Centre. There are other Aboriginal tourist attractions situated throughout Nyungar country, however they are operated by private enterprises, not Nyungar operated or owned. These represent ‘culture dispossessed’ according to Hinch and Butler (1996:10, see Fig1), where there is an indigenous theme present but not under the control of indigenous people. The Moore River Heritage Committee is attempting to establish a tourism centre and it is planned to be in operation in the near future. (Heritage & Conservation Professionals 1997).

Although Aboriginal Cultural Tourism is now placed on the agenda of many tourism bodies, anecdotaly, increasing use of appropriate promotion may be advisable if tourism is going to be
sustainable for Aboriginal people (Hollinshead 1996; Zeppel 1998b). Marketing is discussed later in this paper, and this paper will help provide some answers or avenues for further research regarding the promotion of Nyungar Tourism. If Aboriginal Cultural Tourism, owned and operated by Nyungar people, can successfully compete with the mainstream tourism trade, it will give Aboriginal people a chance to maintain and enhance their economical, cultural and spiritual links to their land (ATA 2002, 2003; ATSIC 1997; Hollinshead 1996; Johnston 2000; Mercer 1994; TNSW 1997; Pitcher et al 1999; Sofield 1991; Venbrux 2000), and could encourage empowerment (Sofield 1997; Venbrux 2000). This requires the backing of government policies (Whitford et al 2001), plus has links to politics and issues of power and control not only within tourism but the wider society (Hall 1994; Pitcher et al 1999; Smith 1996; Sofield 1991, 1997).

International visitors may wish to spend money to witness contemporary Nyungar culture based on their traditional (CDT 1994; WAITOC 2002, 2003a; WATC 2002, 2003a, 2003b; Wilson-Clark 2003a), as well as contemporary (ATSIC 1997; pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; pers comm. Mann 2002; TNSW 1997; Zeppel 1998b), lifestyles. It is a concept worthy of consideration. Hopefully more Nyungar will develop their own agenda with tourism, so that the world will know and understand our heritage. This report aims to assist this cause.

COMMISSIONED REPORTS ON ABORIGINAL TOURISM

Over the years many government departments, agencies and those in private enterprise have commissioned consultants to report on the tourism industry, including the Aboriginal tourism industry. ATSIC and other Federal government departments have a vested interest in Aboriginal tourism.

Consequently, the Federal and State governments, plus the private sector, commission reports on mainstream and Aboriginal tourism to obtain knowledge of what people want. As mentioned there are millions of dollars at stake in the tourism industry and if service is not up to standard or lacking in some areas, those commissioning the report need to know in order to rectify the situation and improve conditions. As an example, there was a recent Federal government $235 million boost to reform and promote tourism to Australia due to its important economic
contribution. The tourism industry was generating $17 billion per year in export earnings, plus domestic tourism worth over $52 billion per year. The financial boost was also used to help overcome recent downturns due to recent terrorism, war and disease (ATC 2003; Hockey 2003; Howard 2003). Decisions such as these are based on the reports of consultants and government employees, hence commissioned reports on the tourism industry are important. Due to the economic importance of tourism, Federal, State and local governments need to ‘keep the finger on the pulse’ to note any changes that need to be made in the services offered. There is, consequently, a continual demand for commissioned reports on new strategies, new research procedures, new directives and other means of keeping abreast of the tourism industry. This report will add to the knowledge base (Jafari 1990) of indigenous tourism.

As a major stakeholder in Aboriginal Tourism ATSIC has commissioned several reports into ATSI tourism, the most important being the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (NATSITIS) (ATSIC 1997). The Commission’s latest report on tourism developments and one of its programs is entitled ‘ATSIC Programs’ (2002); this contains Economic, Industry Strategies, Tourism Industry Strategies and National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander information for tourism enterprises. Besides detailing strategies to aid successful tourism businesses, ATSIC recommends other publications that may assist the Aboriginal person/people/community to establish and run a well-organised tourist business (ATSIC, 2002). This complements an earlier publication ‘The Business of Indigenous Tourism’ (ATSIC 1995). Other stakeholders in the field of commissioning reports include Australian Tourist Commission (ATC), the Cooperative Research Centre for Sustainable Tourism (CRCST), Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Committee (WAITOC), Western Australian Tourism Commission (WATC), plus every State and Territory has its own Tourism Commission or its equivalent. Another tourism organisation and body influential in tourism research is the previously discussed Aboriginal Tourism Australia (ATA 2002, 2003; Pitcher et al 1999).

A seminal report on Australian Aboriginal Tourism literature is a text by Heather Zeppel entitled ‘Aboriginal Tourism in Australia: A Research Bibliography’ (Zeppel 1999). This was written for the Cooperative Research Centre (CRC) for Sustainable Tourism and compiles an extensive bibliography of literature relating to indigenous tourism. Zeppel (1999) provides a State by State guide to Aboriginal enterprises in the tourism trade such as arts and crafts, cultural centres, museums, tours, dance, rock art, galleries, festivals and special events, eco-tourism,
also education and training in tourism business. It is a recommended text in Australian indigenous tourism research.

Another text giving insight into the diversity of Aboriginal culture and practices is Lonely Planet's (2001) 'Aboriginal Australia & the Torres Strait Islands: Guide to Aboriginal Australia'. Lonely Planet Publications commissioned Aboriginal people throughout Australia to write about their experiences, knowledge of their respective cultures, and the diversity of Aboriginal culture. As the front section states,

One of our main goals was to present a diverse range of voices, so we signed up Aboriginal writers from many different backgrounds – the book in your hand is the hard work of 51 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander contributors (Singh 2001).

The topics covered in this book are numerous, and present an interesting and informative read promoting Aboriginal cultures to international visitors on a world-wide scale. It is suggested that many an international visitor may find some enlightenment about Aboriginal cultures in Australia by reading this book.

As previously discussed, tourism is not static but is an ever-changing enterprise due to the changing wishes and expectations of people (Attix 2002; Butler 1980; Cohen 1979, 1988, 1995; Foo 1998; Ritzer & Liska 1997; Urry 1990) and their requirements in travel, accommodation, food and beverages, entertainment, excitement or out-of-the-ordinary adventures for those seeking a change from ‘mundane’ life (Cohen 1995; Graburn 1989; Hollinshead 1996; MacCannell 1973, 1976; Urry 1990). International tourists save hard-earned wages to visit exotic overseas places maybe as once-in-a-lifetime experiences (Boorstin 1992/1964), yet the majority of tourists are domestic, intra and interstate within Australia (ATC 2003b), still valuing how they spend their money - because of this, tourist operators must ensure that visitors are catered for and get value for money. Federal, State and local governments, plus private businesses, recognise the need to maintain a balance between tourist comfort and services available yet still remain economically viable, and recognise the need to constantly find ways to upgrade their knowledge of the tourism industry (ATA 2002; ATSIC 1995; Pitcher et al 1999). Researchers and consultants are discovering new ways in which enterprises can improve their business acumen within the tourism industry and thus present better service for tourists (ATA 2002; ATSIC 1995), to which this research paper will assist. Another example is the release in
December 2003 of the Federal Government’s $4 million Indigenous Tourism Business Ready Program to assist in mentoring, education, training and the skills necessary to establish successful indigenous tourism enterprises (ATC 2003a).

**MARKET RESEARCH ON ABORIGINAL TOURISM & MARKETING ISSUES**

A product is,

> Anything that can be offered to a market for attention, acquisition, use, or consumption that might satisfy a want or need. It includes physical objects, services, persons, places, organisations and ideas (Kotler & Armstrong 1999:6).

The term ‘Cultural Product’ has many definitions, and can include attractions and events such as: Historic buildings, sites, monuments; Aboriginal sites and culture; Art and craft workshops, studios; Festivals, fairs, markets; Performing arts and concerts; Museums, art galleries; plus Movies and cinema, and the everyday life of people (Foo 1998: 2). Richards (1996) says that several categories of culture overlap in tourism, which may include culture as a ‘product’ or culture as a ‘process’, and that as yet there is no single widely accepted definition of cultural tourism. Richards (1996:21) argues that culture as a process (concepts, motives, conduct, seeking meaning and authority) is being transformed through tourism and other social processes into culture as a product (items, artefacts, buildings, attractions) that can be purchased and/or experienced.

**Marketing**

Marketing means “managing the market to bring about exchanges and relationships for the purpose of creating value and satisfying needs and wants” (Kotler & Armstrong 1999:10). Marketing management philosophy has evolved over time, and now incorporates some or all of these ideas: Production Concept (consumers favour products that are available and highly affordable); Product Concept (consumers favour products that offer most quality, performance and features); Selling Concept (consumers will not buy unless the organisation engages in large-scale selling and promotion efforts); Marketing Concept (achieving organisational goals
depends on determining needs and wants of target markets and delivering desired satisfactions more effectively and efficiently than do competitors) (Kotler & Armstrong 1999:12-15).
The latest trend is towards *Societal Marketing* concepts where an organisation should determine the needs, wants, and interests of target markets and deliver the desired satisfactions more effectively and efficiently than do competitors in a way that maintains or improves the consumer’s and society’s well-being (Kotler & Armstrong 1999:16).

This means considering long-term welfare, balancing company profits with consumer wants as well as society’s interests, also considering environmental problems, resource shortages, rapid population growth, worldwide economic problems and neglected social services (Kotler & Armstrong 1999). This takes marketing concerns well beyond the immediate locale of a business and connects to global issues.

Burns (1997) describes Societal Marketing in tourism as a concept where the idea of a consumer

Is extended to include all people directly affected by the operations of a firm, in this manner the firm maintains its marketing orientation with the aim of improving both the consumers and society’s well-being (Burns 1997:15).

She states that this is gaining greater importance and local communities need to be considered as consumers as well as a part of tourism products to enable sustainable development (Burns 1997).

**Commoditisation and Culture**

Another important issue debated in the marketing of culture is that of ‘commoditisation’ or ‘commodification’, which is defined as

The process of making available for purchase or barter, cultural productions which include material objects, events and performances, or even people and ways of life (Jafari 2000:91).
Cohen (1988:380) describes this as “A process where things and activities come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade” and says that products become goods and services. Cohen (1988) questions the alleged loss of meaning for locals and tourists in commodification, whether locals are exploited, or if the product is changed, and argues – not necessarily.

Cohen (1988) argues for a positive view of commodification, that people may gain pride in presenting their culture; that cultures possess emergent meanings that change over time and that this may assist preservation and revival of culture. He says we need the ‘emic’ perspective (of a cultural insider) to judge whether commoditisation is positive or negative (Cohen 1988:382).

Boissevain (1996) in research on Malta also debated the perceived positives and negatives of cultural commoditisation for tourism. He suggested ‘negatives’ included: loss of meanings, beliefs and value of culture; the degrading of traditional culture; the exploitation of participants; the simplification of culture; and exposure of secret/sacred knowledge to others (Boissevain 1996:106). In Australia Whitford et al (2001) express similar concerns regarding tourism and indigenous culture. Boorstin (1992/1964) described all modern travel as a ‘commodity’, and that tourism degrades experience into a sanitised, homogenised and ‘factitious’ event.

Boissevain (1996) also discussed some perceived ‘positives’ of cultural commoditisation, in that hosts are able to educate visitors about their culture; it may revive cultural activities & appreciation within a community and it earns an income for participants. He also argues that culture is dynamic, and that change provides new meanings and may assist getting rid of colonial oppression; it also may confer status, empowerment, and dignity to participants (Boissevain 1996). The important issue is that hosts require control over decision-making and intellectual property issues (Boissevain 1996).

Blundell (1993) also argues that it is important for indigenous people to have control over decisions made in presenting cultural objects for tourism. She discusses the issues of commoditization by non-natives; cultural integrity; presentation of stereotypes and (mis)representation; cultural appropriation; the politics of signification, authority and power; and the emergence of new meanings in presentations, sometimes linked to tourism (Blundell 1993).
Ryan (1997) discusses the fact that tourism cannot be considered without looking at socio-political and historical contexts, and relates this to the colonisation and denial of rights to the Maori of New Zealand. He says that Maori have different cosmology and ethics to Westerners due to differing cultural views. He asks ‘Who defines indigenous people?’ and ‘Who has ownership and control of cultural symbols?’ (Ryan 1997). He argues that important issues such as ‘Ethnocide’, control and power, and past denials of indigenous resistance and action need to be considered as part of the bigger picture when considering cultural impacts due to tourism. Ryan also debates whether tourism is a corrupter of culture or whether it has helped retain and assist diversity (Ryan 1997). Similar debates and issues exist for Aboriginal Australians.

Smith (1996) says that indigenous tourism is comprised of four aspects: Habitat; Heritage; History; Handicrafts. She discusses the commoditisation of culture, and says that most indigenous people have to face harsh economic realities, they need cash, work, skills and self-esteem; and tourism may offer work, industry, pride, dignity and a chance to reinforce culture (Smith 1996). Smith (1996:304) argues that tourism relates to goals other than the economic in many cases, goals that include social aspects and the need for respect. Tourism development needs to incorporate these issues – considering the bigger picture such as social, historical and political contexts and outside pressures, as well as considering the emic view of the local or indigenous people involved in tourism and how they feel about their culture being used as a ‘commodity’.

**AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS TOURISM MARKETING**

Currently, a popular and growing way to undertake marketing and promotion is by use of the internet and associated websites (Kotler & Armstrong 1999). There are many websites associated with general and Aboriginal Cultural Tourism which contain up-to-date information that is invaluable for international visitors to Australia (Ahoy 2000:61). These websites permit a choice of destination and visitors can plan their itinerary accordingly. Whilst websites contain mainstream tourism information, as already discussed, many international visitors are keen to experience Aboriginal Cultural Tourism, to enhance their awareness of the original Australians. According to Ahoy (2000) Australian Aboriginal tourism marketing in is not on a par with world markets, “Many international visitors know little or nothing about Aboriginal culture, but are eager to learn about it” (Ahoy, 2000:59). This research paper will look at how some Nyungar
indigenous tourism businesses are promoted, within and outside of Australia. Simondson (1995) cited in Ahoy states,

Aborigines are only visible in representations of the historical period prior to European settlement . . . (but) invisible in contemporary modern Australia (Simondson 1995, in Ahoy 2000:60).

There appears to be a gap between the image and the reality of Aboriginal people (Pitcher et al 1999). It appears that Aboriginal people of Australia are often represented as cultural icons of a bygone era (Pitcher et al 1999; Zeppel 1998b). European imagery and Social Darwinism placed Aborigines as half-naked with spear and boomerang in hand remaining forever as “harmless savages” (Darwin, 1969:437-438). The image of Aborigines never adapting to a contemporary, multicultural Australian society still lingers in many people’s minds (Dodson 1994), much to the detriment of the Aboriginal people. This image of the ‘noble savage’ close to nature was based on the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau’s (1712-1778) ideas of “people being in a natural state and capturing their true nature” (Bollen & Cosgrove, 1985:43).

 Those days are gone and it needs to be acknowledged that Aboriginal cultures have more to offer than obsolete images. This is now the 21st Century and the challenge when promoting and marketing Aboriginal cultures for the tourism industry is for entrepreneurs to find other, more up-to-date, marketing imagery. It is up to Aboriginal tourism operators to change the way in which Australia and the world depict Aborigines. Promotion and marketing within Aboriginal Cultural Tourism does have some constraints placed on it because there are aspects of Aboriginal cultures that cannot be viewed by tourists (Hollinshead 1996). Examples are the secret/sacred materials found in many museums and the sacred sites where only the initiated can go (Wilson-Clark 2003b).

Aboriginal Cultural Tourism, if marketed properly, has the potential to give economic independence and pride to its owners and operators (Hollinshead 1996). Hollinshead (1996) advocates those in the tourism industry take a responsible attitude to become informed about Aboriginal spiritual life which is integral to their society. He suggests promotion of meaningful images to reflect traditional ever-changing realities, and that this requires increasing knowledge on all sides – interpreters (academics and researchers), indigenous people and marketers (Hollinshead 1996). This is a form of Societal Marketing (Burns 1997; Kotler & Armstrong
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1999), where consideration is given to the bigger picture of social, cultural, economic and political contexts, the long-term, and the sustainability of the culture being marketed. Things are changing as seen by recent calls for more indigenous control over representations to reflect Aboriginal diversity and contemporary society, in consultation with indigenous people (ATA 2002; ATSIC 1997; Hinkson 2003; Ryan & Huyton 2002; SATC 1995; TNSW 1997; Zeppel 1998b, 1999).

**Aboriginal Marketing and Business Principles**

Considering how Aboriginal people are meeting the demand for Aboriginal art, artefacts and craft for international tourists, Peter Shelley, Managing Director of Inbound Tourism Organisation of Australia, in a speech at the Sydney Aboriginal Tourism Forum in June 2000, outlined some components for successful Aboriginal marketing and business. Shelley described it as ‘cracking the market’ –

1. Getting the product right
2. Getting the pricing right
3. Getting the distribution absolutely spot on
4. Build industry partnerships, then asking
5. Is your product export ready? (Shelley in NITF, 2000:66-69)

Enlarging upon these five components:

1) Regarding ‘Getting the Product right’, Shelley (NITF 2000: 67) states “one of the most important aspects to watch out for is reliability”. He further says “Reliability is the key to success in the industry [tourism]” (NITF 2000:67). Tourism operators must consistently deliver their goods of good quality. To prepare the product right is to make for satisfied customers. As Shelley states,

   Because the international wholesalers, retailers and consumers are very conscious of their rights, and if they sell a product . . . [your product] over there and it is not delivered in the way in which it was sold or promised and the money they paid for it, they have every right to claim [insurance] (NITF 2000:67).
Relating to 2) *Pricing*: The fundamental message appears to be:

Build a consistent approach to pricing. Tourism operators cannot have one pricing for the overseas trade and one for the domestic trade. Don’t up the price by 100% because we think Germans can pay for it (NITF 2000:68).

If prices fluctuate between overseas and domestic buyers, it sends a negative message that tourism operators are more interested in money than the satisfaction of their customers. (NITF 2000: 68).

3) It is very important to understand the *distribution system* and this is where the issue of ‘reliability’ is important again. As Shelley claims,

If we can’t deliver [the] product consistently, reliably and to have these intermediaries who are quite powerful to actually build the numbers coming through our doors, we won’t get very far very quickly (NITF 2000: 67).

In other words, distribution plays an important role in how a product reaches the market and also products must be guaranteed for at least 12 months.

4) Building industry *partnerships* is also important. Partnerships at every level: with other Aboriginal operators; with mainstream operators; with other States; with the ATC (Australian Tourist Commission) and ITOs (Inbound Tourism Operators); plus other businesses in the distribution area is a must for successful tourism businesses (NITF 2000: 68), especially with recent restructuring of the Australian and West Australian tourism industries which encourage partnerships (ATC 2003a; Howard 2003; WATC 2002, 2003a).

5) Finally, getting the *product ‘export’ ready* – involves considering all of the above components combined to enable a successful tourism business in the current climate (NITF 2000:67-69).
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Peter Shelley outlines some very important issues relating to the Inbound Tourism Market. These points give Aboriginal tourism operators and those starting up well-founded advice for making their businesses a success - if Aboriginal Cultural Tourism is marketed appropriately; with regard to complex indigenous numenosity and society, with informed and enlightened sensitivity (Hollinshead 1996; Zeppel 1998b), plus practical business training and skills for indigenous people (ATA 2002, 2003; ATC 2003a; ATSIC 1995, 1997; pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; pers comm. Mann 2002) Aboriginal people should stand to make economic inroads into the tourism industry. This research paper will address some of these issues related to indigenous tourism marketing and business practicalities.

TERRORISM AND TOURIST NUMBERS

Tourism is such a large worldwide industry that the devastating terrorist attacks in America of September 11, 2001 and the Bali bombings of 12 October 2002 were bound to have a detrimental effect on tourism trade (WTO 2003c). Early in 2003, the possibility of war was casting fear in the international market as a report in the West Australian stated,

Figures released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics confirm that the combined effects of September [2001], the Bali bombings and probable war in Iraq are hurting Australian tourist operators, with a decline in international visitors in 2002. There were 4,840,000 overseas visitor arrivals last year, down from 4,855,700 in 2001 and 4,931,400 in 2000 (Clery 2003:59).

The effects of war, disease, political instability and terrorism on tourism are often sudden, not only damaging infrastructure but also causing fear, raising insurance costs, and often causing long-term damage to a destinations image with a ripple-effect to other destinations or the global tourism trade (Butler 1980; Gee 1999; Hall 1994: 92-107; Pizam & Mansfeld 1996; Sonmez 1998).

The destruction of the World Trade Centre in the New York and resultant loss of lives on 11 September 2001 caused the tourism industry a major setback, compounded by the Bali Bombing incident on 12 October 2002, then the outbreak of SARS in 2003 (WTO 2003c).
Worldwide, tourists were anxious about travelling and many opted to remain in their own countries. People tend to want to remain within their own boundaries and not venture outside their countries. The loss in tourism dollars, employment and other businesses that maintain the tourism industry can be serious (WTO 2003c).

In the current climate, it is difficult to predict whether worldwide tourism will reach again the figures of the 1999-2000 fiscal year, however, the World Tourism Organisation and Australian Tourist Commission remain optimistic for the recovery of the industry (ATC 2003b; WTO 2003c). They are especially hopeful as global ‘special interest’ tourism, of which indigenous tourism is a form, had remained resilient (WTO 2003c); plus domestic tourism, which comprises 75 percent of the Australian market, is still showing growth, and outbound tourism (people travelling overseas for holidays) decreased by 7 percent this year due to the SARS outbreak (ATC 2003b). Sudden downturns are particularly damaging for the Western Australian tourism industry due to its isolation and reliance on air travel (WATC 2003a). The economic importance of tourism has already been discussed and this has implications for the vulnerability of the industry to major events close by, such as the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak in Asia early in 2003 (Gregory 2003; WATC 2003a). The top international inbound tourism markets for Australia currently are, in descending order: New Zealand (increased); Japan (decreased); United Kingdom (increased); USA; and Various other European countries, with the target market presently being China and other Asian countries (ATC 2003b).

Tourist motivation has already been discussed. Anecdotally, one of Aboriginal tourism’s largest markets seems to be the Japanese tourist trade as the Japanese appear to have a keen interest in Aboriginal cultures and art.

**RESEARCH GAPS IN ABORIGINAL TOURISM**

Although Aboriginal Cultural Tourism has a growing following now, Aboriginal tourism operators need to be aware that there may be difficulties encountered with some aspects of setting up a tourism business (ATA 2002; ATSIC 1995; pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003). Not only should the economic viability of such ventures be considered, but Aboriginals must also guard against being slotted into the image of the ‘noble savage’ (Dodson 1994; Finlayson 1994) as discussed
under marketing. This image is apparent in many glossy brochures extolling the virtues of ‘nature-based, Aboriginal and cultural tourism’, depicting Aborigines in their “traditional” state (Ahoy 2000; Finlayson 1994; Hollinshead 1996; Zeppel 1998b). While this is promoting Aboriginal tourism, Aboriginal people should be aware that an image that depicts them in a romanticised manner is false advertising. The images used in tourism advertising tend to portray Aboriginal people as primitive and homogenous (Hollinshead 1996; Ryan & Huyton 2002; Zeppel 1998b), rather than contemporary and diverse (Hollinshead 1996). It is recommended that international visitors be educated about the diversity of Aboriginal people (Ahoy, 2000:59), and this may be an area for future research.

As discussed, stereotypical images are often the way some non-Aborigines perceive and present Aboriginal peoples, these images do not allow indigenous status to change as it is expected to remain static in a bygone era – these images, perpetuated in advertising and marketing, influence what tourists come to expect (Walle 1996; Zeppel 1998b). Images of Aboriginal people as ‘invisible’ in modern Australia and present only in a pre-European idyll (Simondson 1995, cited in Ahoy 2000:60) are often how non-Aboriginal tourism operators portray Aboriginal people. Ahoy comments on these operators saying,

Non-Aboriginal operators in their endeavour to satisfy tourists compound this. Non-Aboriginal tourism businesses that present Aboriginal culture all too often, expect Aboriginal people to present themselves and to perform to the expectations of tourist and in the created primitive image, that is, in a lap lap (loincloth). The result of such demands tends to present Aboriginal people as entertainment rather than as people with a [modern] culture (Ahoy, 2000: 60).

Due to stereotypical marketing images overseas and domestic visitors may forget that Aboriginal cultures in Australia are changing with contemporary times - it is no longer appropriate to believe that Aboriginal cultures are set in a pre-European time zone or colonial State-ruled lifestyles. This requires education of tourists as well as the tourism industry (Altman & Finlayson 2003; ATA 2002; pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; pers comm. Mann 2002; TNSW 1997; Zeppel 1998b).

Many Aboriginal people are offended by the implications that they have not changed, yet they are now living in contemporary Australian society with all its modern conveniences and daily
cares (van den Berg, 2002:197). Indigenous people would laugh at suggestions that they run around in *juleps* (loincloths) with a spear in one hand and a boomerang in another. While they use this image for entertainment and tourism performances, it is fair to say that in their normal, everyday life, they eat the same foods as mainstream Australians, clothe themselves in fashionable gear, drive new cars and live in homes not unlike the majority of other people living in this country. In other words, Aboriginal people have moved with the times and it is unfair and incorrect of mainstream tourism operators and tourists to portray indigenous people as the ‘noble savage’ living in some sort of Utopia or pre-European idyll (van den Berg 2002, 2003). This is an issue that may need researching in the future – tourists’ response to contemporary presentations of indigenous people.

Another contemporary research area is Aboriginal arts and crafts. When mainstream tourism businesses realised that Aboriginal arts and crafts were well sought after by international visitors, many began to mass produce the boomerang and other small items like the clapsticks (Simons 2000). The tourism market met this consumer demand through creating material that was not authentic Aboriginal crafts. These goods were being passed off as authentic; this was taking away from Aboriginal people their right to authenticate products (Simons 2000). To counteract this trend, ATSIC commissioned a report entitled ‘*Our Future: Our Culture: Report on Australian Aboriginal Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights*’ (Frankel & Janke, 1998). This report covers the whole spectrum of matters dealing with Aboriginal Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights, plus Copyright. Many of these issues have been discussed already in this paper. The impacts and effectiveness of new indigenous copyright legislation is an area that requires further study (Simons 2000).

There have been instances where non-Aboriginal people have written books under an Aboriginal pseudonym and reaped the rewards, and awards, for their false identities. Marlo Morgan is an example of disenfranchising the Aboriginal people of their cultural material (Eggington 1996). Marlo Morgan is described as a new-age writer claiming to be a custodian of the purest remaining Aboriginal culture in ‘*Mutant Message Down Under*’ in 1990, who was eventually exposed as a fraud but still made much money out of the events (Eggington 1996; Wilson-Clark 2003b). Robert Eggington of Dumbartung Aboriginal Corporation is fighting these grave injustices to Aboriginal people by the misappropriation of their culture and authenticity (Eggington 1996; Wilson-Clark 2003). As Eggington states,
The ever-increasing numbers of non-Aboriginal owned Art Galleries dealing exclusively in Aboriginal cultural arts with export marketing interests are dominantly established in every major city across this country, dealing in commodities ranging from tourist souvenirs to Fine Art pieces (Eggington 1996:17).

Some non-Aboriginal people are misappropriating Aboriginal cultural material or mass-producing items without regard to Aboriginal Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights, including Copyrights on literary works (Eggington 1996, 2002; Simons 2000). Aboriginal tourism operators must endeavour to veto any bogus claims of Aboriginal authenticity by ensuring that only articles made by Aboriginal people have a label of authenticity attached to them. A nationwide authentification label, ‘Respecting Our Culture’, is currently being commenced (ATA 2003; pers comm. Fransen 2003) following a long process of consultations and discussions with various authorities and agencies. In Western Australia the Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM) provides some indigenous authentification labelling where it relates to their work in National Parks, and an extension of this labelling is an ongoing debateable topic (pers comm. Fransen 2003). Research needs to be conducted into the effectiveness of authenticity labelling on indigenous products. Whether this should be a national or State occurrence and how to establish this needs to be determined. (Ryan & Huyton 2002).

Another issue presenting a barrier to Aboriginal tourism becoming flourishing business ventures, as already discussed, are the economic concerns (Altman 1989, 1993; Altman & Finlayson 1992, 2003). The expectation that Aboriginal people should rely on ATSIC or other government departments for funding to totally maintain their businesses is not viable (Altman 1993; Altman & Finlayson 1992, 2003). One-off Small Business grants may be acceptable, but if indigenous people want to prove to themselves and others that they can survive on their own merits, their success rate can only develop through hard work and training in areas that are lacking (CDT 1994; NITF 2000). On-going training courses for indigenous entrepreneurs and their staff are necessary to remain a viable proposition in the tourism industry. Ensuring workers attend training courses, conferences and workshops to obtain the latest information on the tourism market will set a firm basis on which their businesses will survive (ATA 2002; Altman & Finlayson 2003; CDT 1994; pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; pers comm. Mann 2002; Pitcher et al 1999).
Workshops and conferences related to Aboriginal Tourism are increasing. An example is the *Australian Indigenous Tourism Conference* held in February 2004 in Fremantle WA entitled ‘Better Business – Better Country’. Some topics covered include: Tourism and Heritage; Cultural Experiences; Training; Accreditation; Building Partnerships and Joint Ventures; Pathways to Tourism; and Bush Tucker Tourism (WAITOC 2003b).

Training is provided by the private sector as well. An example includes Chubb Training Services, which holds training programs for people in the hospitality industry. Peter Johnson for Chubb says,

> We needed to bring our training in line with vocation, education and training. Really, it is equipping Australians for the world of work and that is what we are looking at in our Aboriginal training programs (Johnson, 2000:48).

Johnson adds that Chubb Training Services has a large multicultural workforce and that Chubb needs to educate employees and give them an understanding of Aboriginal cultural aspects (Johnson 2000:50). As already mentioned, it appears that training needs to be implemented in several sectors of the tourism/hospitality industry – one is to educate non-Aboriginal staff about the fundamentals of Aboriginal cultures; another is to train Aboriginal tourism aspirants in the finer points of the tourism/hospitality industry. In addition, the general tourism industry and society needs educating regarding indigenous people and culture (Altman & Finlayson 2003; pers comm. Fransen 2002, 2003; Hollinshead 1996; NITF 2000).

In Western Australia, other training programs for indigenous staff are held by Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM), Western Australian Tourism Commission (WATC) and Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Committee (WAITOC), which may aid Aboriginal tourism business better manage the latest trends in the tourism industry. Tourism is a demanding industry (Altman 1993, 1989; Altman & Finlayson 2003; CDT 1994) so Aboriginal tourism businesses must ensure that the services they provide are the best, that they are kept up to date with new ideas, and reviewed, all the time as this is what contemporary tourists expect (CDT 1994; Cohen 1995; pers comm. Fransen 2003; Ryan & Huyton 2000; Urry 1990; WATC 2003a). The Federal government recognises this, with the recent allocation of $4million to assist setting up indigenous tourism businesses with education, training, mentoring
and passing on skills (ATC 2003a). There is scope for more research into training and educational needs and provision related to indigenous tourism in Western Australia.

CONCLUSION

This report “Aboriginal Tourism in the South-West Region of Western Australia: A Case Study Analysis from a Nyungar Perspective”, gives a Nyungar view on the tourism industry in Western Australia. Woven into the report are discussions on complex and contested contemporary indigenous tourism issues such as defining indigenous / ethnic tourism, tourist motivation/demand, sustainability, authenticity, intellectual property / copyright, issues of control, commoditisation, marketing and indigenous tourism policies. Nyungar history and input into the south-west Nyungar lands plays a major role in the writing of this report, because the Nyungar helped the colonists to settle the south-west of Western Australia.

Attempts have been made to reconstruct a history of the Dutch, British and other European explorers and visitors to these shores from as early as the 17th century, when Dutchman Dirk Hartog left his plate off the coast of Western Australia in 1616 at what is now known as Shark Bay. He is the first recorded European to have set foot in this State and since then other Europeans have left evidence of their travels to these shores, which were more often by accident than design. During the 17th century, the Dutch were prominent trading partners in the East Indies and several shipwrecks occurred, the most famous of which was the Batavia. These shipwreck incidences proved to Europeans that there was an unknown land in the south, but it wasn’t until the end of the 18th century that interest was shown in charting the coastline, with perhaps the intention of claiming the land for King and country. The Aborigines saw these white men as spirits of their dead, or the djanga, and wondered about these strangers coming to their lands. Finally, when the British unlawfully claimed the western coast of New Holland for their King, and settlement was made in 1829, it was the beginning of a new and dangerous time for Aboriginal people.

With colonisation by the British came upheaval to the Nyungar way of life. Their lands were stolen and as more settlers arrived to establish themselves in Nyungar country, the locals were pushed further and further away from their ancestral lands, and became subservient to the intruders. Nyungar became dependent on the settlers for their existence and, in time, were subject to the atrocities of colonialism. Yet friendships did develop between the Aboriginal
people and the settlers, who used Nyungar knowledge of their country to open up new pastures for the ever-encroaching, land-hungry British. In a sense, these expeditions with Nyungar guides could be considered among the first tourist ventures conducted by the Nyungar.

The theme throughout this report is tourism to the south-west of Western Australia from a Nyungar perspective and it is believed that from the earliest recorded events of colonisation by the British, Nyungar have tried to depict their culture and way of life to the settlers. These instances can be seen in many of the official records, letters and journals that were written, telling of life in the Swan River colony. Eliza Shaw's letters to England in Mary Durack's *To Be Heirs Forever* (2001) is an example of life in the colonies according to the colonials. As discussed earlier, Yagan was an MC at a large corroboree held in the fledgling Perth for government officials and other spectators in 1833. Nyungar showed the white people where fresh water could be found, how the kangaroo and emu were good eating and where fresh fish could be caught, besides many other forms of bush food and medicines that could to be used.

In other words, based on the belief that the white intruders were spirits of their dead relations or friends, *djanga*, the Nyungar aided the colonisers settle in their country. Without Nyungar expertise and knowledge of the land, it is doubtful whether the settlers could have survived.

Mention is made of the horrendous State government policies (when the colony reached statehood in 1901), of subjugation and degradation over Nyungar and other Aborigines in Western Australia who suffered at the hands of those in authority. It tells of the Carrolup Mission children and their love of painting and drawing their land (Carrolup Children's Art) and the officious decree that effectively ruined the idea of careers in art for those children. Carrolup became a training institution for young Aboriginal boys and youth for farming and other menial labour. The Moore River Native Settlement was established as a means of monitoring and authorising the lives of Aboriginal people throughout the state where the stolen children were deposited and forced to learn the social, economic and employment mores of the dominant non-Aboriginal culture, albeit on a less humane scale than thought possible. When the Coolbaroo League was formed as a social club for Aborigines in Perth in the 1940s, it gave some relief to the Aboriginal population in an otherwise bleak period in the annals of Western Australia’s history.

Nyungar and other Aboriginal people throughout this state survived and after the 1967 Referendum, as citizens of this country, they were able to pick up the pieces of their
fragmented lives and start rebuilding their social and cultural structures again. For some it was difficult, but others were determined to recapture their cultural ideologies and traditional practices and to this end, many of the older Nyungar were able to pass their cultural knowledge on to the younger generations. The late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s saw resurgence in Nyungar cultural practices. Many young Nyungar men, like Dr Richard Walley, revived the corroboree, clapsticks, oral story-telling, the didgeridoo (which was adopted from Northern Australia by the Nyungar and other southern Australian Aboriginal groups over the past 150 years according to Neuenfeldt 1997), and other cultural pursuits identified with Nyungar. Aboriginal poet and playwright, Dr Jack Davis, whose plays are performed Australia-wide, established Aboriginal theatre. As highlighted, Aboriginal art and dance have always been prominent cultural products. In the late 1980s and during the 1990s, Aboriginal Cultural Tourism slowly became popular with interstate and international visitors to this State. Tourist motivation for visiting indigenous / ethnic tourist sites was also discussed.

In Western Australia, Nature-Based and Eco-tourism under the auspices of the Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM) ensured that Nyungar traditional cultural practices were incorporated into many of the National Parks (such as Yanchep and Karijini) under CALM’s jurisdiction. Later many private enterprises adopted Nyungar dance; and cultural arts and craft became items for consumer use. Traditional Nyungar lifestyles, hunting and gathering, collecting bush foods and medicines and working at arts and crafts became popular tourism attractions. Contentious issues of sustainability, authenticity, cultural integrity, commoditisation, intellectual and cultural property, Native Title, control over decisions, as well as cultural heritage, and the representation of contemporary indigenous people were discussed in relation to indigenous tourism and how it is marketed or promoted.

In the past decade, Aboriginal Tourism was placed under the umbrella of “Nature-based, Aboriginal and Cultural Tourism” by the Australian Tourist Commission (ATC), Western Australian Tourism Commission (WATC) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), and is often linked to World Heritage areas which incorporate nature-based as well as cultural aspects. ATSIC has been promoting Aboriginal Cultural Tourism as a way of assisting Aboriginal people become economically successful. With the help of participants in an ATSIC program, the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP), Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in some cases is becoming an important way of helping Aboriginal people commence their own businesses and to become economically independent of government grants. Some
are able to obtain a one-off Small Business Loan from ATSIC and thus, in many cases, become a thriving business proposition. Issues and barriers related to business training, education and access to finance, plus long-term viability or sustainability of businesses were raised, as well as links to government policies that influence the growth and direction of indigenous tourism.

Those considering Aboriginal Cultural Tourism are advised to carefully look at the benefits and costs of their choice of business. On the one hand it is liberating for Aboriginal people to own their own businesses and compete with mainstream markets for the tourism dollar and there is the rejuvenation and dissemination of Aboriginal culture by way of tourism. On the other hand, they must retain their individuality in contemporary Australian society and not be seen as living in ‘traditional’ Aboriginal Australia, and must consider other ‘costs’ such as the commodification and loss of cultural integrity that may occur, and who is in control of decisions made. Indigenous people must educate international and domestic visitors, plus the local population, to the fact that Nyungar and other Aboriginal people do not live the traditional Aboriginal lifestyle in contemporary times. Nyungar must be instrumental in conveying to the wider audience the fact that Aboriginal culture is a living changing culture, not one destined to be forever static, slotted into a colonial image of a bygone age. This research project will assist in this endeavour, and will uncover other areas for future research on Nyungar Tourism in the Southwest of Western Australia.
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