USE OF THESIS

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
KINSHIP WITH COUNTRY
Acts of Translation in the Cross-Cultural Performance Space
A case study on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of Central Australia

Diana Margaret James

If we cease to listen to the land
How can we hear each other?
–Dr Ian Player

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Australian National University, December 2005
DECLARATION

Except where otherwise acknowledged, all of the material in this thesis is the result of my own research.

(Diana Margaret James)  (Date)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


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DEDICATION
To all those who sing the land and water alive.
ABSTRACT

Background

Two maps of country represent the one continent: Australia, its lands and its peoples. One is an Indigenous map of a continent linked by the Songlines of the Western Desert Peoples' Creation Ancestors under Anangu Law. The other is a Western map of a continent divided by the state borders of colonial ancestors under British Law. This research project was generated from the philosophical statement of Nganyinytja, a senior Pitjantjatjara elder of Anangu Law, who said:

Reconciliation means bringing two cultures together, maru muna pirampa tjunguringanyi, black and white coming together. The two laws need to become one to care for the land.

(Ngayinytja 1993:23)

This thesis explores the difficulties and possibilities inherent in attempts to reconcile these two cultures of knowledge and their relationship to land in Australia today. The study examines in some detail the potential for the convergence of Western and Indigenous perceptions and values of cultural and natural resource management (CNRM) in the practice of tourism on Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AP) Lands of Central Australia. The central question for the thesis is whether Indigenous knowledge of the complex interrelationships of kinship between nature and culture can be translated across the borders of languages, cultures and disciplines so as to be understood in the Western knowledge culture.

The methodology is derived from a bi-cultural research model, developed by the Ngaanyatjarra, Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara Women’s Council, that integrates Anangu method into the framework of Western action research. The field research conforms to the protocols and accountability requirements set for Western researchers by Indigenous academics and traditional elders. In the
results section the evidence analysed is my own and others’ records of the Indigenous and Western cross-cultural exchange in the context of Desert Tracks tours on the AP Lands from 1988 to 2005. These records include diaries, visitor book entries, letters and email correspondence, tour brochures, research field notes and interviews with Anangu and visitors recorded in print, on audiocassette and film over these years. The research has also been guided by the formal ethics requirements of the Australian National University.

The findings are that, while recognition of Indigenous cultural landscapes in Australian land management is not new, the integration of this holistic conceptual approach into Western knowledge is proving problematic in both theoretical and practical arenas. This can be partly attributed to the ontological divide of culture and nature, spirit and matter in the Western intellectual tradition and partly to the problems of conceptual translation of knowledge across the gaps of language and cultural difference. Within the performance space of Desert Tracks on the Pitjantjatjara Lands this gap of understanding had to be bridged to develop a successful Indigenous and Western co-management of an ecologically and culturally appropriate tourism business. Building on these findings, a schema is proposed whereby mainstream natural resource management (NRM) is able to expand into a holistic conception and practice of cultural natural resource management (CNRM), thereby joining together Indigenous and Western knowledge. The schema provides translation between the two conceptualisations of ontology, ecology, culture and economics, and the spirituality of shared tangible and intangible landscapes, providing a performance space in which knowledge translation between peoples of different cultures can occur.
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   Contents: *Walytjangka:* Introduction to people and place.
   *Kurunpa:* Spiritual connection to country.
   *Ngura walytja:* Ecological caring for country.
   *Ngapartji-Ngapartji:* Economics of reciprocity.
   *Inma Way:* Cultural connection to country.
   *Tjukurpa:* Ontology and law.
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4. Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council Resolutions on Regional Tourism

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<tr>
<td>ACF</td>
<td>Australian Conservation Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGSO</td>
<td>Australian Geological Survey Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIAS</td>
<td>Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies</td>
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<td>AIATSIS</td>
<td>Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANCA</td>
<td>Australian Nature Conservation Agency</td>
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<td>ANZAAS</td>
<td>Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science</td>
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<td>AP</td>
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<td>APY</td>
<td>Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATOA</td>
<td>Aboriginal Tour Operators Association</td>
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<td>ATSIC</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOEMAR</td>
<td>Board of Ecumenical Mission and Relationships</td>
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<td>CAEPR</td>
<td>Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAUTHE</td>
<td>Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education</td>
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<td>CDEP</td>
<td>Community Development Employment Program</td>
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<td>CHT</td>
<td>Centre for Human Transformation</td>
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<td>CINCRM</td>
<td>Centre for Indigenous Natural and Cultural Resource Management</td>
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<td>Cultural Natural Resource Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>COAG</td>
<td>Council of Australian Governments</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEH</td>
<td>Department of Environment and Heritage</td>
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<td>ITLG</td>
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<td>Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Tourism Organisation</td>
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<td>WTTC</td>
<td>World Travel and Tourism Council</td>
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GLOSSARY

LANGUAGES OF THE ANANGU PITJANTJATJARA LANDS

(P) Pitjantjatjara (Y) Yankunytjatjara into English with analogous usage.

anangu (P&Y) noun

1. person, people:
   *Nyara paturu anangu palya.* That is a good person.
2. Aboriginal person, Aboriginal people (capital letter):
   *Nyangatja Angangku manta, walypalaku wiya.*
   This is Aboriginal land, not whitefellas’.
3. live body = *puntu*
4. euphemism that may be used in place of *kuri* spouse:
   *Tjinguru anangiku nyuntu watjilaryi.*
   Perhaps you’re pinning for your wife.

*anangu pulka,* adult, important person

*puntu anangu,* stem of a plant

**Anangu Pitjantjatjara,** the land-holding corporation set up under the S.A Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act 1981.

ananyi (P) intransitive

go, travel, move along

= (Y) *yananyi*

angkutwai (P) noun

creek, creekbed:

*Nyara angkutwai nguru ngarinyi.*

Over there in the creek there’s water.

= (Y) *karu*

anyma (Y) noun

hunger

*anymawarara ngaranyi,* standing stretched with extreme hunger:

*Anymawarara ngaangku, anymawarara ngaangku,*

I stood with legs spread wide and an empty belly (Ngintaka Inma).

atunymananyi transitive verb

mind, look after, protect

Analogous meanings: guard, shield, defend, secure, shelter, chaperon, encircle with arms or fence, maintain a spiritual protective barrier against evil or sickness:

*Ku nganana Tjukurpa nynga pulkara atunymananyi.*

And we strongly guard, maintain physically and spiritually, the Law and Dreaming of this country.
ili noun
wild fig (*figus platypoda*). A spreading tree whose ripe, red fruits are eaten raw. Or can be formed into a round ball and carried long distances as dried fruit, *ili kaputu*, which can be reconstituted when ground with water into a sweet paste.

inma noun
1. singing, song esp. traditional, almost entirely vocal supported by percussive accompaniment- clap sticks, thigh and hand clapping, heavy sticks beating on the ground. Can be associated with the performance of traditional sacred Tjukurpa (Dreaming Law) or fun stories
2. ceremony, incorporating singing and dancing.
3. separate verses of a traditional ceremony;
4. church service

*inmanguru* through association with particular inma: *inmanguru tjina uti ngarinyi*. Through telling Tjukurpa story, singing and dancing the songline, the tracks of the ancestors become clear on the surface of the land.

*inmanguru* the traditional law right to perform the song and dance, ceremonies of totemic ancestors pertaining to particular tracts of land along these ancestral creator *inma* tracks or songlines. Individuals claim traditional ownership to country through *inma* rights.

*inma nyuti* rolled headdress used in performance of *inma* dance.

Inma Way noun phrase
Ilyatjari’s method of teaching visitors about Anangu kinship relationship to their country, he taught people about the traditional Law and the land by teaching them public versions of the inma -song and dance – of the ancestors who created that country in the Dreaming.

iti noun
baby, newborn to one year, babies are often not named for the first year.

*itingarinyi* intransitive verb
be born (*ngarinyi* lie):

*Ngura nganala nyuntu itingaringu?* At what place were you born?

Traditional ownership of a place can be claimed on birthplace, or where the umbilical cord was cut*(see appendix 10)*.

kaanka noun
crow (*Corvus bennetti, C. orn*) ancestral creator being associated with coming of the first fire to a cold world, also associated with stealing in traditional stories;

*wati/kungka kaanka*, light fingered man/woman, someone who hangs about suspiciously.

*kaanga katingu*, someone who pinched it.
kaŋaŋa noun
emu (Dromaius novae-hollandiae):
Kalaya ngunyaŋku ngampu tjunkula ngarapai, ka kalaya mamangku ngampu atunymankupai. The mother emu lays the eggs, but then the father emu looks after them.
=(P) tjakipiri

kami noun
1. grandmother, great aunt on mother’s and father’s side.
2. used by grandmother’s to their granddaughters, grand-nieces.

kangkuru noun
senior sister or female cousin. Your own older sister, or a cousin whose mother is the older sister of your mother.

karu noun
creek bed, creek
= angkuwai

karu-karu noun
floodway, watercourse (without a formed creek), depression between two sandhills.

katja noun
1. son, woman’s sister’s son, man’s brother’s son, ‘nephew’.
2. (exclamation) oh boy!: Katja! nyawa. Oh boy! Look at that!
katja ukari, woman’s brother’s son, man’s sister’s son, ‘nephew’.
katja kutjukurulu, only son (kurju one kurju eye).
katjpuiti, groups of sons, sons’ generation.

katjanmananyi transitive verb
call someone katja son or nephew:
Ngayunya katjanmanara walku. He called me son.

katjarungku transitive verb
dawn breaking, before sun is up
(lit. katja son rungku hitting)
katjarungkuntja (nominal form) pre-dawn lighting the horizon, sometimes called ‘piccaninny dawn’ or first light.

kuka noun
1. edible animal, reptile or bird, game; kuka malu kangaroo meat.
2. meat: Papangku kuka ngalku. The dog ate the meat.
kuka tarka meat on the bone, kuka ngatin meat fat.
3. (unknown) thing: Kuka nyaa nyangatja? What’s that?
**kukaputju** noun
skilled, prolific hunter (-putju expert)

_Ngayuku mama kukaputju nyinanyi, kuka wakalpai._
My father was a skilled hunter.

**kulikatinyi** transitive verb
1. think about something while going along;
2. listen while going along, keep listening.
3. think through, deliberate, think about over time, keep thinking:
   _Rawa paluru anangi anangi kulira kulikatira kulikatira - ngura nyanga nyanga wanethingku kulikatira kulikatirampa -rawa._
   On and on for a long time he walked and walked concentrating on listening while going along, always listening while travelling on - following the trail of that sound through the country, listening, listening for the sound- he kept going on and on for a long time.
   (verse of Ngintaka Inma).

**kulini** transitive verb
1. listen to, heed: _Kulila! Listen! Kuliliya!_ Listen all of you!
2. hear: _Ngayulu nyuntunya wanka kulini._ I am listening to you.
3. think about, consider: _Ngayulu tjukurpa palatja rawa kuliningi._ I am thinking about and considering that story.
4. decide: _Ngayulu ankunytyjikitjangu kulimu._ I decided to go.
5. know about: _Iritila muninka kulintja wija._ In the old days we didn't know about money.
6. understand: _Nyaku nyura kulintja wija?_ Why don’t you understand?
7. remember: _Ngayulu palatja kulini._ I remember that.
8. feel (bodily sensation): _Paluru tiitja anymaringkula kampanyangka kulini._
   When he wants to go to the toilet he feels a burning sensation.
9. have a premonition from a bodily sensation: _Ngayulu muti nuunpunkunytjala kulini._ I'm having a premonition from my knee twitching.

**kulira** (serial tense of **kulini**) to think over, concentrate, to work out.

**kulira palyani**, plan, work out how to do something.

**wangkara kulini**, talk over, discuss and consider.

**kulikatinyi** transitive verb
1. think about something while going along,
2. listen while going along, keep listening.
3. think through, deliberate, think about over time:
   _Rawa paluru anangi anangi kulira kulikatira kulikatira._
   On and on he walked and walked concentrating on listening while going along, always listening while travelling on (Ngintaka Inma verse).

**wankara kulikatinyi munu palyalkatinyi**, to keep on discussing and reviewing what you plan to do over a long period of time.
**kulypal(pa)** noun
1. mother’s brother or male cousin (uncle)
2. father’s sister’s husband
3. great-grandson
   = kamuru

**kungka** noun
1. woman. In (Y) this applies to all women. In (P) minyama is used for mature women, particularly those with two or more children;
2. (P) young girl
3. (P) female = (Y) akuri
4. (with a possessive) wife: kungka nyayuku my wife

**kungkawara** (P) noun
teenage girl or young woman, childless woman = (Y) ukara

**kungka kutjara** noun phrase
1. two women 2. the major women’s law songline, Two Women Dreaming travelling from Docker River, through Yulara to Alice Springs.

**kungkarangkalpa** noun
2. female cannibal, like tjangara, feared in drought.
3. (capitalised) refers to the Seven Sisters Dreaming.

**kuru** noun
1. eye 2. vision, eyesight 3. car headlight

**kuru** adjective
ripe [compare with mulya nose, which used of fruits means dried out but able to be reconstituted with water]:
Ngantja kuru kuru nyinara wananu
As usual following the ripe mistletoe berry trail (Ngintaka Inma verse).

**kurun(pa)** noun
1. spirit, will, self. Seen as vital to a sense of purpose:
   Kurunpa ya pakuringu. I’ve lost interest (lit. My spirit’s tired).
   Wiya kutu ngarrayi, kurun. It’s not there at all, my will.
2. sickness can be caused by kurun(pa) leaving the body. Ngangkari,
   medicine men and women, heal by calling the spirit back to the body.
3. premonitions can come from kurunpa.
4. deep feeling: Kurunpa unngaga nyuntumpa mukuringanyi. I love you in my heart.

**kuتا** noun
your older brother, senior brother or close male cousin (older son of uncle on father’s side).
maku noun
edible grub or caterpillar, usually found in roots. Highly prized protein source in the desert, available all year round. The grubs are often named after the tree or bush from which they are extracted is included in the name:
- maku ilykuwara, roots of the witchetty bush, ilykuwara (Acacia kempeana).
- maku waŋarka, roots of the umbrella bush, waŋarka (Acacia ligulata).
- maku palkapiti (P) / ilytjälti (Y), large grubs in trunks and branches of the river red gum, itara / apara (Eucalyptus camaldulensis).
- maku ungangungu, grubs in roots of river red gum.

mala noun
the rufous hare wallaby (Lagorchestes hirsutus). A small hare wallaby once abundant in sandhill country, but now very rare.

malu noun
the red plains kangaroo (Macropus rufus). An important food source and totemic animal of special importance to men and initiation. Hunting, butchering, cooking and distribution customs are strictly laid down in men’s law.

malparara noun
a person together with a friend. An important condition of working with NYP Women’s council, non-Indigenous staff must always work with an Anangu friend as co-worker or co-researcher (see Figure 8).

mama noun
1. father. 2. father’s brothers (uncle) or close male cousins. Not used as a term of address except by children.
- mama pūlka, father’s older brothers.
- mama malatja, father’s younger brother.
- mara mama, thumb (mara hand).
- tjina mama, big toe (tjina foot).

mamunoun
1. harmful spirit being, spirit-monster, ‘devil’ animal.
2. cause sickness in people and can be extracted by ngangkari.
3. invisible spirits that can be seen by dogs and driven off by elders.

maru adjective
1. dark. 2. dark in colour, black.
anangu maru, black people, esp. Aboriginal people:
Nyuntu anangu maruku ngurangka ngarangyi. You are on Aboriginal Land.
**mula-mula** active adjective

genuinely, really, truthfully (do something):
Ngangatja ngunytji wiya, inma mula-mula! This is not pretend, this is genuine dancing and singing, proper inma.

**mungawaluru** time adverb

1. dusk, twilight.
2. (Biblical) darkness: Munga mungawaluru alatjitu ngarangi. And there was nothing but darkness.

**ngaltutjara** noun/exclamation

1. someone deserving pity, sympathy or compassion; (-tjara 'having'): Ngaltutjara! Poor thing!
2. exclamation of sympathy or affection.

**nganana** pronoun

we (plural i.e. more than two. 'We two' is ngali).
ngananyana, us.
nganampa, our, for us.
nganayala, with/on us.
nganayalanguru, from us.
nganayalakutu, to us.
Nganampa Health, Anangu controlled health service of the Pitjantjatjara lands in S.A.

**nganana miri** noun

(lit. we-skin) ‘our skin’: everyone of our generation and our grandparents’ and grandchildren’s generation. Relations with nganana miri are equal and open, marriage partners are found within this group. Relations with the opposite moiety group tjaniyalinytjan (lit. they-flesh) are more restrained, respectful and competitive.

= nganantarka (lit. we-bone).

**ngangkari** noun

1. healer, male/female traditional doctor. Traditional /healers use a range of herbal bush medicines and deep pressure massage. They also allow their spirit to leave their body at night and take sick spirits with them to a place of healing. They can expel mamu (harmful spirits) and puwu (foreign bodies such as pointed sticks or bones) from inside a person’s body. These have caused the illness. 2. healing plant or agent.

**ngantja** noun

mistletoe with edible berries (*Lysiana exocarpi*)
One of the edible seeds the ancestor Wati Ngintaka created: Ngantja kuru kuru nyinara wanunu.
As usual I follow the ripe mistletoe berry trail (Ngintaka Inma).

**ngapartji-ngapartji** adverb
1. in return, giving and receiving.
2. in turn, taking one’s turn, too
3. reciprocal rights and obligations

**ngayulu** pronoun
1. (first person singular). Note that *ngayulu* is not used in expressions corresponding to English ‘you and I’, which use the inclusive construction: e.g. *nyuntu ngali* ‘you and I’ (lit. you we two).
*ngayunya* (P) / *ngayinya* (Y), me.
*ngayuku*, mine, my.
*ngayula*, with/on me.
*ngayulakutu*, towards me.
*ngayulanguru*, from me.

**ngintaka** noun
perentie lizard, largest monitor lizard (*Varanus giganteus*). The largest of the monitor lizards, with characteristic large yellow spots. Prized for its delicious fatty meat. An important totemic animal, creator ancestor of the *Ngintaka Tjukurpa* and *Ngintaka Inma*, law and song cycle.

**ngiyari** noun
thorny devil (*Moloch horridus*). A small spiny lizard with multi coloured patches. In folk tales a woman carrying many children on her back.
* = *miniri*

**ngunti** (P) adverb
1. wrongly, mistakenly, false, untrue. 2. not seriously, make believe, fun.
* = *ngunyti* (Y)

**ngura** noun
1. camp, home, place where people are staying, have stayed or can stay: *Ngurakutuna ananyi*. I’m going home/back to camp.
2. site, place (often with a place-name or question word):
*Ngura nganalanguru?* Where are you from?
3. area or tract of land of country, locality, land: *Ngura nyangatja piyan tjuṯaku wiya*. This isn’t white people’s land.

**ngurara** noun
Resident, local, person that lives in a place (place name appears in nominative case i.e. with ː*nya* ending): *Paluru Alice Springs-anya ngurara*. She’s an Alice Springs person (resident).

**nguraritja** noun
someone who belongs to a place, (from *ngarara* plus -(i)jtja ‘of, from’). Traditional Owner (TO).
**ngura kaputu** noun phrase
1. a traditional land-owning group’s range (recorded by Munn 1965, Vachon, pers.com. in Layton 1986:43)
2. as a cluster of important places in country towards which closely related individuals and groups of people have rights and responsibilities (Nyaningu in James, 2005: 83).

**ngura walytja** noun phrase
1. (one’s) own place, homeland, place a person belongs to.
2. traditional owner of a place, place one is kin to country through birth or totemic association.
3. country of one’s spirit kurunpa, relationship to ngura walytja keeps one’s spirit strong and sustains health.
4. (lit. ngura place/country and walytja relative/family) intimate connectivity of one’s country and socio-cultural kinship web.

**ngunytju** noun
1. mother. 2. mother’s sister or close female cousin.

*ngunytju pulka*, mother’s older/senior sister or cousin (*pulka* big)

*ngunytju malatja*, mother’s younger/junior sister or cousin (*malatja* later one)

**nyanganyi** transitive verb
1. see, watch, look at: Ankula nyakuku? Shall we go and see?
2. find: Nyangun? Have you found it?
3. (with purposive object ending -ku/-mpa) look for.
4. (of telegram, letter etc.) get, receive.

**nyakukatinyi** intransitive verb
1. look for while going along:

*Kulilikatinyi munu nyakukatinyi.* (NYO Women’s Council Action Research) Listening and looking over a long period of time while working alongside community, not just observing but also participating.

**nyii-nyii** noun
Zebra finch (*Poephila guttata*), small birds that fly in noisy flocks. They need to drink frequently thus are a good indicator of water sources. Major totemic animal associated with the Indulkana Mimili region, the *nyii nyii* song cycle is taught to visiting Adelaide university students.

**nyiinka** noun
a boy in seclusion before initiation into manhood, becoming a *wati.*

*Nyiinkas*, ‘bush boys’, traditionally avoided contact with all women and girls, however food was exchanged between the separate camps. They lived with only senior men for several years (now reduced to months) learning hunting, self-reliance, discipline and men’s law.
nyinanyi intransitive verb
1. sit, be sitting. 2. live, stay. 3. be in a place. 4. be in or hold a temporary condition.
4. (with serial verb, in the 'way of life' construction) do something generally, customarily, as a way of life:

nyinarra serial tense of nyinanyi:
Ngantu kuru kuru nyinarra wanana.
Usually following the ripe mistletoe berry trail (Ngintaka Inma verse).

nyitayira noun
1. male. 2. boy

nyuma noun
seed-cake, 'damper' made from grass seeds.
Munu nyuma panya pakara katingu munu katira ma ungu kulpalta.
And they took seed cakes and gave them to their uncle.

paluru pronoun
1. he, she, it (third person singular). Note that if a person is present it is more polite to refer to them by means of a demonstrative.
2. 'he' may be used as the last word of a noun- phrase, indicating that the person or thing in question is the same one as previously mentioned Wati paluru puluka tjuta ngalya-katingu. The man brought the cattle back.
3. 'those two' or 'they', when used in front of the plural pronouns, pularu 'those two' and tjana 'they', indicating the group previously referred to.

palya adjective
1. good, fine. 2. useable, suitable.
3. correct, proper, alright: Ngayulu palya tjapilku? Is it alright to ask?
4. (exclamation) Right! OK!
5. greeting (hello): Nyuntu palya? Are you well? Palyana. I'm OK.

palyanyi transitive verb
1. make (tool, shelter etc.) 2. fix, repair. 3. butcher meat in the proper prescribed fashion, prepare food, cook food. 4. cause to be in a certain state, make be. 5. do: Alatji palyanyi! Do it this way!

palyalkatinyi transitive verb
1. make something (e.g. plan, road) while going along.
2. keep on making something: Kala rawa palyalkatinyi. We're going to keep making it for a long time.
Wangkara kulilikatinyi munu palyalkatinyi. (NYP Women's council Action Research) Keep on discussing and reviewing what you are making and designing as the planning progresses.

pantu noun
salt pan, salt lake: Tjintjuranga pantu ngarira. Salt lying in a claypan.
papa noun
dog, dingo. Anangu are very fond of their dogs, old people usually have many to protect them from evil spirits mamu and for warmth at night.
= tiitutja
papa inura, wild dog, dingo.
Papa Tjukurpa, dingo Dreaming Law, an important totemic ancestor.

parka-parka noun
a type of mistletoe (Lysiana murrayi), with long cylindrical leaves, red flowers and small globular fruit.
parka-parka increase site – on Ngintaka Songline north of Angatja-called ulkapatjunkunytja – where the Ngintaka vomited mistletoe berries.

piya (Y) noun
1. moon. 2. month. 3. snail.
= (P) kinara

piranpa (P) adjective/noun
1. pale, light (colour). 2. white. 3. white person
= (Y) piyan

pukul(pa) active adjective
happy, pleased, satisfied, content, glad, able to do things you want to do.

pulyku noun
sinew, tendon, muscle. Kangaroo sinew is used in spear making to lash the three sections of a spear together.
Ka kutjungku panya pulyku urkungingi. The older brother was pulling out the sinew (from the kangaroos legs).
= marpany(pa)

rawa active adjective
persistently, for a long time, keep doing:
Rawa paluru anangi anangi kuliwa kulikatiwa kulikatiwa.
On and on for a long time he walked and walked concentrating on listening while going along, always listening while travelling (Ngintaka Inma story).

tjaka noun
1. typical, habit, routine. 2. (exclamation) typical:
Ngunti wangkapai. Tjaka. They lie. Typical.
tjakangku, according to custom, law.

tjaka active adjective
1. as usual, as a matter of course: Tjaka alatjitu. That’s how it is.
**tjala** noun
honey ant, honey-pot ant (*Camponotus inflatus*). A source of sweet syrup highly prized by Anangu. The women dig deep into damp earth to the storage chambers of the egg-laying females with distended abdomens and carefully harvest them. Eaten by holding the head and legs while sucking the abdomen.

**tjlpawangkanyi** intransitive verb
polite and indirect speech, speak (*wankanyi*) in a polite manner. Often rising intonation showing uncertainty, disinterest and deference. Used to politely refuse a request without saying ‘no’ directly.

**tjamu** noun
1. grandfather, great-uncle, any male in your grandfather generation.
2. grandson

**tjanamilytjan(pa)** noun
(lit. they flesh) ‘their side’: people belonging to the other moiety group than oneself, everyone of your parents’ and children’s generations. Relations characterised with restraint, respect and competitiveness. Marriage with *tjanamilytjanpa* is forbidden, but does occur infrequently.

**tjintjira** noun
1. claypan 2. swamp, marsh (claypan inundated with water).

**tjintu** noun
1. sun 2. sunlight
   = (P) *tjirirpi*
   *tjintukutu*, till tomorrow

**tjintulu** noun
sun side (generational moiety)

**tjukula** noun
deep rockhole, hollow or hole in rock that holds water. *kapi/mina tjukula*, water from rockhole.

**tjukur(pa)** noun
1. story: *tjukurpa mamutjara* a story about monsters.
2. individual word; 4. what someone says; 5. birthmark
5. *Tjukurpa* (capitalised) Creation Law, the Dreaming. Anangu ontology, the first principle of the creation of the universe; animal, mineral and vegetable. Anangu often prefer the word Tjukurpa to be used instead of Dreaming, as Dreaming implies the unreality of a dream or imaginal state in English usage. However, ‘Dreaming’ is preferred to ‘Dreamtime’, as Dreaming has a present continuous sense, whereas Dreamtime is in the past.
**tjukurpa** intransitive verb
The continuous action of creation: the active generative word that brings the physical world into life, being, knowing, existing, breathing, causing, continuing through time, continuing through space, activating energy of existence:
*Tjukurpa iriti ngarigi muku kuwari wanka nyinyangi.*
Tjukurpa was and is continuously alive.

**tjukuritja** adjective
1. of or from or associated with the Dreaming:
2. Traditional Owner: *Anangu Tjukuritja*. A person of a (particular) Dreaming site or tract of land.

**tjukurmananyi** ambitransitive verb
1. have a dream, dreaming
2. access to the Tjukurpa while in a dream state, new song stanzas and dance choreography can be revealed to senior law men women.
3. *Ngangkari*, medicine men and women, can heal sick people, travel to other places, and see incidents in distant locations while ‘dreaming’

**tjunguringanyi** intransitive verb
1. join or come together, assemble, meet.
2. join in (serial form).
3. (euphemism with dual subject) make love, sexual intercourse.
4. reconciliation between different peoples:
*Maru muku piranpa tjunguringanyi.*
Reconciliation of black and white people.

**tjuratja** noun
1. sweet substance, such as nectar, honeydew and the sugary scales on gumleaves.
2. liquor.

= *wama*

**tjuta** adjective
1. many, more than two or three, lots.
2. to indicate plural, always at end of noun phrase: *tjiti tjuta*, kids, children.

**ukalinganyi** intransitive verb
1. come or go down: *Tjitji ukaliwa!* Child come down!
2. (water) flow, run down: *Kapi uru ukalinganyi katunguru, angkuwaikutu.*
The water runs down from up on high to the creek.

3. go south.

**ulkapatjunkunytja** transitive verb
vomit, retch, bring up something (*tjunanyi* put):
*Ulkapatjunkunytja*. Place of the vomit (Ngintaka Songline).

= *tjuntaratjunanyi*
untal(pa) (P)noun
  daughter, woman's sister's daughter, man's brother's daughter(niece).
untal ukari, man's sister's daughter, woman's brother's daughter (niece).
untalpiti, group of daughters, daughter's generation.

uru (P)noun
  1. water on the ground e.g. puddle, pool.
  2. big expanse of water e.g. lake, ocean.
  3. liquid, fluid.
  = (Y) yuru

wakani transitive verb
  1. (something sharp and pointed) pierce, stick into, penetrate:
     Punungku taya wakani. A stake's pierced the tyre.
  2. spear, stab, impale pierce with, prik:
     Watingku malu wakani. The man speared a kangaroo.
  3. stabbing pain. 4. sew. 5. crush(nits, lice). 6. grab with claws (bird of prey). 7. strike (sun). 8. write (some areas only).
  tjintu wakalpa, bathed in sunlight (lit. sun struck).

wakati noun
  inland pigweed (Portulaca aff. Oleracea), a succulent. The uprooted plants are allowed to dry out in a container to release the tiny black, poppy-like seeds, which are winnowed and yandied to remove the small capsule caps on the seeds. The cleaned seed is ground to a paste and small seed cakes are baked in hot sand with ashes and coals. Wati Ngintaka is responsible for the creation of this edible plant.

walawuru noun
  wedge-tailed eagle (Aquila audax). A large soaring bird with a wedge-shaped tail. Totemic animal associated particularly with ngangkari medicine men and women. The black hole near the Southern Cross is its Tjukurpa nest.

walka noun
  1. design, writing, drawing, body paint for ceremony.
  2. pattern on animal or rock weathering.

walypala noun
  1. whitefella, white person.
  = waipala

walytja noun/active adjective
  1. one of the family, a relation, a kinsman. Someone you care for and cares for you. Anangu have an inclusive classificatory kinship system, which allows any known person to be addressed in close kinship terms, regardless of blood ties. Outsiders may be included into the kinship system if they behave appropriately.
  2. owner, someone who takes care of something.
3. (as active adjective) do something one’s self:

Ngayulu walytjangka palyaru. I fixed it myself.

ngura walytja 1. owner of a place. 2. country that is one’s relative, to which one belongs and has responsibility to care for.

walytjara walytjara noun phrase
1. together with one’s relations.
2. traditional land ownership - Peter Nyaningu’s term to describe traditional patterns of land ownership on the AP Lands, caring for contiguous estates of country, which is owned by closely, related family groups.

wanampi noun
water serpent, rainbow serpent, water snake monster. Important totemic Creation Being responsible for guarding water holes from excessive use.
Also manifests as a rainbow, important bringer of rain.

wanampitjara, water containing the rainbow serpent, sacred and protected, feared if approached inappropriately.

wananyi transitive verb
1. follow 2. used in a special construction with a serial verb to depict an action as carried out following along a path or in a line:

wananyu past tense of wananyi:
Nganjka kuru kuru nyinara wananyu.
As usual when following the ripe mistletoe berry trail (Ngintaka Inma).

wanguwu noun
naked wollybutt (Eragrosti eriopoda) an important traditional grain, one created by Wati Ngintaka on his journey. The seed heads are rubbed off the plant, and chaff separated from the seed by pounding, singeing, winnowing and yandying. The seed is ground with water and baked to make a seed-cake or damper.

waru noun
1. fire 2. burning thing, or produced by burning e.g waru puyu smoke.
3. firewood: waru is often used to refer to mulga wood (kurku, wanari), which is the best firewood and produces long lasting hot coals purku.
4. a match, a light. 5. fever. 6. hot, too hot, burning hot.

waru tjaa, firestick lighted at one end used to carry fire while travelling or from a lit fire to another, firesticks were carried for warm in winter.

wati noun
1. initiated man, Anangu men who have not gone through initiation are derisively known as tjitji children. 2. men in general. 3. husband.

Wati Ngintaka proper name
the perentie lizard man, important Tjukurpa creation ancestor.
watiringanyi intransitive verb  
becoming an initiated man, a wati.

wiltja (P) noun  
1. shade, from tree or roof. 2. shadow.  
2. shelter or bush hut, made from mulga and spinifex, traditionally built by women.  
= (Y) kanku

wiltjalyuru noun  
1. faint, long shadows cast by winter sun or moon.  
3. shade side (generational moiety).  
= (Y) kankulyuru

wiya exclamation/noun/adjective  
1. no, I disagree, I don’t have any, there isn’t any.  
2. nothing, none, no: Kapi wiya ngaranyi. There is no water.  
3. not, isn’t. 4. not having, without. 5. didn’t, don’t, without doing.

yuu noun  
1. shelter from the wind. 2. windbreak
(Note for a more extensive bilingual dictionary the reader is referred to Cliff Goddard, 1992, *Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English Dictionary*, Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development.)
CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION TO THE PERFORMANCE SPACE

Prologue: Two laws mapped on the land of Australia

Figure 1a: Seven Sister's Songline Map of Australia
(Artist: Josephine Mick, Western Desert 1993)

Figure 1b: Map of Australian States and the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands (Pitjantjatjara Council website accessed 11/10/2001).
Nganyinytja, a Pitjantjatjara elder’s vision:

Reconciliation means bringing two cultures together, *maru munu piranpa tjunguringanyi*, black and white coming together. The two laws need to become one to care for the land.

*Kulintja tjuṯa pakani kuwari*: many people who listen with understanding are rising up now. They want to keep the culture, ours and theirs, keep the two ways strong. Much trouble has come from people forgetting the land, the spirit. Many people are sick and have lost their spirit.

(Nganyinytja 1993:23)

In 1980 Bernard echoed her vision for Australia, saying we have two options:

Either we shall set our face against the legitimate aspirations of the Aboriginal people...and settle for a divided culture, in which a white majority and a black minority strive separately for international recognition as the legitimate culture of the continent, or we shall strive towards a convergent culture with its sources in two traditions, the one derived largely from European sources, the other derived from this ancient land.

(Smith cited in Beier 1986:105)

Two Australian elders state the central problematic of my thesis in different ways: Nganyinytja, a senior Law woman of the Pitjantjatjara people, and Bernard Smith, an Emeritus Professor of Fine Arts and the Humanities, of British descent born in Sydney. Both speak of the difficulties and possibilities inherent in attempts to actualise the desire to reconcile these two cultures of Australia. The problematic of radically different cultural conceptions of Australia, its lands and peoples, is represented by two maps of the country: one is an Indigenous map of a continent linked by the songlines of Creation Ancestors under the Law (Figure 1a) and the other is a Western map of a continent divided by the colonial ancestors under British Law (Figure 1b). The
latter shows the current restricted boundaries of Anangu Western Desert people’s country cut by three state borders that divide their Dreaming law.

Australia is a society where many migrant peoples live and work together but only two different cultural land titles are legitimised in Australian statutory law: Indigenous and British. The right to own land under traditional Indigenous communal title now coexists with the British system of private property rights in Australian law. In 1981 the South Australian Parliament recognised Anangu traditional ownership, under the Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act, to more than 103,000 square kilometres of arid land in the far northwest of South Australia (Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council, website). Following this the Pitjantjatjara Council was instrumental in assisting Anangu to regain title to Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park which covers an area of 132,566 hectares (132.5 square kilometres) of arid ecosystems and is located in the Northern Territory adjacent to the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of South Australia. In 1985 the Park was handed back to the traditional owners and is held by the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Aboriginal Land Trust. It was leased back to the Director of National Parks and Wildlife and is now jointly managed under the direction of a Board of Management that includes a majority of Anangu traditional owners (Department of Environment and Heritage (a) website). The Pitjantjatjara Council also assisted Anangu across the border in Western Australia in their campaign for full land rights but they were successful only in gaining leasehold to the Ngaanyatjarra lands adjacent to the South Australian and Northern Territory borders.

This study is located in the natural and cultural landscapes of the Indigenous lands that straddle these three state borders. These are the traditional lands of Anangu: Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara Western Desert people. The traditional relationship of Anangu to their lands is subject to different legislation under three British Australian state laws. However, Anangu do not recognise these imposed state lines as legitimate and continue to claim rights to the land and water sources of their traditional clan estates and
larger hunting ranges that cross these borders. *Ngura walytja* is the Anangu term for their clan estate, the country to which they are related through familiar kinship; this is the country to which they belong and for which they accept management responsibility. These estates are interconnected by the songlines of the *Tjukurpa* Law, the law laid down in the beginning of time when land and water, animals and plants, humans and their tribes and languages were being formed and given life. *Tjukurpa* is recorded in the stories and song sagas that tell of the creative acts and journeys of Anangu Ancestors who were able to shift their shapes between animal, plant and human form, thus establishing the law of interconnectivity of all living and non-living in the lands and waters of Central Australia. Anangu are living in those lands today, singing and dancing these stories and songs of *Tjukurpa*. They say the performance of these songlines keeps their Law alive.

Within these lands the tourism business of Desert Tracks provides a case study of Indigenous and Western co-management. It evolved from a joint venture in 1988 to become a fully Indigenous-owned enterprise in 1994 that retained non-Indigenous management and has, since 2000, successfully sub-contracted out its business management while retaining ownership and directorial control. The company office is at Uluru while the directors live across the border in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of South Australia (see Chapter 8).

The landscape to be explored in this thesis is the cross-cultural ‘performance space of translation’ within the Desert Tracks tours. This is a meeting ground where Indigenous and Western knowledge and practice of caring for cultural and natural landscapes co-exist and must be integrated to achieve accreditation and sustainability under two laws. The borders crossed are both physical and metaphysical, between the different spiritual, ecological, economic, cultural and ontological ways of knowing country. The gaps of differences to be bridged are cross-cultural between Western and Indigenous knowledge, and inter-cultural between the different fields of Western specialist knowledge that are applied to the management of a modern eco-cultural tourism business.
The desire for practical and symbolic reconciliation in Australia is an enduring problematic of post-colonial Australia. Dr William Jonas, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner from 1999-2003, in the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission’s (HREOC) *Social Justice Report 2003*, commented that the government’s emphasis on practical issues of reconciliation to the exclusion of symbolic issues is unbalanced and not producing the expected positive outcomes for Indigenous peoples’ health and wellbeing. The report revealed that ‘the claim of the government that “the wellbeing of Indigenous people is improving under this Government” cannot be verified across many core areas of practical reconciliation’ (HREOC 2003:17). The report indicates that despite the investment of significant government resources there has not been a reduction in the disparity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians in key areas of socio-economic disadvantage.

Jonas argues that government policy has ‘developed a tunnel vision that renders it incapable of seeing anything that falls outside the boundaries that it has unilaterally, and artificially, established for relations with indigenous peoples’ (HREOC 2002:87). He says this needs to change. My research findings support the argument that practical and symbolic reconciliation must proceed together if the health and wellbeing of Australia’s Indigenous people is to improve. Convergence of difference requires thinking outside borders. Many borders are conceptual, contained by languages, which need to be translated in oral, written, artistic and filmic performance to effectively communicate across cultural borders. This thesis is one such act of translation in the performance space of the cultural natural landscapes on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands.
Chapter 1

OVERVIEW

Thesis Proposition
My research aim is to explore in depth the perceptions and values of Indigenous and Western cultural and natural resource management capable of sustaining the practice of an ecologically and culturally appropriate tourism business on Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of Central Australia. This inquiry examines ways in which mainstream Western thinking on natural resource management (NRM) is able to join with Indigenous concepts of caring for country in a shared holistic conception and practice of cultural natural resource management (CNRM), bridging both Indigenous and Western.

The landscapes of Australia today have been created and sustained through the cultural interaction of humans with the natural environment over many thousands of years. Recognition of this is not new, but an integrated approach towards cultural and natural landscape management in mainstream theory and practice has proved difficult because of the historical divide between nature and culture in Western ontology, theory and practice (see Brody 2001; Mathews 1991). As many writers have so ably described, there is a wide gap between the Western ontology that divides nature and culture, and the holistic ontology of the Indigenous intellectual tradition that perceives and values nature and culture as one system (see Abram 1996; Rose 1988, 1999b; Brody 2001).

The mainstream narrative of Australian history has long disremembered, or actively discounted, Indigenous history and knowledge (well documented from Stanner 1969 to Langton 1998). Stanner summarises the consistent theme of the early histories of Hancock and others, as 'hunting and pastoral economy cannot co-exist within the same bounds' or more pejoratively, 'the twentieth century and the Stone Age cannot live together' (Stanner 1969: 22). It was assumed that through assimilation Aboriginal knowledge and cultural practices would be
discarded and Western knowledge and practice adopted as superior. As Professor Marcia Langton comments in her book on Aboriginal land management, *Burning Questions* (1998):

I suggest that Aboriginal people and their land management traditions have also been rendered invisible in Australian landscapes, not only by legal but also by ‘science fictions’ that arise from the assumption of superiority of Western knowledge over Indigenous knowledge systems, the result of which is, often, a failure to recognise the critical relevance of these latter to sustainable environmental management.

(Langton 1998:9)

**The Link of Cultural and Biological Diversity**

Stanner and Langton argue strongly that we need a less shallow and less ethnocentric environmental history of this land to ensure sustainable futures. Our scientific and cultural knowledge of this continent and its islands needs to be rooted in the ‘deep time’ of its existence. Mary White (2000:xvii), a skilled scientific storyteller, gives us a sense of the ‘deep time’ of this as she speaks of a continent eroded through millennia to a flat, wrinkled, dried out, old land. Yet it was able to support a thriving diversity of animals and plants managed successfully by the Indigenous people for thousands of years. Unfortunately, during the ‘shallow time’ of the last 200 or so years since European colonisation, much of the continent has been seriously degraded by over-exploitation of our surface and underground water supplies, destruction of native flora and fauna by introduced plants and animals, and large scale pastoralism and agriculture, all of which have drastically reduced the biodiversity of this land (see White 2000; Flannery 1994).

The impact of colonisation on cultural diversity in Australia has also been devastating. It is estimated that there was an Indigenous population of about 300,000 Aboriginal peoples in Australia at the time of first settlement by the British in 1788 (Blake 1981:4). Linguists estimate that there were probably 600
dialects spoken by some 600 tribal groups of 500 people each. Allowing for classificatory mistakes, they suggest that these represented 200 to 250 Aboriginal languages spoken in Australia 200 years ago. A recent study indicates that 160 languages are extinct and 70 are dying with only twenty likely to survive at least in the short term (Walsh & Yallop, 1993:2). Language is the repository of cultural ontology, of the knowledge, perceptions, values, humour and relationship to land that cannot be expressed the same way in a foreign language. This is an issue of great continuing concern to Aboriginal people, was reported in a recent article on dying languages in the Sydney Morning Herald in which Roy McIvor, a seventy year old elder of Hopevale, expressed the complex relationship of language to cultural knowledge thus:

Language teaches us kinship, keeps us together. When we lose these kinship terms, our whole caring and sharing system breaks down.
We call it mugay – a system of kinship relations, for discipline, respect and support. When people know their place, there's respect.
(cited in Van Tiggelen 2005:28)

Loss of language is connected to loss of spiritual connection to country for the individual and the community, a loss of 'all sense of direction and purpose' (Topfer, in Posey 1999: xi). Loss of languages, nationally and internationally, is directly related to the loss of ecological knowledge of culturally specific ways of caring for places and bioregions of this world.

International globalisation of one system of trade, is threatening to create a Western cultural hegemony, reducing local regional uniqueness and diversity. There is increasing concern that this will increase the loss of the languages, practices and knowledge inherent in cultural diversity that are as essential for sustainable life on this planet as is biodiversity. Klaus Topfer, the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Program in 1999, said:
Respect for biological diversity implies respect for human diversity. Indeed, both elements are fundamental to stability and durable peace on earth. The key to creating forms of development that are sustainable and in harmony with the needs and aspirations of each culture implies breaking out of patterns that render invisible the lives and perspectives of those cultures. It is the concern of many people that biodiversity must be appreciated in terms of human diversity, because different cultures and peoples from different walks of life perceive and apprehend biodiversity in different ways as a consequence of their distinct heritages and experiences. (ibid)

My research is theoretically situated within this international context of the recognition of the importance of cultural diversity to maintaining biodiversity and sustainable futures for all the peoples of this planet.

Desert Tracks Case Study
This thesis examines the possibility of cultural, diverse knowledge converging to protect biodiversity and provide sustainable livelihoods for Aboriginal people living on remote Indigenous lands. The specific case study is of the development of Desert Tracks, an Indigenous tourism business on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of South Australia, over the years 1988 to 2005. This business developed as an Indigenous response to the impact of the colonization of their traditional lands that destroyed their traditional economic livelihood and threatens to further decimate their culture. The elders recognised the need to adapt to the new economic to support their traditional knowledge and culture. The global tourism interest in Indigenous culture and remote, beautiful, natural environments was seen by Anangu as an opportunity to provide an income to enable them to live and work in their traditional homelands (James 1996a: 19, see Appendix 6).

To protect the fragile ecology and traditional cultural knowledge and lifestyle of these desert lands from the impact of tourism, a convergence of Western and
Indigenous philosophy and best practice of natural and natural resource management was seen as essential by the co-management team (ibid: 19-22). The Anangu traditional owners of the homelands worked with their non-Indigenous managers and advisors to develop a culturally convergent management theory and practice in the eco-cultural tourism business of Desert Tracks. Thus a case study of Desert Tracks provides an example of the practical and symbolic issues faced by Indigenous and Western people working together in an attempt to converge their knowledge and practice of caring for country and community. The process of this development and the possibilities and pitfalls of translation of ideas and knowledge within this cross-cultural performance space is discussed in detail throughout this thesis.

In 1988 Nganyinytja and the other senior traditional owners of Angatja in the Mann Ranges of South Australia decided to set up a cross-cultural learning centre at their homeland. The Desert Tracks tour vehicle was used to bring fee-paying students to this Bush College. The seven-day intensive courses offered by Anangu were an attempt to put the vision of reconciliation and cultural convergence into practice. Nganyinytja’s Bush College became an open-air university at which the two different traditions of knowledge, Indigenous and Western, could be shared and the divergence or convergence of ways of knowing discussed. The co-management of the business necessitated close examination of the capacity for the two laws to become one in order to sustain a Western business on Indigenous lands operating within international Western law and traditional Indigenous Law.

This thesis is a formal examination of her vision statement in the context of the cross-cultural tours of Desert Tracks. The question is, to what extent real convergence of the two cultures had been achieved in the co-management plan and practice, and where convergence was achieved, how it was achieved. The early years were an experiment in the possibility of developing a joint-venture tourism business on Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AP) Lands as none had been
attempted previously. In 1994 a formal co-management business plan was written in consultation with the Anangu owners (see Chapter 8). This plan incorporated Anangu and Western knowledge of cultural and natural resource management in all aspects of the planning of infrastructure, environmental protection, economics, itineraries, guide training, ethics, protocols and permits. Cultural protocols and practice had to be incorporated into the design of a profitable Indigenous tourist operation.

The Desert Tracks business plan included aims and objectives that incorporated the practical and symbolic concerns of reconciliation. The practical reconciliation objective was to co-develop a sustainable industry for Indigenous people on their traditional lands. The symbolic reconciliation objective was to facilitate greater understanding between Indigenous and Western people in Australia. There were difficult practical problems in Indigenous people’s daily lives in remote homelands: the need for clean drinking water, shelter, food, meaningful employment, training, health and wellbeing. The business had to ensure that these were supported and improved by their involvement in the tourism enterprise.

Nganyinytja and the elders were clear that income from the business was a secondary aim to the teaching and maintaining respect for Anangu cultural knowledge. This was achieved through the incorporation of Anangu Tjukurpa Law into the business plan; recognising their spiritual beliefs, customary economy, traditional ecological knowledge and social practices. Sustaining culture was essential to sustaining the spirit and wellbeing of Anangu living in and caring for the country of their ancestors. As Nganyinytja said:

They want to keep the culture, ours and theirs, keep the two ways strong. Much trouble has come from people forgetting the land, the spirit. Many people are sick and have lost their spirit.

(Nganyinytja 1993:23)
The two ways had to be kept strong by the business. The process of co-management was a continual working out of the complex issues that arise where and when these two very different cultures clash or converge in Australia.

Towards a Convergent Culture
The term 'convergent' is used throughout the thesis in its biological sense; referring to 'unrelated organisms having the tendency to become similar while adapting to the same environment' (Australian Oxford Dictionary 1999). Thus, a 'convergent culture' is one formed from different cultures that become similar as they adapt to the same environment. My contention is that the land of Australia forms a crucible in which the mix of previously unrelated peoples who now live on her soil and water are being transformed into members of a new convergent culture. All Indigenous peoples and settlers perceive kinship with country differently. Their diverse perceptions and values of relationships that connect human beings with the natural world need to be understood so that the assumptions underlying different knowledge traditions become clear. Once difference is understood and respected it becomes possible to converge sustainable resource management theories and practice while sustaining biological and cultural diversity.

The convergence needs to occur at many levels. The deep-time stories of the land emerge by listening to the Dreaming Law of her first people and layering these with Western Creation stories of geology, soil typology, vegetation and water. The Indigenous Law of the Dreaming teaches that humans were and are active co-creators of the land: their ancestors were both human and animal, spirit and matter. Human performance of the Dreaming stories, songs and dances ensures the sustainability of animals and plants, land and water today. These ontological beliefs, both scientific and sacred, form the bedrock on which the maps of peoples' knowledge of the land are drawn. Use of the resources of land and water of this continent is governed by cultural theories and practices
that express these different ontological relationships between human beings and their natural environments (Brody 2001; Posey 1999; Rose 1994b).

This inquiry seeks to determine whether Indigenous knowledge of the complex interrelationships of kinship between nature and culture can be translated across the borders of languages, cultures and disciplines into Western knowledge. The issues of translation of different knowledges are not only cross-cultural between Indigenous and Western knowledge, but also inter-cultural between the disciplines of Western knowledge. The aim is to move beyond these borders into arenas of convergent trans-cultural knowledge where new knowledge can be created from the two.

Field of Study and Data
The field of study is the cultural centrality of place-based knowledge and how this generates the theory and practices of cultural and natural resource management in any peoples for any landscape. The theme is the interface between the knowledge bases of two vastly different cultures, Indigenous and Western, over the same terrain, in the performance space of Desert Tracks cross-cultural tourism. The topic is the nature of interaction at that interface: how Western and Indigenous people translate their cultural knowledge for each other within this performance space.

The study is based on seventeen years of records of Indigenous and Western cross-cultural exchange in the context of Desert Tracks on the AP Lands. The data examined includes: visitors' comments, articles, letters and poems: the professional voices of journalists, photographers and filmmakers; Anangu teachings, comments, meeting decisions and responses to interviews were recorded and translated by myself and reviewed by other interpreters, Linda Rive, Lizzie Ellis, Stanley Douglas and Lee Brady. Most of the long quotes of personal communication are from unpublished field notes, emails and letters, and visitor book comments. However, where these records have been
incorporated into published articles on the web, in newspapers, magazines, books, films and radio programs they are referenced appropriately.

**Bi-cultural Research Methodology**

The bi-cultural research model used in this thesis is derived from the Ngaanyatjarra, Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara Women's Council Action Research Model. This has been expanded to incorporate the protocols and accountability requirements set for Western researchers in Indigenous communities established by Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwa Smith (see Smith 1999). These research approaches are explored in detail in Chapter 4.

Being cognisant of the differences between Western and Indigenous approaches to knowledge and research, I have acknowledged these differences in all aspects of the field and literature research. Differences must be respected if the convergent practices and principles of Indigenous and Western theory and practice of caring for country and community are to be discerned in this dynamically changing cross-cultural space. My research complies with the ethical standards of Indigenous research models, the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council and the Australian National University.

**Acts of Translation**

The role of a bi-cultural performance space as a means of translation between two cultures is the theme of this thesis. The thesis structure reflects the two cultural languages in which the research was carried out: oral and written, Indigenous and Western. The body of the thesis is presented in three acts reflecting the change of the languages and expository styles. The present introduction is followed by three sections, each an Act in the cross-cultural performance space. In Act I, a Western approach to collecting and analyzing data is followed. Act II follows traditional and Indigenous methods of storytelling as visitors travel with Odysseus and Wati Ngintaka along the Ngintaka Songline Trail. Act III reviews and discusses the findings of Act I and II, identifying the success and difficulties encountered in the two-way translation of Western and Indigenous knowledge of caring for cultural natural...
resources of land and water. The similarities and differences between the two knowledges are reviewed in the translation schema frames identified by Anangu and Western participants as significant in their own terms (see Figure 41). This provides an overview of the complex patterns of cultural divergence and convergence essential to discerning the possibilities for each frame contributing to sustaining patterns in the whole.

Act I is a Western humanities approach to the historical and social data in my field of research. The first chapter provides a history of the place, the people and the politics of the AP Lands. The second chapter outlines the national and international context of Indigenous tourism, followed by a chapter on the market demand for Indigenous tourism. The final chapter of this section examines the management of Desert Tracks in accordance with the ethics and best practice of eco-cultural tourism combined with Anangu cultural protocols and traditional ecological knowledge.

Act II gives preference to a traditional mode of knowledge transmission, the story poem or song saga, which is an ancient and respected form of discourse in both Indigenous and Western cultures. The thesis journey into the performance space of cross-cultural tourism is taken with two archetypal heroes, Odysseus and Wati Ngintaka. Their behaviour as travellers is a guide to the moral and practical rights and responsibilities of travellers, hosts and guests. The Odyssey is an archetypal story of Western culture, considered by philosopher Bertrand to be ‘the earliest and greatest literary monument of the Greek world’ a pillar on which the wisdom of the West was built (Russell 1959: 12). The Anangu epic song saga of Wati Ngintaka is of equivalent status in the Anangu intellectual tradition of Central Australia.

The Ngintaka Tjukurpa is one of the stories that Anangu choose to teach tourists on Desert Tracks tours. In 1994 at a Desert Tracks Inma Festival they made an oral recording of the saga in song and story that was produced on compact disc (CD), with a written bi-lingual translation, and made available for
sale to the public. This version of the story is the one I use in this thesis as it is the most accurate recording and translation of the song saga sanctioned for public use by the AP Council (see Appendix 1).

In Act II a tour group, consisting of real travellers drawn from various Desert Tracks tours over the years between 1988 and 2005, is taken on the thesis journey. They are introduced to Indigenous conceptions of country, their lands and waters, through the five perceptual value frames of spiritual, ecological, economic, cultural and ontological connection to and caring for country (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Indigenous Kinship with Country: Five-toed Footprint (D James, 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indigenous Kinship with Country</th>
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<tr>
<td>Five Toed footprint of sustainability</td>
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- **Spiritual**: *Kurunpa*: spirit of health & wellbeing
- **Ecological**: *Ngura Walytja*: caring for homelands
- **Economic**: *Ngapartji-ngapartji*: reciprocal sharing
- **Cultural**: *Inma Way*: interconnectivity of songlines
- **Ontological**: *Tjukurpa*: holistic law of nature & culture

This section of my thesis also includes a digital video disc (DVD) compiled from archival footage of Desert Tracks tours made over the years 1990 to 1996, and film taken during my field research in 2003. The footage provides a history of Desert Tracks and documents the interactions between tourists and the researcher within the translation performance space of the Anangu cross-cultural tours of Desert Tracks. I was involved in the production of the archival films represented in the DVD documentary as an interviewer, translator and assistant to the directors and editors. The film about Desert Tracks, produced by the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA), includes my research interviews for the Tourism Impacts Report pilot project of the
National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Strategy (NATSITS) in 1996 (see Appendix 6). The resulting film, *Ngura Walytja: Kinship with Country*, is a documentary that explores the roles, on Desert Tracks tours, of the researcher and translator, the Anangu teachers and their knowledge, and the visitors’ changes of perception and valuing of the knowledge of Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. The DVD follows the five perceptual value frames of the translation schema in the thesis chapters of Act II. The DVD was specifically designed to be a visual thesis for Anangu to appraise; it can be understood independently of the written by a non-academic audience or seen as a totality after reading the thesis (see Appendix 2).

The aural and visual media presentation of this thesis respects both the Indigenous tradition of knowledge transfer in aural form and the Western written tradition. Aural, visual and written forms of the thesis are necessary to adequately communicate in the Western and Indigenous forums of knowledge discourse.

**Act III** of the thesis reviews the possible convergence of the two cultural knowledges. This section includes a discussion of the translation schema through which convergence of different cultural knowledges may be facilitated in the performance spaces of cultural natural resource management. The five frames through which this cross-cultural convergence is viewed are windows on the process of translation of key Anangu and Western concepts as shown in Figure 2 and Figure 41. Together they form a pattern of perceptions and values, knowledges and practices that are intricately linked in the sustaining of our shared cultural natural landscapes and resources. These are expressed in words in Figure 3.
NGANYINYTJA:
Reconciliation means bringing two cultures together:
'Maru munu piranpa tjunguringanyi, Black and white coming together.'

The two laws need to become one to keep the land. We, the Pitjantjatjara people, have always kept our land and looked after it and made it grow. At first white people did not understand us, they shot the black fella and the black fella speared the white fella. I do not speak badly of those people who do not understand. I want to teach all people, black and white, about the land and our way of living with it.

Ignorance is the reason for a lot of racism. If people will listen to our way, they will understand why we live in the country of our grandparents and why we must have strong land rights.

If people lose their land, their law is broken and their spirit dies.

Agangu Tjukurpa (Aboriginal law) needs to be kept strong. On Pitjantjatjara land our council keeps the land rights law strongly. If people wish to come and learn our way, they can come on a trip to my homeland, Angatja. My family runs a bush college teaching our law and lifestyle. Many people come ignorant of our way, wanting to learn. Office workers, teachers, doctors, nurses, Aboriginal people from the cities come to learn, those whose land and culture have been taken away from them. It makes me very sad to hear of what they have lost.

Now lots of people, black and white, are wanting to learn about the old law, from our grandmothers and grandfathers. People are happy to learn from me and my family. We are happy to share our way and pleased that they are taking back this new knowledge to their homes and teaching others. We need to keep the cultures strong, need the two laws to work together. All people whose hearts are open to understanding each other's culture should come together. We can work to increase the understanding and open-hearted acceptance of each other.

Kulintja tjuta pakani kuwari - many people who listen with understanding are rising up now. They want to keep the culture, ours and theirs, keep the two ways strong. Much trouble has come from people forgetting the land, the spirit. Many people are sick and have lost their spirit. The white government has cut their culture; we grieve for them. But we can all learn and make our spirit strong.

My teaching is about opening your spirit, working together to build understanding. Opening our way, opening our hearts to share the spirit of the land with all who want to learn. The Mabo decision is good. The land is the centre of culture and spirit for Aboriginal people.

Those people whose land was taken from them, where the big cities like Sydney and Adelaide were built, those people need to be helped. They need land for their culture and spirit to be strong again. White people need to understand Aboriginal law and that Tjukurpa is in the land. People need to not just talk mining, money, cars and cattle. They need to open their hearts, let the wind that blows across my country talk to them. Understand that anangu maru- are alive and living on our land, looking after it as our grandmothers and grandfathers did, following the law. People need to realise that we all share the same spirit that comes from God and from the earth.

All people whose hearts are open to understanding each other's culture should come together

Translated by Diana James (Sydney Morning Herald, Good Weekend, 21 August 1993:23).
Chapter 2

KEY CONCEPTS

In this chapter the key concepts of the thesis are discussed in the context of the case study of the Anangu tourism business, Desert Tracks, on the AP Lands.

The Performance Space

Paul Carter developed the concept of ‘performance space’ in his analysis of early exchanges between settlers and Indigenous people in Australia:

Their value lies, not only in bringing people without a language in common together, but in opening up a space between and around them, a dynamic space that...kept all views open; that...preserved intervals of difference.

(Carter 1992a:179)

I am expanding this concept into a ‘performance space of translation’ in which different cultures perform their concepts and knowledge in an attempt to explain themselves to the other. An important premise of this performance space is that those who enter it do so of their own will. The actors in this space are there with the intent to transform the cross-cultural interface of colonisation from one of forced assimilation to reconciliation and integration through negotiation.

Stanner noted that Australian Aboriginal peoples have always proactively sought to negotiate and accommodate the strangers who came and took over their country. He remarked that despite the atrocities of colonization:
...on the evidence the aborigines have always been looking for two things: a decent union of their lives with ours but on terms that let them preserve their own identity, not inclusion willy-nilly in our scheme of things and a fake identity, but development within a new way of life that has the imprint of their own ideas.

(Stanner 1969: 27-28)

This desire to embrace the new way of life on their own terms inspired the Anangu of Angatja to start Desert Tracks. Ilyatjari stated this clearly:

I’m teaching my grandchildren the inma and how to survive in this land. The culture may be lost if they don’t have a reason to learn it. The business brings in money for people to live in their own country and keep their culture strong. This is our business Desert Tracks. We started it for our grandsons and granddaughters to carry it on and grow this business. I am now working and planning for this future.

(Ilyatjari quoted in James 1996:20)

The performance space of Desert Tracks cross-cultural tours is a place of dynamic translation of old ways into the new context of a colonised Australia. Ilyatjari is clearly teaching his children and grandchildren how to maintain their true identity while adapting to changing economic and social circumstances.

The visitors who enter this performance space also intend to change their old perceptions and values of Indigenous people and their relationship to land. Like the first settlers who danced with Aboriginal people on the beaches of Sydney, people change by dancing together performances of translation, attempting to communicate through various languages (see Clendinnen 2003). However, these performances are not only friendly, many have been and continue to be acts of plunder caused by greed or ignorance, that lead to dispossession of the Indigenous by the settler. This thesis explores the positive and negative exchanges that occur in the performance space of tourism where
hosts and guests, natives and strangers meet. Both Odysseus and Wati Ngintaka were involved in kindly reciprocal exchange and acts of plunder.

Nganyinytja believed that the tours could help dispel ignorance and assist reconciliation between cultures:

> Ignorance is the reason for a lot of racism. If people will listen to our way, they will understand why we live in the country of our grandparents and why we must have strong land rights. If people lose their land, their law is broken and their spirit dies.

(Nganyinytja 1993:23)

Thus tours were designed by Anangu to be an open performance space of translation between Indigenous and Western worldviews. They assume the intent of people who enter this space is positive and Anangu do not expect to be plundered. Unfortunately this is not always the case as explored in Chapter 13. However, the majority of exchanges have been overwhelmingly positive and have allowed the possibility of people changing their perception of the other and themselves in the cross-cultural performance space. The potential for changes both cultures' perceptions and values of our shared cultural and natural landscapes is facilitated by the third space of translation.

**Islands and Beaches of the Desert**

Another symbolic representation of the cross-cultural performance space is the concept of ‘Islands and Beaches’ developed by historian, Greg Dening (1980). Here the ‘beach’ is the translation space between one culture (the island) and the whole surrounding cultural milieu. It is a complex space entered by invaders, missionaries, educators, and colonisers or drifting beachcombers. Physically the ‘island’ of Central Australia is separated from the rest of Australia and the world by a sea of sand; waters of mirage rather than waters of salt seas, both equally unpalatable.

The metaphor of the inland desert as a ‘sea of sand’ was familiar to early explorers who called their camels ‘ships of the desert’. It was on these
'monsters' that Aboriginal people saw their first white men. Mick Wikilyiri remembers: 'Hey, there's a big dog standing over there. What's this thing with the long neck? Mamu! Evil spirit! There's a huge evil spirit here in our camp. We were scared but the man called us over and offered food' (Wikilyiri, pers. comm., 1998).

Modern tourists experience the Anangu Lands as an island cut off from the surrounding sea of mainstream white Australian culture. When they travel there they face their fears of the 'dead heart', the expanse and emptiness of the desert, the fear of the unknown world of the Indigenous other. They choose to transform their own monster fears (see Tacey 1995). They meet with Anangu on the 'beaches' of the ecotourism performance space. These beaches are protected by tangible and intangible 'windbreaks' created by their Anangu hosts and professional guides to protect the visitors from the wild dust storms of post-colonial cultural breakdown that engulf Anangu communities. These 'beaches' provide havens for both hosts and guests while they engage in the complex and difficult tasks of cross-cultural learning.

The Sentient Land
The physical ground of the performance space is the land of Australia, the driest vegetated continent in the world, to which both Aboriginal people and strangers must adapt in order to survive. The land is an active agent of cultural convergence within this space, creating physical and spiritual parameters within which life is sustainable. Merleau-Ponty points out that humans can touch because they are touchable beings. He says we touch the world because it touches us, we see with eyes that are themselves visible to non-human eyes. His notion of the 'flesh of the world' and its 'reciprocity of perception' aligns his understanding with that of many Indigenous peoples. He suggests that 'our sentient bodies are entirely continuous with the vast body of the land', that 'the presence of the world is precisely the presence of its flesh to my flesh' (Merleau-Ponty, in Abram 1996:69).
This philosophy is conceptually convergent with Anangu belief that the land and all living things are embodiments of their ancestors; their flesh is the flesh of animal, plant, trees and rocks. The land lives and breathes the Tjukurpa of Dreaming ancestors. This notion of land as an active participant in the performance space of cultural translation may seem strange to the Western scientific mind, but experiential evidence that the land of Australia has transformed the original Western culture that settlers brought here is unequivocal. Australian culture has been moulded by the drought and plenty of this land. This land changes people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, who are actively transforming and reinterpreting themselves within this sentient land.

**Ngura Walytja**

WEH Stanner rightly said no English words are adequate to describe the relationship of Aboriginal people to their land, 'A different tradition leaves us tongueless and earless towards this other world of meaning and significance' (Stanner 1969:44). However, some attempt at translation must be made if we are to understand their relationship to the land of the continent we share.

*Ngura walytja* is the key Pitjantjatjara term denoting kinship between people and the lands and waters that comprise their country. *Ngura* refers to a camp, home or place where people live. Strangers are identified as kin relations firstly by asking which *ngura* they come from, which tract of land or place they call home, and through this their relationship to *Tjukurpa* can be ascertained, then the more specific aspects of kinship that place them in generational moieties and familial relationship to their hosts. *Ngura* can refer to a specific site or a tract of land or the whole country of a people. *Walytja* refers to members of family, relations, kinsmen and those cared for as family. Anangu have an all-inclusive classificatory system of kinship including all known Aboriginal people into family relationships. Strangers, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, can be included into this walytja system if they behave appropriately (Goddard 1992:180). *Ngura walytja* refers to the place or country that one belongs to and takes care of, one is 'owned by' and 'owner' of this place. *Ngura walytja* is also
the land of one’s spirit (see Downing 1988). Thus, the Anangu concept of ngura walytja encompasses spiritual, ecological, economic, cultural and ontological responsibilities and responsibilities to one’s country.

Cultural Landscapes
The Australian Federal Government Department of Environment and Heritage (DEH) conforms to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee cultural heritage definition in its recognition of significant ‘cultural landscapes’ in Australia:

Cultural Landscapes represent the ‘combined works of nature and of man’. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.

(DEH(b), website)

In 1987 heritage values of the lands within the boundaries of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park were internationally recognised by listing it as World Heritage natural and cultural landscape. The DEH describes its integrated natural and cultural landscapes as follows:

The huge rock formations of Uluru and Kata Tjuta are remarkable geological and landform features set in a contrasting, relatively flat, sand-plain environment. They are a part of an important cultural landscape and have special significance to Anangu. The features of both Uluru and Kata Tjuta are physical evidence of the actions, artefacts and bodies of the ancestral heroes (the tjukuritja) who travelled the earth in creation times. The travels of these ancestral heroes are celebrated in Anangu religion and culture today.

(DEH(a), website)

These Anangu cultural landscapes do not end at the borders of the Park. The tracts of land referred to as ‘cultural landscapes’ in this thesis may not have
been recognised nationally or internationally as sites of 'outstanding universal significance' but they are of outstanding living cultural significance to Anangu. In accordance with the World Heritage Committee and the Australian Department of Environment and Heritage, this thesis uses the term 'cultural landscapes' to refer to sites that are either 'an outstanding example of traditional human land use' or are 'directly associated with living traditions and beliefs' (ibid).

**Cultural Natural Re-source Management**

Working with Anangu, their concept of *ngura walytja* relationship to natural and cultural landscapes needs to be translated into the framework of Western natural resource management (NRM) requiring translation of the terms and concepts involved. The terms 'resource' and 'management' need to be understood in an expanded sense that incorporates Anangu conceptualisation of these aspects of their relationship to the environment. The English language term 'resource' is used in NRM to refer to a stock or supply that can be drawn on from our natural environment to achieve an end or fulfil a function in industry, either agricultural or heavy industrial, in society. This is a reduction of the term from its original meaning in Latin: 'source' came from the word 'surgere' meaning 'to rise'. This meaning is particularly apt when considering water as a renewable resource. A water 'source' is a spring, a living body of rising water that needs to be allowed to continue to rise and not become clogged by dirt or clay trampled in by livestock on pastoral properties. The prefix 're' attached to any verb means 'once more' or 'afresh', to 'return again to a previous state' (*Australian Oxford Dictionary* 1999). The importance of sustaining fresh water sources cannot be overstated, so I choose to expand the term resource to *re-source*, which incorporates the concept of continual renewal of sources.

The concept of 'management', referring to human use of natural re-sources, is likewise expanded to incorporate the Indigenous concept of caring for country. The Anangu term *kanyini* means to care for and take responsibility for people and country. If the concept of Western 'management' is expanded to
incorporate the Indigenous concept of 'caring', then the same responsibility and care that is taken for people will be extended to their environments. Anangu speak of caring for country as ngura walytjangka manta kanyini, which means, 'looking after the country to which you belong together with the community of your relations'. This is a cultural perception and valuing of the natural landscape in which the land sustains community and the community sustains the land. That is why CNRM refers to cultural natural re-source management throughout this thesis.

On Translation
The performance space of translation is one in which people choose to share their culture by performing it in language, written or spoken, song, dance or mime, and translation occurs through intermediaries with some knowledge of both cultures who translate each to the other. Even in the first encounters between new settlers and Aboriginal people on the beaches of Botany Bay and Sydney Harbour a few individuals emerged from each side who, by skill or desire, became the in-between people, the trans-relators between cultures (see Clendinnen 2003).

Translators acknowledge that complete and accurate cross-cultural understanding rarely occurs, as the conceptual differences between cultures and the incommensurability of languages prevent exact equivalence (see Fagles in Fagles and Knox 1996; Le Guin 1989). Acts of translation are performances of interpretation, ongoing processes of mutual understanding that are never fixed, rather always becoming something new.

Translation is an art that can be applied to specialist knowledge to enhance conceptual understanding for non-specialists. However, to corroborate findings within a specialisation such as science, experiments must be conducted in the language of that science. Similarly, translation enables wider understanding of Anangu knowledge by non-Indigenous people but it does not allow us to explicitly corroborate or disprove this knowledge in terms of its own
epistemology. Conceptual frameworks depend upon the language in which they are built; translations are only windows into these other worlds.

Idea-seeds can blow through these windows of translation. Ursula le Guin quotes the English poet Shelley's notion of 'idea-seeds':

Hence the vanity of translation: it were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from its seed, or it will bear no flower - and this is the burden of the curse of Babel.

(Le Guin 1989:110)

Shelly proposes that a radical transplanting of ideas from one language to another is required in acts of translation if the idea is to grow strongly in new soil. Thus translations are transformations, 'a new plant, as Shelley says, sprung from the idea-seed of the old one' (ibid: 111). This concept of translation as acts of transplanting 'idea-seeds' from one culture to another is further explored in Act II of this thesis.

On Repetition
On Desert Tracks tours it takes three days of repetition of the story and songs, the steps of the dances, walking the Songline Trail in country and hearing again the story and song in situ, before visitors begin to understand in their sensate bodies and minds the Anangu perception and value of cultural natural landscapes. On a tour in 1989 one visitor, Anne-Marie Cousteau, remarked:

You begin to understand, very deeply within yourself, what the Aborigines mean by the 'Dreamtime' - the time when those fantastic beings walked the Earth. As you listen to the stories, you begin to realise the Dreamtime is still today. We saw the Aborigines rub the rocks out in the bush so that the Dreamtime would stay with them.

(Cousteau 1990:16)
Anangu achieve this transformation of their visitors' perceptions and values by repeatedly telling them to listen and look with new ears and eyes, by repeating and repeating the stories, song and dance of Tjukurpa, the Law of their lands. Learning by travelling beside a teacher guide is a process of constantly listening and watching over a long period of time (see Chapter 4). Repetition is a common teaching methodology in aural cultures where vast amounts of knowledge must be remembered without reliance on written texts.

Storytelling repetition is no longer a familiar method of acquiring knowledge to Western academically trained minds. As a member of a 1997 tour commented:

Over the period of the week-long visit, some of the stories were repeated three or four times under different circumstances. Initially this was tiresome once one 'knew' the story. Later other factors seemed to come into play for some, independently of the skills of the story-teller. What exactly was one hearing? What part of oneself was registering what kind of communication? Were aspects of the story being heard subconsciously and with what effect and at what level? To what extent did the telling have a hypnotic effect?

(Judge 1997).

Repetition of specific sayings of the Anangu teachers or repeated references to key concepts throughout this thesis is a deliberate adoption of this storytelling or song saga, performance memory device. The intent is to take the reader back into the presence of that person or concept reminding them of characteristics revealed in previous contexts that need to be expanded in the new context. This repetition is necessary with complex and unfamiliar concepts like 'Tjukurpa' which cannot be simply translated into a single word in English nor understood in one interpretation, of which there are many (see following section Tjukurpa).

**Inma**

In Anangu culture, inma, 'the songs of the Tjukurpa or the Dreaming', correlate to the physical topography of the land and the sites where water, food and
shelter can be found (Tjilari, pers. comm., 1976). Knowledge of these songs is essential to survival both physically and spiritually. During the formal training of young men and women the songs are embedded in their thinking by constant repetition:

This process of indelible implantation of the features of the totemic songline, with its implications for every facet of living, is of great significance to each individual. It enables music to be used as a powerful force throughout life.

(Ellis 1985:123)

The importance of repetition is vital in the music and verses of the long song sagas of many cultures. In Anangu tradition the melody is fixed while the text, rhythm and duration of the song may change (ibid.). However, the melody is constantly identifiable because it is 'the essence of the ancestor' (ibid.). This melody is the character's signature tune, and performs a function similar to that of repeated epithets in Homer's verse and leitmotifs in Wagner's operas. Homer used a recurring epithet for each hero or character; there was a choice of epithets to fit the changing metre, the 'intricate set of metrical alternatives for the recurring names of heroes, gods and objects' (Fagles and Knox 1996:15). These recurring epithets served the same function as leitmotifs in Wagner's opera, Der Ring Des Nibelungen. Wagner's musical leitmotifs, Homer's epithets and Anangu inma recurring melodies and verses signal the entrance of specific heroes or heroines into the performance; they are mnemonic memory devices common to long song or verse sagas of different cultures.

**Tjukurpa and the Dreaming**

Anangu say Tjukurpa was in the beginning, and that all things came to be alive through Tjukurpa, and all things continue to be sustained by it. In this sense 'Tjukurpa' is an active verb: not a 'Dreamtime' but rather a present continuous 'Dreaming'. Anangu use 'Tjukurpa' to translate the English language concept of 'the Word of God' into Pitjantjatjara Christianity. Rabbi Cooper agrees that the word 'God' has no gender, nor is it a noun, but has the dynamic qualities of a
verb (see Cooper 1977). He argues that these dynamic qualities are evident in
the Biblical text, ‘In the beginning was the Word, the Word was with God, and
the Word was God... In it was life. All that came to be was alive with its life’
(John 1.1-4). Anangu conception of ‘Tjukurpa’ is as an equivalent life giving and
sustaining Word and Law.

Early linguists and anthropologists have, however, consistently translated
Tjukurpa and other Aboriginal words for similar concepts, as nouns. The
concept ‘Dream-time’ arose out of Spencer and Gillen’s use of the Aranda word
Alcheringa in 1899 to denote the mythic times of the ancestors of the totemic
groups. In 1926 Spencer revised the meaning; Altjira also meant ‘dream’ and
Aborigines used the English word ‘Dreaming’ to refer to their past times and
ancestral heroes. Elkin found that from 1927 onwards ‘in southern, central,
North-western and northern regions of Australia, whatever the term, it was the
“Dreaming”’. As he also found, performance of the rituals of the Tjukurpa is to
‘be in the Dreaming’ (Elkin 1964:210).

In the short span of the last two hundred years the translation of Aboriginal
languages and understanding of cultural context has changed the way the
Dreaming is understood by non-Indigenous people. Anthropologists,
depending on their analytic frameworks, have interpreted the concept
differently in five main categories: as imaginary myth, as history, as charter or
law, as dream and as ontology.

Radcliffe-Brown favoured fantasy; in 1945 he called the Dreaming a ‘World
perceived it as imaginary myth with no believed historic link to the present via
the totemic ancestors of Elkin’s ‘eternal dream-time of spiritual reality’ (ibid).
Elkin persisted in understanding Dreaming as history and law. He later
expanded his interpretation of Dreaming in a functional way, ‘mythology is a
very important institution... as historical interpretation and a charter for present
day social and ritual life” (Elkin 1964:244).
Roheim, in 1954, used Freudian dream analysis to interpret the Dreaming myths as actual dreams. His view was that Australian religion ‘as a social institution is a defence organised against the separation anxiety’ (cited in Hiatt 1975:15). Hiatt extended this theory to argue that myths are ‘proto-analytic insights into the stuff dreams are made of. Rites and rituals psychologically transpose individual fear of change…to conscious and collective levels of social integration and adaptation’ (ibid:16).

Eliade perceived the depth of the Dreaming and refused to reduce it to fantasy, psychological defences against fear or a functional social institution. Since 1949 he studied all religion as ontology. The expression of ideas ‘on the nature of reality through myth, rite and symbol’ embodies ‘abstract metaphysical concepts’ (ibid:10). Stanner, in all his writing agreed with Eliade’s approach to the Dreaming; ‘we are clearly dealing with a world-and-life view expressing a metaphysic of life which can and should be elicited’ (ibid:14).

Currently the *Australian Oxford Dictionary* (1999) defines Dreamtime: ‘in Aboriginal belief: a collection of events beyond living memory, which shaped the physical, spiritual, and moral world, an Aboriginal consciousness of the enduring nature of the era’. This definition of the Dreamtime avoids the ‘real or myth’ debate by acknowledging it as Aboriginal belief; it recognises the historical and moral charter aspects, and provides an ontological premise that ‘the physical, spiritual and moral’ worlds are all shaped by the Dreaming. The metaphysical aspects of the Dreaming need to be understood as central to Aboriginal ontology, the first principle of things, including concepts of being, knowing, substance, essence, cause, identity, time and space. Our understanding of the concept of *Tjukurpa* is expanded in the spiritual, ecological, economic, cultural and ontological acts of translation in Act II.

**Songlines: Inma Way**

The Australian term ‘song line’ is used to describe an Aboriginal cultural concept of ‘the map drawn by the journeyings of an ancestral being or beings; a
dreaming track' (*Australian Oxford Dictionary* 1999). The word 'songlines' entered common usage in 1987 when Bruce Chatwin published a book on his travels in Central Australia titled *Songlines*. He wrote inside the dust jacket:

I have a vision of the Songlines stretching across the continents and ages; that wherever men have trodden they have left a trail of song; and that these trails must reach back, in time and space, to an isolated pocket in the African savannah, where the First Man shouted the opening stanza to the World Song, "I am!" (Chatwin, 1987: front cover).

Europeans find 'songlines' similar to the concept of the ley-lines said to link sacred sites throughout the British Isles and Europe. Many peoples around the world have recorded the epics of their real or imagined journeys and the exploits of their ancestral heroes and heroines in song sagas that have survived in oral form for many thousands of years. India has the epics of the *Mahabharata* and *Bhagavad Gita*, Sweden and Norway have Viking sagas like *Fridthjof’s Saga*; the Icelandic Sagas, including *The Saga of Burnt Njal*, were probably song sagas before being written down between ca. 1100 AD and 1300 AD, as were the song poems of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* written down by Greek scholar Homer in 800 BC (Fagles & Knox 1996:3 -11). This universal oral tradition of recording ancestral history in song sagas is today retained in written poems, songs and operas like Wagner’s Ring Cycle, *Der Ring Des Nibelungen*. Thus, as Chatwin intended, the term ‘songlines’ encompasses the concept of trails of song across many different cultural landscapes. In this tradition *Wati Ngintaka* is comparable to *The Odyssey* as both are ancient songlines of their cultures.

'Songline' is a useful term in the performance space of translation as it conveys a transcultural metaphorical concept of the ancestral song sagas that relate all peoples to their homelands. Songlines are cultural interconnective webs of memory carrying knowledge of the role specific places have in peoples’ cultural natural landscapes. The songlines like modern wireless communication lines carry spiritual, ecological, economic, cultural and ontological knowledge linking people and places in natural and cultural landscapes around the globe.
Pan-continental Songlines

There are two Aboriginal songlines mentioned in this thesis that stretch beyond the Anangu lands of Central Australia, the same story connecting different peoples and languages across Australia. The first mentioned is the Seven Sisters Dreaming, known to Anangu as Kungkarangkalpa Tjukurpa, and the second is the Rainbow Serpent Dreaming, known as the Wayampi Tjukurpa in Anangu lands. That these two Dreamings exist and are connected across Australia is asserted by Anangu custodians of these Dreamings and is supported in the anthropological literature reviewed.

The map painted by Josephine Mick (see Figure 1a), a senior traditional owner of the Kungkarangkalpa Tjukurpa shows the path of the Seven Sisters Dreaming traversing Australia from the east coast of northern New South Wales across the state through Central Australia over to Roebourne on the west coast. From there the Sisters returned past Uluru and then turned south near Mt Connor into Armunta's clan estate lands around cave Hill, they built a shelter at Walinynga that became the cave of paintings now visited by tourists. Then the songline moves south past Fregon into the Flinders Ranges and down to the Great Australian Bight before heading north to finish around Kalgoorlie in Western Australia. Inawinytji Williamson speaks of this songline in relation to her painting, Seven Sisters. This is recorded on the Ngura Walytja DVD accompanying this thesis.

Radcliffe-Brown, in 1930, recorded the evidence for the existence of the Rainbow Serpent Dreaming all over Australia. He stated:

My studies of Australian beliefs has lead me to the conclusion that this particular myth is one of the most important of the mythology and that fuller knowledge of it is necessary in any attempt we may make to understand the Australian conception of nature.

(Radcliffe-Brown 1930:342)
He found that all over Australia the rainbow-serpent was associated with water, in lagoons, waterholes and waterfalls. Anangu refer to many water sources as being associated with Waŋampi. Springs and waterholes are referred to as wayampitjara meaning 'containing the rainbow serpent'. The phrase, kapi wala wayampitjara miil-miilpalatjara palatja, means 'that spring is the sacred water of Waŋampi'. This Dreaming provides a metaphorical conception of an important law regarding the management of water as a sacred source of life.

**Seeking the Trans-cultural in the Cross-cultural**

The term ‘cross-cultural’ is intentional, clearly stating that there are two distinct cultural relationships to land, Indigenous and Western, recognized in Australian law today. The Anangu law of Tjukurpa, which prescribes a custodial ownership of land embodied in the language and practice of relating to ngura walytja, is a distinctly different law of land ownership than that of the mainstream Western laws of Australia which confer ownership of land through purchase and leasehold entitling the owner to profit from the use and sale of the property and its natural resources.

‘Cross-cultural’ needs to be distinguished from ‘inter-cultural’, which refers to exchanges between different specialist groups within one culture. The exchange between Anangu and non-Indigenous Australians is not inter-cultural; it is cross-cultural. Within the cross-cultural performance space of Desert Tracks tours participants celebrate cultural diversity and respect difference while seeking trans-cultural convergence, where the two ways of knowing can become one. They seek trans-cultural knowledge that offers the dynamic activation of human consciousness across borders of culture, state, and religion and race, referred to by De Chardin as ‘the spirit of the earth’ (De Chardin 1963:18).

My distinction between cross-cultural and trans-cultural knowledge draws on Bob Hodge’s discussion of the differences between Western academic disciplines of knowledge. He defines ‘disciplines’ in Foucault’s terms, as ‘a system of control in the production of discourse, fixing its limits through the
action of an identity taking the form of a permanent reactivation of the rules’ (Foucault, cited in Hodge 1995:35). Western knowledge disciplines are bounded and heavily guarded fortresses of knowledge. The stability of the disciplines depends upon a strong accreditation system that gives the holder the right to speak as an expert, an authority with power to accept or reject what is considered right or correct knowledge and what is outside the pale, outside the fence.

Hodge represents the ideal image of disciplinary organization of knowledge as ‘a set of ellipses of light, with an intense focus at the centre, with darkness (in which monsters live and breed) all around outside the borders’ (Hodge 1995:36). The space on the border between two disciplines is called ‘interdisciplinary’. This space functions ‘as a way of confirming the existing structure of knowledge, because it fills, and hence, reinforces the space between the disciplines’ (ibid:37). Each discipline raids the other to bring back ‘monsters’ to be tamed into conformity within the disciplinary frameworks (see Figure 4).

**Figure 4: The Transdisciplinary Ellipse (Hodge 1995:37)**

Hodge suggests that true trans-disciplinary formations of new knowledge only occur when the knowledge maps fold in upon themselves. As during tectonic earth movements, sand is metamorphosed into new bedrock; the thought grains of sand on
the beaches in between cultures are transformed, smashed together by unexpected earth movements. Trans-disciplinary formations are not just interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary linkages ‘but are new potentially explosive density near some arbitrary margin that destabilizes the basic core-plus-periphery structure of the prior disciplines’ (ibid:37). These trans-disciplinary and trans-cultural formations of new knowledge are disturbing because of the mix of ‘immediate experience’, ‘imaginary themes’ and ‘immemorial beliefs’ that are ‘the Other, the shadow of disciplinary (privileged, expert) thought’ (ibid).

Hodge’s diagrammatic representation of the ‘trans-disciplinary ellipse’ draws on the biological metaphor of cellular transformation to explain his concept of the transformation of disciplines by intrusions of the ‘Other’. This conceptual metaphor is similar to Shelly’s insistence that effective translation of ideas between different cultures and languages requires transplantation of idea-seeds into the other cultural milieu to grow as new trans-cultural ideas. I have adapted Hodge’s diagrammatic representation of his conceptual metaphors for trans-disciplinary formation into a diagrammatical representation of the growth of cross-cultural idea-seeds into trans-cultural knowledge (see Figure 5).

In my two dimensional diagrammatic representation of the multi-dimensional performance space of translation I have used the biological metaphor of two living cells undergoing change. The two cells are the Indigenous consciousness cell with a black nucleus of knowledge surrounded by a white sea of ‘monsters’, while the Western consciousness cell has a white nucleus of knowledge surrounded by a sea of ‘black’ monsters. These monsters are the unknowns that haunt the borders of both cultures’ existing knowledge paradigms. All peoples fear these monsters. In Anangu culture monsters are called mamu and are represented as white: traditional mamu dancers are covered in white clay or ash and white is the colour of mourning and death. In Western culture monsters have traditionally been represented as black: devils are black and black is the colour of mourning and death. The culturally specific meanings of these colours are used in my diagram to symbolically represent the different cultures, their monsters and the meeting and transformation of both cultures.
Both cultures recognize that joining precedes conception of the new one being from two different beings. Thus the black and white patterned middle section represents the new embryonic transcultural knowledge emerging from the cross-cultural performance space.

In the host and guest translation performance space it is salutary to recognise that what is strange to one is familiar to another: that the colour of fear and death is white for black people and black for white people. Literally, the shadows that haunt our psyche are different colours. Under the harsh light of the Central Australian sun there is no place to hide our monsters, which are clearly visible to the other. We must learn to dance with each other and our monsters, which if unacknowledged, will destroy attempts to translate seed-ideas across the cultural gap and give birth to new transcultural knowledge.

Figure 5: The Cross-Cultural Performance Space (D. James 2005).
Tjungurinanyi: the Two Laws Becoming One

'The two laws need to become one, to care for the land'. Nganyinytja made this statement when speaking out on the need for reconciliation in Australia in 1993. Her statement raises interesting and complex questions about pluralism and unity: how are such different laws of the Indigenous and Western peoples of Australia to become one? In her statement on reconciliation Nganyinytja called for, 'black and white people to come together, maru munu pigranpa tjunguringanyi' (Nganyinytja 1993:23). She does not mean assimilation but rather reconciliation by coming together with respect for difference.

Nganyinytja is proposing a synthesis of the two cultures in which each transforms the other with neither losing their cultural identity. The philosopher who most clearly expresses this concept in the Western tradition is Teilhard de Chardin who speaks of the need to maintain cultural diversity within universal unity:

Cling to your own race, indeed, and your own nation: for a sound synthesis calls for strong and sharply defined elements. But if you wish fully to realise yourselves, beware above all of everything that isolates, that refuses to accept and divides...let your thought and action be 'universal', which is to say 'total'.

(De Chardin 1963:95)

These two philosophers, Nganyinytja and De Chardin, are calling for a profound change in mainstream human consciousness, a shift from divisive thinking promoting superficial cultural pluralism that ignores the reality: that a dynamic synthesis of human knowledge is needed to prevent the environmental degradation of the earth we all share.

De Chardin argues that Western knowledge needs to move beyond simple Darwinism, the survival of the fittest, where 'living branches develop primarily by stifling and eliminating one another'. Evolution is 'not to be conceived on the
lines of a stem that is swollen with the sap of all the stems it killed as it grew’; rather ‘every blade and every fascicle, every individual and every nation, will find completion through union with all others. No longer a succession of eliminations, but a confluence of energies - “synergy”’ (De Chardin 1963:18). He argues that nations, boundaries and exclusion between neighbouring peoples are non-sustainable. Rather, he suggests, human ‘thought’ provides a crucial adaptive difference:

Through spirit’s irresistible affinity for its own kind it has created a sort of convergent milieu within which the branches, as they are formed, have come closer together in order to be fully living. The energy among humans must be transformed from the competitive to a cooperative force, from repulsion into attraction of the other.

(ibid)

De Chardin proposes that the activation of the whole of human consciousness will be more than a sum of its parts: it becomes a synthesis. This convergent synthesis of consciousness will create:

A state of unanimity; such a state, however, that in each grain of thought, now taken to the extreme limit of its individual consciousness, will simply be the incommunicable, partial, elementary expression of a total consciousness which is common to the whole earth; a spirit of the earth.

(ibid:40)

In the translation performance space between cultures the individual grains of thought dance around each other until they are ground into sustainable bread of life. However, this convergent dance is performed on transitory beaches that are cyclically submerged by the rising tides of mainstream human thought concerned with defining and clarifying the differences between races, cultures, countries, ethnic groups and individuals. As Greg Dening says, ‘We are bound together by the encounters of Native and Strangers in our past’; historically we have been involved in creating separation: ‘my stories come of the crossings it
takes to make islands and of the crossings it takes to tell the stories of their making’ (Dening 2004:13). His interest lies in the crossing of beaches, beaches that are made of grains of sand, and, as he suggests, also made of grains of thought that make up the stories of difference.

The meeting place of cross-cultural tourism is a place where people perform translation. It is a performance space in which ideas cross the boundaries of race and culture, attempting to translate their different experiences and conceptions of the land. The sands they cross today in Central Australia are not the same as those that the first white explorers and settlers crossed when meeting the Indigenous people of this land. The sands have shifted in the winds of time and tide of the politics of colonialism. However, these desert sands still mark a boundary of an island of Indigenous land within a Westernised continent. Indigenous lands are another country within this colonised country. This ‘white’ Australia is itself an island in the Asian southern seas of the Pacific Ocean, like a beached whale far from its northern ancestral clime.

The stories of the crossings of these beaches, then and now, on the coastal sands and of the desert sands of Central Australia, are travellers’ tales of meetings between hosts and guests, natives and the strangers. Dening’s words ring true in this performance space:

There is now no native past without the Stranger, no Stranger without the native. No one can hope to be mediator or interlocutor in that opposition of Native and Stranger, because no one is gazing at it untouched by the power that is in it. Nor can anyone speak just for the one, just for the other. There is no escape from the politics of our knowledge, but that politics is not in the past. That politics is in the present.

(ibid:11)

This profound statement leads us into the next two chapters which discuss the theoretical and methodological divide that this thesis attempts to bridge, the
ontology and epistemology of the two cultures that share a political past and present of opposition of Native and Stranger in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. The translation that is being attempted within that performance space is by those who have been deeply touched by the power within the opposition, wounded by it in fact, and seek to move because of that knowledge in their wounds towards a convergence of cultures that respects diversity in unity.
Chapter 3

Ontological Divide

Introduction
My inquiry is located both physically and metaphysically in the space where the Indigenous world interfaces, overlaps and converges with the non-Indigenous world. An appreciation of the different cultural beliefs about the nature of being held by both groups of people is necessary in this space. The researcher has agreed to respect the ethics and intellectual heritage of both cultures in the theoretical and practical research approach and in the delivery of findings.

In the development of an appropriate approach to bi-cultural research I have relied heavily on the work of the Indigenous scholars, Linda TuhIwa Smith, Marcia Langton and Patrick Dobson. Their methodologies and practices respect the ontological integrity of Indigenous knowledge. On the Anangu Pitjantjatjara lands two different ontologies and epistemologies of knowledge coexist.

Patrick Dodson is an Indigenous academic well qualified to speak on the difficulties of cross-cultural understanding in Australia. He was formerly the Chairperson of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, a Director of both the Central Australian Land Council and the Kimberley Land Council, and Commissioner on the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. He said:

I am not one to dwell on difference. I look for what unites us, not what divides us. And yet there are differences between the non-Aboriginal, the Kardiya, and the Aboriginal, the indigenous, views of the worlds. One of those is that we tend to see the world in circles while our non-Aboriginal brothers and sisters tend to see the world in straight lines.

(Dodson 1998:1)
Dodson’s summation of the differences between the ontology or worldview of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is a premise on which I base my methodology. Unfortunately, the term ‘worldview’ has too often been a term of colonial denigration, dismissing the beliefs of Indigenous peoples as unreal myth and magic, in contrast to real ‘ontology’, the science and logic of Western philosophy. To avoid this pejorative meaning, I prefer to use the term ‘ontology’ when speaking of the different philosophies of the metaphysical nature of being held by Indigenous and Western peoples. I am supported in this by the work of Eliade and Stanner who, as mentioned earlier, regarded all religion as ontology, a sophisticated metaphysics of life.

An understanding of these different ontological premises on which the two cultures, Anangu and Western, premise their theories of knowledge is vital to understanding the different epistemologies, the methods of validation of each knowledge system. These differences must be respected and understood if the interaction between the two in the cross-cultural performance space of Desert Tracks tours is to be understood.

**Ontology of the Two Laws**

The meaning of the English word ‘ontology’ comes from the Greek stem ont meaning ‘being’ and -ology from the Greek ‘logos’ referring to ‘word or reason’ (*Australian Oxford Dictionary* 1999). Ontology can be most closely translated into the Anangu language of Pitjantjatjara as *Tjukurpa*, the word of the Law that created all things and is the reason for the nature of being. The metaphysical aspects of the *Tjukurpa* that are central to Aboriginal ontology, the nature of being, are all referred to in the present continuous tense of being, knowing, actively causing creation and existing in time and space. *Tjukurpa* is an unfolding mystery of Creation, the meaning of which has to be earned and lived, danced, sung and tracked in country.

If *Tjukurpa* is Anangu ontology, what is the ontological foundation of Western cultural knowledge? Since the Western tradition separated culture from nature,
spirit from matter, religion from science, it is not possible to encapsulate Western ontology in one holistic philosophy on the nature of being.

The multi-cultural Australian society today largely claims to be secular and ascribes to a Western scientific theory of creation. However, within this society large numbers of groups believe in a religious explanation of creation. The main religious tradition that Aboriginal people have experienced since colonisation is Christianity in its many forms. Different churches established missions in remote Indigenous lands before governments intervened in Aboriginal welfare.

Poem 1: 'Tjukurpa' by Diana James 2002

TJUKURPA

In the beginning was the Word,
In the beginning was Tjukurpa;
The Word was with God, and the Word was God,
Tjukurpa iriti ngarinytja, and Tjukurpa was Sacred;
All that came to be alive, was alive with the Word,
All that came to be alive, was alive with Tjukurpa.
As it was in the beginning,
will now and ever shall be,
Tjukurpa was, is and will be, alive!

Western Ontological Split: Religion and State

The first mission on AP Lands was at Ernabella, when in 1937 the Presbyterian Church bought a sheep station and established a medical and ration centre in the Musgrave Ranges. This mission was unusual in that it encouraged Aboriginal people to retain their language, culture and ceremonial life. There were no forced conversions, adoption of white clothes, goods or forcing children to live in boarding schools and forget their language as happened across the border at Warburton.
Many Anangu were eager to understand the whitefella Tjukurpa, to understand their spiritual power, and out of respect for their visitors, to learn the songline of the white Creation Ancestor, Jesus Christ. Most of the elders I have worked with over the years have maintained the two belief systems as complementary rather than contradictory; in fact many who are the strongest traditional law men and women, have also been baptised and become lay church elders.

Peter Nyaningu is one such elder who, during my research on the Ngintaka Trail, described for me the way Anangu are trying to work with and understand whitefella law. They realise that Western society does not have a holistic law like Anangu Tjukurpa, so they are trying to walk hand in hand with both of our laws, that of the Church and that of the State. He drew a very clear diagram, which shows the middle path of understanding that Anangu are trying to follow (see Figure 6).

**Figure 6: Ara: Working Together Structure** (Diagram from drawing by Peter Nyaningu, at Ngarutjara 25th April 2005)

Anangu ontology of the Tjukurpa must interface daily with Western ontology in the form of various specialised knowledges: those of Western governance,
economy, science, health, education and spirituality. The epistemologies, methods of validation of knowledge, and the ethics of operation of each of these specialised knowledge traditions, differ from each other and are very different from the Anangu epistemology of validating new knowledge within the ontology of the Tjukurpa.

**Oral and Written Knowledge Cultures**

The differences between the oral and written language traditions of both cultures are a key. Anangu speak an embedded language felt through the soles of feet that dance the ancient dust of the landscape in Australia, peopled for the last 30,000 to 35,000 years (Flood 1983:30; Walsh 2005:22). Academe speaks through the disembodied language of written texts, a symbolic representation of people in varied landscapes that is thought to have originated as pictographs only five to six thousand years ago in Mesopotamia, gradually becoming the symbolic alphabet that is used in this text, less than 3,000 years ago. Alphabetic systems use symbols to represent sounds, which, unlike pictographs, make them 'the most versatile writing system available,' *(Australian Oxford Dictionary 1999)*.

This alphabetical representation of the sounds of the Australian landscape has only been attempted for just over 200 years. Before it was written it was told and sung; this ancient land resounded to the language of its being. The Indigenous oral history of Australia was continuously retold in story and song and performed in dance and was passed down through countless generations before ever black lines on a white page began to render this history speechless. Nganyinytja, at an Adelaide ANZAAS conference in 1980, addressed the learned gathering of anthropologists and social scientists in this other language of history. She drew a map of Australia and pointed out her country in the northwest of South Australia. Then she covered the map with circles indicating Aboriginal sacred places all over Australia and said:
I am now talking about our country over there. I am drawing the places all over Australia where our Dreamtime started a long time ago—Listen!

(Ngayinytja 1980 trans. D James, in Gale 1983:56)

A well-known poet of the Australian landscape, Mary Gilmore, wrote of Indigenous languages as being intrinsically interconnected with this land:

Australia

I

There was great beauty in the names her people called her,
Shaping to patterns of sound the form of their words;
They wove to measure of speech the cry of the bird,
And the voices that rose from the reeds of the cowal.

Poem 2: (Gilmore, in Cusack et al. 1965:188)

While this appreciation of the sounds of Aboriginal languages may seem romantic, it does recognise an interrelationship with specific places and animals of Australia that the foreign sounds of the English language do not have. Language embodies country and the naming of places connects them with the ancestors of the people living on the same ground today. Loss of these names and the oral language history of landscape strip it of its kinship relationship to living peoples and renders mute their caring for country. This is why relating a specific language to a specific landscape is essential in bi-cultural research theory and method.

Tim Bonyhady and Tom Griffiths, in their study, *Words for Country*, point out that, "‘Landscape’ and ‘language’ are often seen as opposites. While ‘landscape’ often evokes the natural world, ‘language’ suggests the human’ (Bonyhady & Griffiths 2002:1). They acknowledge that the term ‘landscape’ suggests a place and a view. For there to be a view there must be people as a
view is a peculiarly human concept of space. Thus the word ‘landscape’ is more
descriptive of a peopled place than the terms ‘natural environment’ or
‘wilderness’, which often exempt the role of human hands in their formation.
Australia is a continent whose environments have been co-created by human
and natural forces over millennia; Indigenous hunting and gathering
techniques have patterned the surface with landscapes of great diversity.

‘Landscape’ then, is a term that can usefully be used in bi-cultural research as it
incorporates the viewer as an active component of the viewed, recognising the
Indigenous knowledge that the human eye, hand and footprint are visible in all
landscapes. It also places the researcher in their own view as they are also part
of the landscape they study.

Within the multi-culture of Academe there are many inter-cultural dialects of
English used by various disciplines or schools of thought and inquiry. This
chapter, therefore, is about the ‘language’ choices made during this research:
the academic theory and method and the Indigenous oral traditions and
practices that informed and influenced the research. This thesis will be
presented in both a written and an oral/visual DVD format to attempt to
faithfully re-present the bi-cultural languages of caring for the eco-cultural
landscapes of country. These two mediums of presentation also enable the
research findings to be examined by both Anangu and academics in their own
language.

Aural and Written Knowledge Cultures
Ilyatjari stated that the most important knowledge to be communicated cross-
culturally is 'Inma Way'; thus the teaching of the songs and dances of the
Tjukurpa of Angatja was core business for Desert Tracks (discussed in more
detail in Chapter 12). Catherine Ellis, an ethnomusicologist who worked for
years listening to, transcribing and learning Pitjantjatjara music, agreed with
Ilyatjari. She found that the Western analytic understanding of Anangu inma
was essential to understanding and appreciating the complexity of Anangu
thinking because ‘music is the central repository of Aboriginal knowledge’
Ellis's detailed analysis of the structure of rhythm, tone, text and melody of Anangu music and song draws Western attention to a complex structure of knowledge and thinking that is so foreign we do not have the ears to hear or the mind frameworks to understand. We are inarticulate novices in this aural world, floundering to understand the complex interrelationship of song, country, community and law. Ellis's description of the beauty and complexity of Anangu music reflects the complexity of Anangu knowledge:

Aboriginal music has an iridescent quality. The colour depends on which aspect holds one's attention at any time. The structures, even if completely unaltered, can appear first in one form, then in another. The multiple sets of possible variants around one pattern increase this potential. If outsiders fail to appreciate this, they fail also to understand how a tribal performer perceives, and can be enthralled by, something so mundane, simple and primitive to these foreign listeners.

While Anangu teachers favour full immersion, listening, observation, repetition and practice, Ellis suggests that analytical study can also help an outsider to understand because Westerners respond intellectually to the written form of the complex patterns of music. They can 'see' if it is written.

Most tourists have difficulty in appreciating the music, song and language of Anangu because such an appreciation relies on aural skills that Western education does not develop to the extent of Anangu education. There is a common Western assumption that the complex structures of grammar, syntax, music and lyric poetry cannot be constructed orally but evolved with the written form of language. Scholars of Homer's epic poetry argue over whether he could write, because writing is an act of creation used by modern poets, whereas oral composition is somehow inferior or primitive. Wolf, an eighteenth century German scholar, argued that if Homer was illiterate 'he could not possibly have composed poems as long as the Iliad and Odyssey' (Fagles &
Knox 1996:7). Shorter oral ballads must have been compiled much later into the current written epic form.

The living tradition of Anangu oral epic poetry, created and recreated by senior song men and women, is evidence that confounds this theory. Anangu songlines travel across the country through variations of cultural group and language, maintaining a distinctive melody or leitmotif that identifies the Creation Ancestors. Ellis refers to this as a ‘totemic melody’ (Ellis 1985:90). This is true of the Ngintaka Ancestor of the Songline that traverses Pitjan tjatjara and Yankunytjatjara country, changing language but not melodic form.

When the Western tradition crossed over the border from oral to written tradition, at about the time of Homer, it gradually left behind the rigorous memory training of scholars, poets and bards. Memorising of poetry, texts and mathematical tables was still common in Western education fifty years ago, but it had become a rote process of simple repetition rather than a musical aural system allowing memorization of vast song sagas. The West has since become reliant on written texts to store and verify the vast amount of information generated by this society. Hence the loss of aural skills training that makes it difficult for adult visitors to Anangu lands to learn by watching, listening and doing without asking questions and wanting written referencing of knowledge.

It is interesting that Western culture idolises scientific knowledge based on experiential method, yet people find it difficult to rely on their direct experience. Scholars who are convinced that an oral culture could not construct an epic poem of the complexity of Homer’s Odyssey seek to deconstruct the whole into its parts, the original short ballads stitched together in the written record. This is classic Western intellectual tradition where analysis relies on reduction of a whole to its parts. The description and dissection, in written text, of these parts is believed to be a more thorough understanding than the observation of the whole.
All actors in the performance space of cross-cultural tourism experience cultural deafness and blindness. On tour, a Western trained doctor once asked me how an oral language could possibly have a fixed grammar, as it is not written down. He could not conceive of oral knowledge being internally consistent over time without reference to written texts. Conversely, Anangu have asked me how they can have faith in Western laws that can be changed by acts of a parliament that itself changes every three years. Anangu often experience interaction with our written Western law as a journey through a baffling maze because of dead ends and changing rules. For example, Native Title rights in one state of Australia are not the same as those across the border and the Land Rights they gained under South Australian law in 1981 are now being changed under new federal and state laws.

Anangu wonder how we trace our laws back to the Biblical ‘Ten Commandments’ when our civil laws do not conform to the spiritual values inherent in these laws. We separate civil from religious law so that we can mouth the commandment to ‘love our brother as ourselves’ while legally making sure he cannot get a share of our private property. Western ontology is not holistic. It splits to accommodate different civil and religious laws, between public good and private gain, between protecting the democratic equal rights of all citizens while ensuring unequal power and wealth to a small elite. Access to the wealth generated from exploitation of this country’s natural resources is kept ‘secret and sacred’ by the ‘secret English’ of corporate law and by government grants that Indigenous people rely on, as they cannot access bank and investment through mortgaging Native Title lands. Like Odysseus, our society spins clever yarns while cleverly dispossessing Indigenous people of their law, their culture and the resources of their land.

**Inclusive and Exclusive Ontology and Epistemology**

Catherine Ellis’s research into the structures of Anangu music found that, like all music, it has distinctive patterns within fixed boundaries. Within Western music these patterns are symmetrical, while in traditional Western Desert
Aboriginal music the patterns are asymmetrical (see Figure 7). She argued that
the structures within music ‘embed patterns of thought which operate outside
music’ (Ellis 1985:85). Her analysis highlighted the ‘difference between the rigid
divisive thinking shown in the structures of Western music and the flexible
additive thinking shown in the structures of Pitjantjatjara music’ (Ellis 1985:85).

Figure 7: Comparison of Western and Anangu Musical Structure (Ellis 1985:85).

Ellis cites, as an example of these profound ontological differences, an instance
of cross-cultural exchange that contrasts the Western and Anangu concepts of
inclusion and exclusion of both kinship and time. The conversation is reported
and her interpretation is in brackets:

Anangu asked a Western administrator, ‘Are you our brother?’ (i.e.
Can we incorporate you into our fixed system of tribal relationships
since we have the capacity to expand these under special conditions
to include some outsiders as a special honour?) The administrator
laughed and said, ‘Of course I’m not your brother. And anyway I
must go now as it is lunchtime’. (i.e. No, my personal interest in you
excludes your concepts of interpersonal relationships and of time: I
am here concerning your education).

(Ellis 1985:86)

The Anangu capacity to include non-Indigenous people in their kinship system
greatly facilitates cross-cultural learning by positioning the visitor in
relationship to all Anangu on the Lands, relating them to country and creating a
‘family’ who will look after them, making sure that they learn correct protocol
and behaviour. Anangu expect the administrator to acknowledge his
relationship to them and look after them by teaching them the protocols and
obligations of the Western government system. The Westerner, however, reacts
by establishing his exclusion from them and their reality; they are not his
brothers and his time and culture are more important.

Anangu ontology is ‘inclusive’ of all things living and non-living; all are created
and sustained by Tjukurpa, which governs social and religious law. Tjukurpa
recognizes the kinship relationship between all people, country, animals, plants
and things. Western ontology, by comparison, is exclusive: this is not that;
nature is not culture; all men are not brothers; civil law is not spiritual law;
matter is not spirit. Such profound ontological differences between Anangu and
Western thinking lead to different epistemologies of knowledge. Western
verification of knowledge as true requires exclusive linear categorization of all
things. By identification of difference, the whole becomes divided into smaller
and smaller boxes. Western mapping of cultural and natural landscape reveals
patterns of difference, patterns of separation by fences between this and that. In
comparison, Anangu epistemology relies on finding the interconnection of all
things within Tjukurpa, inclusive cyclical thinking. Anangu mapping of cultural
and natural landscapes reveals patterns of linking, tracks across the land.

**The Ontological Divide to be Bridged**

That there is an ontological divide, a gap in understanding, between these two
cultures in Australian society is as true today as it was in the first colonial
encounters. It is evident in the areas of politics, wealth, health, education and the hegemonic privileging of one knowledge system over the other, that the first peoples of Australia are disempowered, impoverished, of ill-health and poorly educated compared to the majority of the settler population. There is no mainstream arena of Australian life in which Indigenous peoples are heard unless they translate their ideas and concerns into Western bureaucratic language to be heard at the conference table and to access funding for their concerns and needs. The interested audiences who will listen to other languages are special interest groups within the mainstream, like those involved in Indigenous NRM. Even in these arenas Indigenous knowledge concepts are fitted into the structures, logic and conceptual frameworks of Western thought and practice. It is within this colonial framework of power and privileging of English language concepts and intellectual tradition that various attempts are being made to recognise, respect and incorporate diverse knowledge and practice into mainstream culture.

The space in between the two knowledges and languages is the conceptual and real space in which I have located my thesis. In this study it is the space occupied by the eco-cultural tourism business of Desert Tracks on the AP Lands of northwest South Australia. On these lands, despite years of exploration, mining, pastoralism, missionaries and government settlements, Anangu holistic ontology of land has not been lost. This interaction of many different groups of Western cultural colonisers with Anangu has created a complex cultural mixture of concepts and actions in relationship to the use of natural and cultural landscapes and resources of this performance space.

Since colonisation, a proliferation of 'development projects' have been designed to assist Anangu in their adaptation to a rapidly changing ecological and socio-cultural landscape. Stanner commented in 1969 on the failure of any one 'sovereign remedy', like better education or health services, modern sanitation, improved housing or various employment schemes to ensure Indigenous health and wellbeing (see Stanner 1969:57). The situation has not improved; in fact on
the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands it has deteriorated, with members of the last two generations lost to petrol sniffing and now marijuana abuse is causing psychosis (Dr Kerry Gell, pers. comm., 15 November 2005).

An understanding of the processes of development projects' successes or failures requires analysis of the language and cultural concepts that determine the actions taken. While Western knowledge is privileged, in most exchanges people are attempting to negotiate some understanding and facilitation of joint aims to benefit Anangu health and wellbeing. However, many projects fail to be adopted by Anangu. This study suggests that inadequate translation time and expertise contribute to the continuing problematic within the situation.

This study of cross-cultural management of Desert Tracks is not suggesting that two-way translation is always possible; just that the space of translation needs to be recognised and prioritised in discussing and planning joint project development. It does provide an in-depth case study analysis of the cross-cultural communication, business planning and practical management of the environmental and cultural heritage of the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytatjara peoples on their own lands. The language of Western land management, natural resource management, cultural heritage protection, politics, economics, education, health, journalism, advertising, the arts and tourism needed to be translated both ways between English and Pitjantjatjara. This approach to two-way translation is a useful tool in the cross-cultural performance space.

Metaphors, Thoughts and Actions
To explore this space it is necessary to understand the fundamental connection between metaphor, thought and action. The work of Lakoff and Johnston (1980) in examining the important role of metaphor in everyday life forms an essential theoretical basis of my thesis. Through extensive linguistic research they have found that metaphor is not just a poetic device or rhetorical flourish of language but rather is basic to our thinking and action. They claim, 'Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally
metaphorical in nature' (Lakoff & Johnston 1980:3). Their primary basis for this assertion is through linguistic analysis of everyday language and its relationship to the way we structure the evidence of our senses. In this study I will concentrate on how awareness of the metaphors of language enables us to better understand the conceptual metaphors that determine the land and water use of different cultural groups. To negotiate understanding between divergent groups the translator must employ a flexible 'metaphorical imagination'. This is 'a crucial skill in creating rapport and in communicating the nature of unshared experience' (Lakoff & Johnston1980:231).

_Ngangatja apu wiya, ngayuku tjamu:_
This is not a rock, it is my grandfather.
This is a place where the Dreaming comes up, right up from inside the ground.
(George Tinimai, in Vachon & Toyne 1984:5)

How are non-Indigenous people to understand the conceptual metaphors of this statement? The Western concept of rock is of a thing, of a substance other than myself, definitely not related to me in terms of kinship. To gain some idea of how a concept can be metaphorical and influence action, let us examine the concept of 'rock' in two different cultural metaphors reflected in everyday expressions of the two languages.

In English:

`THIS ROCK IS A HARD SUBSTANCE`:  
That argument is solid as a rock.  
I will build my church upon the rock of faith.  
Caught between a rock and a hard place.  
The business is on the rocks.  
He is a rock.

As Lakoff and Johnston say, it is important to see that we do not just talk about 'rock' in terms of a hard substance. Rocks give our intangible ideas substance;
they stand or fall, are solid or weak. Belief and faith are strong or weak depending upon whether they are founded on rock or flounder on rocks. We act in terms of rocks, we are caught between them, or we fail and are smashed onto them. People's integrity can be rock solid or collapse under pressure.

In Pitjantjatjara:

'THIS ROCK IS MY GRANDFATHER':

*Apu ngangatja ngayuku tjamu:*

'This rock is my grandfather.'

That's a really important, sacred thing that you are climbing...[the rock]. You shouldn't climb. It's not the proper thing.

(Kunmanara, Uluru Traditional Owner)

*Apu ngaratja Ngintakaku ngalya:*

'That cliff face is the Lizard Man's forehead.'

*Apu palatja (Wati Nyiru) kunkarangalkpa nyanganyi:*

'That stone [the Ancestor Man Nyiru] is watching the sisters.'

Anangu are not just talking about rocks as being 'like' people or representing them; they 'are' the person. They act towards these rocks as relatives. They respect, sing to, care for and interact with particular rocks as sentient beings in the landscape that can affect their lives. The rocks can watch, listen and get angry and shake people off their backs, as is said of the Devil Dingo in Uluru shaking off tourists (Nellie Paterson, pers. comm., 1978).

Lakoff and Johnston do not claim that metaphorical concepts explain entirely how we structure what we do but they help us, at least in part, to understand how we perceive what we are doing. 'The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' (Lakoff & Johnston1980:5). The analysis of 'the rock' cultural couplet of conceptual metaphors is an example of the direct relationship of language and thoughts to actions. These conceptions of rock as either an inanimate thing or as a living being will result in quite different actions towards rocks in the environment. They will be perceived and valued either as a material resource, a building
block for human industry, or as a sentient being that is part of the kin relationship web that connects humans to everything in their environment. These and other conceptual metaphors will be explored throughout my thesis as a way of understanding the worldview of people whose relationship to land use is radically different from the hegemonic Western industrial society view.

Landcare Languages
The relevance of 'natural resource management' theory and practice to this thesis is in the areas in which it informs best practice eco-cultural tourism in the desert rangelands of the AP Lands. However, the concepts and language of natural resource management need to be examined as constructs of Western conceptual metaphors embedded in our perception of nature as separate from culture and of 'resources' as things to be 'managed'. The choice of language we use to describe human interaction with the land and water of our environment is an expression of our cultural conceptual metaphors. The divergent meanings that people ascribe to the terms used in the field of natural resource management (NRM) within the Western English speaking world are profuse. The phrases, 'natural resource management', 'land management', 'landcare' and 'caring for country' need to be unpacked to reveal the cultural conceptual metaphors they carry.

Landcare Languages is a study, edited by Valerie Brown, of the language used by the many different groups of people involved in landcare projects in Australia (Brown 1996). In linguistic terminology these 'languages' might be more accurately described as dialects, forms of speech particular to specific groups within society, but in terms of everyday usage the term 'landcare languages' is more readily understood. The groups identified in the study were farmers aged over fifty and under thirty: Aboriginal landholders, administrators, politicians, economists, environmental scientists, media and educators. All of these groups, except the Aboriginal landholders, are members of a broad cultural group I will refer to in this thesis as 'Western'. This group, 'Westerners', may include cultural subgroups of immigrants whose first language is not English but in
general their cultural background has more in common with European than
Indigenous heritage. These subgroups may have significantly different
concepts of landcare but these are not included in the scope of this thesis as they
are not an influence on the Pitjantjatjara Lands. My concern is with the
challenge of translation between the languages at the interface of conflict and
convergence of the dominant Western landcare languages identified in the
landcare study, and the voices of Anangu expressing their concepts of land
management and caring for country in Central Australia.

Throughout this thesis the landcare conversations between people who do not
share the same language, culture, perceptions and values are discussed.
Understanding in this arena must be negotiated. To negotiate meaning you
have to first become aware of difference and then respect that divergent
worldviews are coherent explanations of reality. To negotiate meaning with
someone, you must accept that his or her language and concepts form a
coherent system and that being able to interpret one part of the structure into
your own language does not provide an understanding of the whole. I argue
that you need to enter into the ontology of the ‘other’ to understand the delicate
and complex linkages between their cultural concepts and practices. Metaphors
are essential for negotiating meaning between different languages and cultures,
both cross-culturally and inter-culturally.

**Translation in the Performance Space**
The ‘performance space of translation’ is a metaphor used throughout this
thesis to encourage perception of cross-cultural Indigenous tourism as an active
cross-cultural performance (see discussion of concept in Chapter 2).

The space allows for transforming developmental plots, which the audience
and performers are involved in to varying degrees of awareness, during the
play. The audience is not static; sometimes it will consist of the researcher, other
theorists of social change, historians and scientific analysts, and at other times,
from other perspectives, these people may enter the performance and the
Indigenous people and their co-workers retire from the central stage to watch the watchers.

The performance space examined in this thesis is that of the Desert Tracks tours, a space where translation across cultural intervals of difference is intentionally being engaged in by the hosts and guests on Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. This performance space is similar to Anangu inma ground, where dance and song of Tjukurpa is performed. When different clan groups gather for ceremonies the first performance is by the hosts; the Tjukurpa of their lands is sung first, then visitors perform their country. As each clan performs a dance and song stanza of the Tjukurpa that relates to their particular country, they are performing self as part of group identity to the others. The inma can be seen as a communication of deep meaning between those of the same culture, language, concepts and knowledge. Cross-culturally these performances appear colourful and intriguing, but lacking deep meaning until translation is performed.

**Convergence in the Performance Space**

Convergence of cultures across the ontological divide between Indigenous and Western beliefs, perceptions and values will take time, listening, discussion and reviewing as we travel along together.

Dickie Minyintirri, an elder Pitjantjatjara man, asks:

> What are your deep stories?
> Tell us of your Tjukurpa, your Dreaming Law.

The desire to communicate at this deep ontological level cross-culturally has been reiterated to me by many senior Anangu in different contexts and places. In July 1999, I was camped beside a fire at Cave Hill with Dickie Minyintirri and his wife, Armunta, the senior traditional owner of Walinynga (Cave Hill). Early in the morning, in the pre-dawn light, Dickie called out to me in the custom of the traditional anu, the morning news:
Hey, untal [daughter]! We've been waiting to talk with you about things of deep importance. This is very important. I want a university here, at Cave Hill, just like they have in Adelaide. So when people come to learn about inma and our Law they come with respect. It is important teaching.

White people always come here and ask us about the deep stories of our land, our Tjukurpa, and we share with them. But most white people only discuss with us their little stories, stories about money, housing, hospitals. Why? They never come and tell us their deep stories, their Tjukurpa? We need a place where we can share the deep stories of our cultures, where each listens to the other with respect.

(Minyintirri, quoted in James 1999:14)

This chapter has presented a word picture of the ontological divide between the Indigenous concept of a holistic Tjukurpa and the Western traditional conception of human domination of nature. The Indigenous Australian intellectual tradition of the close relatedness of humans, animals, plants, land and waters of the earth has much to offer Western understanding of the nature of being. If believed, this ontology engenders an ethic of human responsibility to care for nature as a relative: caring for country as an expression of human kinship to country.

If these ‘idea-seeds’ can cross the ontological divide a new convergent culture may grow from the translation performance space. The possibilities for dynamic convergence between the cultures will be examined in detail in ACT II within the context of the performance space of the cultural natural landscapes of Desert Tracks tours.
Chapter 4

BI-CULTURAL METHODOLOGY

The research journey is presented in storytelling mode, because Anangu tell their history in stories and tourism is a story about journeys. This thesis is a journey of translation between two distinct cultural ‘perceptions and values’, ‘learning and understanding’ and ‘living and managing’ of the ecological and cultural landscapes of tourism. This research approach respects the Anangu theoretical approach to tourism as a method of bridging the cultural perceptual gap. Anangu say they invite non-Indigenous people into their lands to ‘open their ears, eyes and hearts’ to new perceptions of land and understanding of the cultural and spirituality values of country. This, they believe, will bring together ‘Western’ and ‘Indigenous’ ways of living in and managing country. It is their theory that this research investigates.

In undertaking cross-cultural research, the ontology of the culture being studied and the conceptual framework of the social scientist are brought into direct confrontation: there is a need to integrate the methods utilized with the culture in which the research is taking place (Price-Williams, cited in Berno 1996:377).

Epistemological Divide of the Two Knowledges

Western disciplines of knowledge have evolved epistemologies that validate the type of knowledge they seek. The Western traditional debate concerning the foundations of knowledge consists of interacting theories of rationalism, empiricism and scepticism. Anangu Tjukurpa is both rational and empirical if examined from the premise that Tjukurpa is a valid explanation of the creation of the world. For example, if one believes the ngintaka lizard is one’s ancestor then recognition of connection to this animal and all creation becomes a rationale for sustaining the cultural and natural environment that sustains this animal and oneself. This is not very different from the scientific theory that humans are descended from apes and that we need biological and cultural
Scepticism, the third major Western theory of knowledge, holds that any validation of knowledge cannot be justified with certainty. John Patterson, in his philosophic examination of Maori values, says 'in trying to express and improve our understanding of the concepts and values the traditions embody, we can of course make use of all the proven intellectual tools at our disposal, including those of sceptical philosophy' (Patterson 1992:12). Can a Western sceptical philosophical tradition, developed in the disembodied mind, be used to understand and critique the concepts and values of an embodied Indigenous tradition? I think sceptical philosophy is useful in that it supports the relativity of all knowledge systems. However, it is a reductionist approach rather than a cumulative and additive approach to knowledge, which recognises the different perspectives as complementary aspects of the whole.

**The Researcher in the Cross-Cultural Performance Space**

My methodology is defined in terms of the Anangu frameworks of relationship, respect and responsibility: relationship to the people and place, respect for difference and sameness in culture and practice, and responsibility to ethically fulfill reciprocal obligations to share the findings of the research.

The right to comment on another's culture must be earned, not assumed. The researcher must learn the language: learn to sit, to listen, to look and to know the natural and cultural landscapes of the other in terms of their values and perceptions. This is not an act of imperialism or appropriation of another's cultural worldview. It is an act of respect, which requires great intellectual humility, and the recognition of being a stranger in another's country. If the researcher refuses to learn their hosts' cultural parameters of knowledge, to accept their hosts' ontological explanations for being as the basis of their actions, and does not learn to see their country through their hosts' eyes then...
the researcher is unable to engage with them in meaningful dialogue. A discussion of values and perceptions of caring for country must first take as valid the ontology of the other, understand the differences between the worldviews being expressed and then seek cross-cultural conceptual metaphors that can allow trans-cultural idea-seeds to grow. Cross-cultural discourse seeking trans-cultural understanding of ways in which the two laws can work together must be two-way, not just adapting Indigenous culture to Western reality but also adapting Western culture to Indigenous reality.

The Anangu custom is for the stranger to sit on the smoky side of the fire. This forces one to look away, not directly into the eyes of one’s hosts. This is one of the first rules of etiquette of face-to-face dialogue with Anangu. Exercising peripheral vision is essential for both to be aware of the other’s actions, reactions, body language and honesty of exchange within the space.

Usually, in the Humanities, the researcher is expected to join in with the activities of others while maintaining a critical observer status. This is defended as the social equivalence of a scientific objective perception of reality. It is postulated on the premise that observers external to the situation can gain ‘better’ more quantifiable and comparable measures of society. The second major assumption is that those within the social activity cannot really understand it because they are gazing from the inside out. The outside-in gaze is favored in the Western academic tradition as being more real than inside-out experienced reality. This view is also a practical reality for most researchers who are non-indigenous to the society they study and therefore cannot claim an insider view. However, being an outsider does not ensure an objective view.

The position of the researcher in cultural landscapes can never be neutral. The act of observation alters what is observed in both the natural and social sciences. Given this constraint, it seems necessary to state the background and involvement of the researcher. In my case, my academic training is in anthropology and bilingual education. I have been employed by several
Aboriginal communities in the Central Desert for the last thirty years in various capacities including anthropological clearances for mineral exploration and mapping, community business management, bilingual education, homeland support, land rights, adult education, tourism and as an ‘interpreter’ between the languages of Pitjantjatjara and English. During this time I have had many patient and wise teachers of Pitjantjatjara language and culture. My position has been that of an active participant in many situations with Nganyinytja: in establishing the regional Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Women’s Council (NPYWC); as joint partner in establishing the Desert Tracks tours; as translator of Nganyinytja’s autobiography and co-founder of the Spirit of the Land Foundation. There seems no way to avoid my observer bias other than to accept that it is present and, as much as possible, to acknowledge the observer’s active participation in the ‘performances’.

Research Ethics and Protocols
The Indigenous people of the Anangu Pitjantjatjara lands have established the ethical guidelines for this research. The researcher is obligated to behave within the ethics of reciprocity that govern the sharing of knowledge, resources and obligation to family and land, and to accept restrictions to knowledge shared due to gender and age. All written or recorded material must be checked with the informant, and if the information is the cultural property of a wider group it must be checked with elders or the Regional Council. The individual or community, prior to publication, should review any material, including film or photographs to be published. Any secret, sacred or restricted information must be removed at their request.

1. Public and Secret Sacred Knowledge
The Socratic tradition central to European philosophical tradition celebrates open public debate. This, at first, would seem to be antithetical to an Indigenous tradition with sacred Law that is only open to initiates. There is a real reluctance by elders to share any more knowledge than is seen to be directly appropriate to the situation. The recipient must be of the appropriate age and gender to be told certain knowledge and must be
deemed wise enough or to have passed sufficient stages of initiation into adulthood. If no one of appropriate relationship, age or initiatory status is able to spend years learning the particular song-cycle and ceremonies, then knowledge dies with the custodian.

This restriction on cultural information is not a disadvantage in this current study. The only Anangu knowledge that needs to be referred to is that which is shared openly and is appropriate for all non-Indigenous men, women and children to hear. This is the knowledge that people have chosen to share for the specific purpose of changing the Westerner’s understanding of Anangu culture and values. Thus, it is a body of knowledge that can be examined under the terms of the translation performance space of cross-cultural exchange, and then assessed in terms of whether or not understanding of the alternative set of values engenders deeper understanding of Aboriginal values and creates the possibility of a new congruent culture of relationship to land.

The AP Council has approved for public presentation, all Anangu philosophy, stories and cultural information that form part of this research. Great care has been taken to refer for approval all written and visual representations of Anangu knowledge in this thesis to the Anangu who participated in the research discourse.

2. Question and Answer Techniques

Anangu and many Indigenous peoples regard direct questioning as rude and an indication of not paying sufficient attention to what is being taught by story telling, dance and body language. This method is so different to the direct question and answer methods of Western education and polite exchange that often complete misinterpretation of intent and content of exchanges occurs. Thus, what happens during cross-cultural exchange and what is seen to have happened by the various observers can be divergent.
Interpreting the Cross-Cultural Performance Space

In the field of cultural tourism the authenticity of interpretation in the presentation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage is always:

- whose Laws and stories of culture?
- who tells the Laws and stories?
- who listens to these Laws and stories?

Various fields of academic inquiry, including ethnographic anthropology, are rightly the subject of post-colonial Indigenous and non-Indigenous critique. Colonial expansion was often justified in terms of 'civilizing the natives'; concepts of what was 'civilized' and 'native' were an ethnocentric projection of the colonial power on the 'others'. These conceptual metaphors equating difference with less value were the 'myths' of Empire. Academics in anthropology and sociology argued that their fields of research were as value free as objective sciences of nature. Perhaps this was another powerful reason for including Indigenous peoples as part of nature and therefore reasonable objects of the human 'sciences'. Unfortunately, this conflation of the concepts of 'indigenous' and 'natural' did not engender respect for Indigenous peoples or wonder at their cultural achievements. Rather, along the divide rule of nature and culture, it relegated them to the lowest position on the evolutionary scale of social Darwinism that pervaded colonial scholarship. It also underlies the discounting of Indigenous knowledge as less important and less sophisticated than Western knowledge.

Respecting Indigenous Knowledge

The reality of Western cultural hegemony and arrogance is solid ground for Indigenous scholars, such as Joan Rophia of New Zealand, to seriously question the intent of my research into a possible congruence of Western and Indigenous cultures. In response to Nganyinytja's notion that 'two laws can become one', Joan said, 'It's more about westerners believing in, and supporting, indigenous
“ownership” of being indigenous, rather than putting up an ideal about sharing both systems, which in western culture boils down to expropriation’ (Rophia, pers. comm., 8 October 1998). She questions Nganyinytja’s belief that the two Laws can come together without allowing a final colonisation of Indigenous spirituality and values by enculturation.

Stealing Indigenous cultural artefacts, knowledge, and living and dead bodies has long been profitable trade for the colonisers. This trade that has been legitimised when objects gathered by archaeologists, anthropologists and naturalists are ‘preserved’ in Western museums and their value changes to that of scientific evidence. Western academic culture is primarily acquisitive: the researcher ‘owns’ their research and they or the university ‘own’ the intellectual property. This concept is contrary to the spirit in which Anangu share knowledge. The difference between tourism and ethnography becomes blurred in the desire of both to accumulate exotic collectables to mount in glass cases on returning home from travel.

Indigenous tourism, as experienced in the context of Desert Tracks, is not immune from the Western desire to acquire. The traveller seeks tangible and intangible artefacts. The soft and fuzzy language of ‘new-age’ spiritual tourism, sharing and caring, barely disguises the desire to gain some thing from Indigenous spirituality. One tour group on such a quest were the members of the Centre for Human Transformation in the hinterlands of Melbourne. They came and shared and took. They believed that in four days they had received ‘initiation’ into the Wanampi inma and the rights to teach it in Melbourne. The response of AP Council was to threaten to close Desert Tracks, as this kind of cultural appropriation hurt many Anangu. In the end, legally protective intellectual property agreements had to become part of the permit which tourists signed before coming on the tour. When a culture of respectful sharing interfaces with a culture of acquisition of knowledge as property, there are great difficulties. This problematic will be further explored in Chapter 13, ‘Stealing the Grindstone.’
Knowledge shared with researchers is not necessarily then, open to be used in all public contexts; it does not become the intellectual property of the researcher or the institution. Indigenous traditional knowledge in this thesis remains under the joint copyright of both the Anangu and the researcher. Individuals are always accountable to the wider group of traditional owners of the story, song or dance shared. In the recording of the Ngintaka story at Kaltjiti in June 2003, a minimum of three senior men had to be included in the discussion for the information to be orally validated. They are responsible to the many traditional owners along the whole Ngintaka Songline. Film of this interview was seen and approved by Anangu Arts and Culture Aboriginal Corporation before being included in this thesis. The story remains Anangu intellectual property (see Tjilari 2003, ‘Ngintaka discourse’, [DVD recording], Appendix 2).

How then must a researcher proceed in recording, examining and reporting research findings on Anangu philosophy and practice of caring for country? I proceed with respect and acknowledgment that some of the knowledge tradition shared is not given for critical review. Anangu themselves inform me of how I may or may not use Tjukurpa stories, dance, ceremony and knowledge of sacred places. The cross-cultural performance space, however, where this knowledge and practice interacts with that of Westerners, is open to review and Western academic critique.

Decolonising Research Methodologies

Linda Tuhiwa Smith, a Maori Indigenous scholar, has recently published an excellent analysis of ‘decolonising methodologies’ as a guideline for research by and with Indigenous people. She suggests the following questions to be asked:

Who defined the research problem?
For whom is this study worthy or relevant? Who says so?
What knowledge will the community gain from this study?
What knowledge will the researcher gain from this study?
What are the possible negative outcomes?
How can the negative outcomes be eliminated?
To whom is the researcher accountable?
(Smith 1999:173)

My research project conforms to both the methodology of the NYP Women’s Council (see Figure 8) and the culturally appropriate research models that Smith proposes:

- **Mentor model**: the researcher was mentored by Anangu elders involved in Desert Tracks and land management on AP Lands
- **Adoption model**: the researcher has been adopted as ‘daughter’ by Nganyinytja and her extended family
- **Power-sharing model**: the community has supported, directed and substantially defined the questions to be answered by the research
- **Empowering outcomes model**: the study provides a translation schema that can be used by people engaged in cross-cultural dialogue.

Figure 8: NYP Women’s Council Action Research Method (NYPWC 2000)

NYP WOMEN’S COUNCIL ACTION RESEARCH METHOD

*Maru munu piranpa tjungu nyinara wangkara kulikatinyi* – Black and White sitting together discussing and considering over a long period of time.

*WALYJTJANGKA* – relating to Anangu from a kinship position defined by them.

*MALPARARA* – always working with an Anangu friend or mentor.

*KULILKATINYI munu NYAKUKATINYI* – listening and looking over a long period of time. Not just observing, but becoming part of the community and gaining an understanding of their perspective.

*WANGKARA KULILKATINYI munu PALLYALKATINYI* – to keep on discussing and reviewing what you make and design over a long period of time.
Journey along the Ngintaka Songline

I have chosen to structure my investigation as a journey, a conceptual metaphor common to both cultures that relates new ways of knowing to travelling from one place to another. This method of comparing the cultural epics of Homer’s *Odyssey* and the Ngintaka *Tjukurpa* is a conscious choice of song sagas from both the West and Indigenous ancient oral traditions that speak of the archetypal journey.

In choosing to compare sections or verses of each story I have attempted not to belittle the wealth or complexity of either tradition. I heed Marcia Langton’s warning to non-Indigenous researchers, like myself, to be respectful translators of Aboriginal song sagas:

In the same way that white people would not tamper with the structure and form of the Iliad, the Odyssey, Chaucer’s tales, or Shakespeare, Aboriginal people do not want our oral history to be tampered with. Overzealous white historians and editors have altered the structure and form of Aboriginal stories, myths and oral records to make them more comprehensible to a white audience, but have thereby made them incomprehensible to Aboriginal audiences...When the clues, the repetitions, the language, the distinctively Aboriginal evocations of our experience are removed from the recitals of our people, the truth is lost for us.


Anangu have chosen to simplify their Wati Ngintaka story to teach visitors about their country (listen to Appendix 1). While it is commonly believed that Aboriginal culture in its traditional form was handed down pure and unchanged form from generation to generation, Anangu tradition incorporated change. In this research the changes in the *inma* of the Ngintaka are recorded, as Anangu created new song and dance to translate the Tjukurpa for tourists. There is evidence that their song men and women have always been able to
adapt their tradition to the new. As Ellis (1985) has said, Aboriginal music is inclusive of new and adapts to social change. Ilyatjari and Andy Tjilari, in this case, ‘drewn’ new stanzas and dances for performance of the traditional Tjukurpa. They explain change as an inherent dynamic of continuous creation: the Tjukurpa is a continuous becoming.

The role of permits, restrictions on access, photography and recording of stories and information shared in the teaching at Angatja will be examined as both necessary and limiting. It is a strange anomaly that the Land Rights that Indigenous people fought so hard to obtain are now protected by permits legislated and administrated in the language of Western law. The laws are designed to protect Indigenous people, but some Anangu ask to what extent do they become walls that prevent adaptation to the modern world. Nganyinyija herself has said, ‘We fought for land rights to protect our land, but not to shut people out.’ (Nganyinyija, pers.comm.,1988). Fences not only keep intruders out: they restrict and fence in those inside. Perhaps there is a need for real and conceptual barriers between different cultures to be semi-permeable to allow the flow of information both ways so that it enhances the growth of healthy trans-cultural sustainable societies.

**Source Data**

ACT I is a primarily Western academic approach to the case study of Desert Tracks Indigenous tourism on Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. Chapters 5 and 8 analyses the literature and research studies on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands: its people, climate, health, land and water management. Chapters 6 and 7 analyses the literature and statistical reports on Indigenous tourism in Australia, the national and international demand and the place of Desert Tracks within the broader industry.

ACT II approaches the case study through oral literature and interviews. The main source material to be used in this research is the Anangu oral history and philosophy recorded on Desert Tracks tours, at associated meetings, and the
oral recordings gathered by myself over the last twenty-five years, since 1980, with Nganyiptyja and her family. Over this time I have translated and transcribed more than fifty ninety-minute cassette recordings of interviews, meeting minutes and oral storytelling by Nganyiptyja and other Anangu involved in Desert Tracks.

As the interpreter, I have collated the transcriptions and translations of Anangu interviewed on the following film and radio productions:

- Cousteau Society and National Geographic, 1989, Australia
- Continent of Dreams, 1992, ABC Science Show on Radio National, producer Lindy Woodward
- Open Hearted Country, 1992, four part series, Rising Tide Films
- Women of the Earth, 1997, Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA)
- Nganampa Anwernekenhe, 1996, episodes 'Desert Tracks', S9 Ep10, and 'Ngintaka', S9 Ep 12
- Ray Mear's World of Survival, 1997, BBC Bristol Film Productions, episode filmed at Angatja

In 1996, as part of my research into the impacts of tourism on Aboriginal communities for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission and the Northern Territory Tourist Commission, I conducted many interviews with Aboriginal people running tourism enterprises on their traditional lands in Queensland, Northern Territory, South Australia and Western Australia and produced the video, Strong Business, Strong Culture, Strong Country: Managing Tourism on Aboriginal Communities. These transcribed interviews also provided data for this thesis. My prime methodology in the collection of this data was to
interview Indigenous tourist operators and guides about the issues they identified as being of key importance.

As part of my research for this thesis, I have undertaken several field trips to the AP Lands between 2002 and 2005. In June 2002 I visited Cave Hill community and with rock art conservator Kath Sale, continued a site impact-monitoring project that we had begun in 1994. This resulted in the co-production of a report to the community, Desert Tracks and AP Council on conservation and management issues entitled *Management Issues at Walinynga (Cave Hill)*. The community have been able to use this report to gain assistance in site protection from the AP Council and the tour companies using the site.

The field trip of June-July 2003 included guiding a special interest Desert Tracks tour of professional dancers from Miramu Dance Company in Canberra to Ananguku cross-cultural dance exchange. This group were willing to be filmed and were involved in interview situations as part of my research. Excerpts of this filming have been included in the DVD, *Ngura Walytja: Kinship with Country* (see Appendix 2). The Anangu artists received copies of three films edited from this material: a traditional dance film, *Ananguku Inma*; a collaborative cross-cultural dance film, *Red Earth*; and *Ngura Walytja: Kinship with Country*. Anangu have approved all films and interviews to be used as data in this thesis.

In April 2005 I joined a team assessing the feasibility of developing the Ngintaka Heritage Trail as a tourist route through the AP Lands. As the anthropologist I was engaged in discussing the plan with Anangu to determine where the ancestral track lay, what sections would be open to the public and under what conditions. The resulting Anangu Cultural Heritage Report on the proposed Ngintaka Songline Heritage Trail was presented to AP Council on 1 June 2005. The Executive accepted the report and approved inclusion of the data I had gathered in my thesis. An abstract of this report is Appendix 9.
Data substantiating the other side of the cultural exchange was gathered from visitor responses to the Angatja cross-cultural teaching. These are gleaned from the correspondence with participants by phone, letter or email and some wrote essays, stories and poems on their experiences. The works of Western writers and artists who participated in Desert Tracks tours are also included.

**Translation of Conceptual Metaphors**

In the process of the study several critical concepts were identified that can be usefully translated into conceptual metaphors significant to both cultures. The use of metaphors from one culture to translate the concepts of the other culture elucidates understanding across the ontological and epistemological divide between the two. These five critical conceptual nodes are clusters of values, perceptions and practices that interact in the cross-cultural performance space. These nodes are: ontology, society, economy, ecology and spirituality. These five nodal clusters form the framework of my methodology when investigating the cross-cultural performance space of Desert Tracks and structures the five chapters of Act II:

1. **Kurunpa: spiritual connection to country**: the human desire to care for country and community, to welcome strangers into the home; the desire to know and understand other country and people.

2. **Ngura walytja: ecological caring for country**: experiencing the land as relative changes the perspectives and values of all humans towards their natural environment. All strangers and new settlers in country have a responsibility to relate to their adopted land and let the land adapt their way of living.

3. **Inma Way: cultural connectivity through songlines**: Anangu teach that people keep country, family and law alive by singing and dancing the songlines of Creation. Performing the Tjukurpa creates relationship to our
natural landscapes. Sustainable environments rely on humans’ active participation in the processes of continual recreation.

4. **Ngapartji-ngapartji: economics of reciprocity with the land**: a dynamic of exchange, an active sharing of knowledge and resources between Indigenous and Western peoples. For every action there is an equal and opposite reactive; we receive to the extent and in kind, what we give to each other, the animals, plants, lands and waters of our environment. Reciprocity is a basic philosophy and practice of Anangu.

5. **Tjukurpa: ontological laws of the land**: the different ways of knowing of all peoples must be respected to allow humanity to sustain its biological and cultural diversity. We must listen with understanding; really hear each other, to develop convergent ways of knowing.

**Conclusion**

My methodology rests firmly within the self-reflective ontological and phenomenological approach of the new humanities. The researcher enters the ontological tangible and intangible frameworks of knowledge that are affecting the conscious values, perceptions and actions of those within the field of study, then emerges to reflect on their own and others’ discourses and actions within the performance space. The researcher consciously recognises respects and reflects on the different perceptions and values of cultural and natural landscapes.

On this thesis journey with a group of Desert Tracks visitors, the Anangu and Western perceptions and values that influence the practices of cultural and natural land management will become clear on the surface of their country. Anangu say, *'Inmanguru tjina uti ngarinyi*: through telling Tjukurpa story, singing and dancing the songline, the tracks of the ancestors become clear on the surface of the land’. Through telling the modern tourism story of Desert Tracks, tracking the hosts and guests engagement in the complex performance space a useful cross-cultural translation schema will emerge.
ACT I

THE WESTERN PERFORMANCE SPACE:
History and Current Conditions of Eco-tourism on Anangu Lands

Prologue: How We Travel in Country.

Act I is structured according to the Western knowledge tradition. In the first chapter the history of Anangu on the AP Lands and their involvement in tourism is examined. The next two chapters discuss the national and international context and demand for Indigenous tourism that stimulated the development of Desert Tracks tours. The final chapter of this Act in the Western performance space examines the cultural natural resource management principles and practice of Desert Tracks tours in light of national and international eco-cultural tourism ethics and best practice standards.

Poem 3: 'Belonging to Country' by Diana James 2002

BELONGING TO COUNTRY

What country maps our skin,
our journeys like scribbles on bark
worm their way across
tracks on our heart.

Land of my birth
sounds and smells of my beginning
symbols of the lizard skin
tattooed on my speechless brain.

Born on the ground
beside a fire
suckled on a warm breast
held by the earth.

Born on a white sheet
washed in water
held by the feet and slapped
placed in a cot.

What cords tie us
same and different
to this land,
and to each other.

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Chapter 5

ANANGU COUNTRY, PEOPLE AND PLACE

Anangu say they have lived in these lands of Central Australia since the beginning of time. Their oral history, maintained in the songs, stories and dances of Tjukurpa, the Dreaming Law, tells of the creation of every rock, tree, hill, waterhole, animal and plant of these lands.

Australia is an ancient land; in Central Australia parts of the Finke River have followed the same course for at least 65 million years (Unmark 2003, website). ‘Significant stream flow in parts of Central Australia ceased around 15 million years ago (Van De Graaff et al. 1977) marking the time that aridity first began in Central Australia’ (Unmark 2003, website). Today seventy percent of the continent is considered semi-arid to arid desert. In the center of Australia average daily summer temperatures are 37-39 °C while winter ranges between 16–24 °C and night time average is -2–3 °C and often drops to a freezing -8 °C. The average annual rainfall of Central Australia varies from 10–25 cm and is very irregular, with high annual evaporation rates from 250–450 cm (ibid). Low rainfall, often in heavy localized storms causing flooding, is the norm in this country with regular, long, severe droughts. This is a region where the indigenous plants, animals and people are highly adapted to living with little water and conserving whatever they have. Exactly when Anangu first arrived in these lands is not known; archeological digs keep discovering evidence of earlier and earlier habitation of this inhospitably dry land.

Various researchers have proposed differing dates for the earliest Indigenous habitation of Central Australia. Robert Layton refers to the work of Gould in the James Range, 80 km east of Alice Springs, which produced material more than 10,000 years old. On this evidence Layton estimates ‘Aboriginal people probably lived around Uluru for over 10,000 years’ (Layton 1986:17). Archaeologist Josephine Flood (1983:33) has found evidence of habitation of the
central deserts 30,000 years ago. The most significant recent discovery of possibly the earliest human habitation of the central desert was made by Mike Walsh at Puritjara, in the Cleland Hills, a significant site of the Luritja people. Walsh says, 'The archaeology shows that people began using the overhang as an itinerant campsite 35,000 years ago, about the same time as modern humans were moving into Western Europe' (Walsh 2005:22).

I use the 35,000-year evidence found at the Cleland Hills as the probable date of the earliest Anangu peoples in the central deserts of Australia. My reasoning is based on the sociological and linguistic connections between the Luritja people and the Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytatjara people (see language distribution map Appendix11). Trade routes, ceremony and initiation routes have connected these regions for a long time. Today there is constant movement between these people as they gather annually for ceremonies, football and inter-marriage. Anangu senior Lawman, Andy Tjilari, told me that these movements are based on traditional ceremonial and trade routes. Tjilari said the malu, 'red kangaroo' Tjukurpa recounts the travels of this ancestor from Mt Davies, near the tri-state border, east across Pitjantjatjara country and south through Yakunytjatjara lands then north-west through the Luritja lands to Papunya and Yuendumu. This ancestor gave each group its different language as he travelled and instituted the ceremonies for initiation of boys into men (Tjilari, pers. comm., 1975). This is just one of the traditional songlines that link the peoples and their country along the route and they continue to perform these ceremonies with vigour and purpose, affirming the close interconnection of Western Desert peoples of this region and their Law.

Whatever the exact Western chronological date of the first Anangu in Central Australia is found to be, it is many thousands of years ago, well before the birth of the Indo-European civilizations in the well-watered valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The birthplace of these two cultural traditions is vastly different. Anangu have evolved with the dry lands of Central Australia, managing to live and thrive in these lands because they followed the available
water and were careful to share it with the plants and animals essential for their survival. These arid lands never hosted the stock and grains of pastoralists and agriculturalists until the advent of the white-skinned travellers from distant lands on their camels and horses in the early 1860s. They were quickly followed by settlers with sheep and cattle which thirstily drank up the ephemeral waters and destroyed native grasses with their hard hooves; the settlers also introduced feral species of plants that often dominated native species.

Since then, the nomad and the settler have tried to relate to each other and this land through their different languages, differing knowledge of wet and dry, different conceptions of time and different laws governing relationships to land, water and native flora and fauna. The settler of shallow time drew linear fence-lines in the sand and bored into the substrata to extract the ancient waters for a culture that depends on high consumption of natural resources, while the nomads of deep time still move with the cycles of long droughts and flooding rains, travelling their country, performing their law and ceremonies. However, they can no longer be sustained by their traditional sources of food and water as these have been depleted by the impact of settler culture resource use.

The lands travelled on the cross-cultural tours of Desert Tracks are these Anangu lands of Central Australia. This region includes the lower part of the Northern Territory south-west of Alice Springs, the Indigenous lands of Western Australia to Warburton and the north-west corner of South Australia north of Marla Bore (see Figure 10). This was the traditional land of the Anangu who speak related dialects of the Western Desert language family (Walsh & Yallop 1993:1). Anangu do not distinguish dialects from languages. All are called tjaa which means speech or language; they recognise the commonality of their languages, saying ‘Kanganana, anangu uwankara, tjaa tjungu: Now we, all the Aboriginal people, are united (in) language’ (Goddard 1992:141). I will follow their convention in this thesis and refer to the languages of this region that include Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara, Ngaatjatjarra, Ngaanyatjarra, and Luritja. Indigenous people within the region are often fluent in all these
languages, which is an advantage to a researcher like myself who can speak only Pitjantjatjara fluently but can understand and be understood by most speakers of the other languages. Across the region some words have become part of a lingua franca both inter-culturally and cross-culturally. The term *Anangu*, meaning ‘people’, has come to refer to all Indigenous people of the region. While most use *walypala* for whitefella, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara also use the term *piranpa*.

**Pitjantjatjara Council**

*Piranpa* or whitefella law divided up the traditional *Anangu* lands under three state laws but eventually recognised the traditional cultural connectivity of the region in administration of native welfare and federal government programs. In 1975 these Indigenous lands covering parts of the three states were recognised as one interrelated region by the Federal Department of Aboriginal Affairs and administered as the Central Region from an office in Alice Springs. Under the government policy of self-determination the Pitjantjatjara Council took over administration of these lands in 1976 when Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people formed the Pitjantjatjara Council. At a meeting at Amata in July 1976 it was agreed that membership of this regional council was available to all *Anangu*. The use of the name ‘Pitjantjatjara’ was problematic but as no other could be agreed upon it was used to represent the Ngaanyatjarra, Ngaatjatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people.

Land and land rights have always been central to the activities of the Pitjantjatjara Council. They recognised the region as *Anangu* land irrespective of state borders and the first demand was ‘that the Pitjantjatjara claim all the lands from Indulkana to Docker River’ (Vachon & Toyne 1984:39). However, this demand proved not achievable under different state legislations so the Council’s efforts were directed towards South Australian legislation. Negotiations resulted in the handing over of the Pitjantjatjara Freehold Title Lands under the Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act to its traditional owners, *Anangu* Pitjantjatjara, in 1981.
In relation to Uluru, the Pitjantjatjara Council represented its Yankunytjatjara members' rights to that land. The Council was granted leave by the Land Commissioner to appear, through its lawyer, at the Ayers Rock Land Claim and the Council Chairman gave evidence about the Council's attitude to and support for the claim. The Council was involved as a political body in negotiations leading to the handing back of Uluru in 1985. The Council's anthropologists continued to be involved in the joint-management plan for the National Park, researching and representing both men and women's interests in protecting their sacred sites at Uluru by closing them to public access.

This brief overview of the history of political and administrative control of Anangu lands provides a context in which Nganyintja and her extended family conduct tourism at Angatja (see location in Figure 9) in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AP) Lands. Their tours begin at either Alice Springs or Uluru, and include the Anangu lands of Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park, the lands of the Northern Territory under Central Land Council control from Uluru to the border of South Australia, and the AP Lands. Running a tourism business over this region requires complex negotiations and permits from three administrative bodies: the Uluru National Park, the Central Land Council and the AP Council, as well as the individual communities on the lands through which the tour buses pass to get to Angatja, Cave Hill, Ernabella or Fregon.

**Anangu Pitjantjatjara Title to Land**

Physically, Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands can be described in terms of the area marked out on Western maps (see Figure 1b). The official website of AP Council describes it thus: ‘Anangu Pitjantjatjara is incorporated by the 1981 Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act whereby the SA Parliament gave Aboriginal people title to more than 103,000 square kilometres of arid land in the far northwest of South Australia. All Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Ngaanyatjarra people who are traditional owners of any part of the Lands are members of Anangu Pitjantjatjara. Communities on the Lands include: Amata, Fregon, Indulkana, Mimili, Pipalyatjara, and Pukatja (Ernabella). The administrative centre of the Lands is Umuwa, near Pukatja’ (AP Council, website). These lands are some of
those owned in common by some 3,000 Anangu whose traditional land titles have been recognized by succeeding generations for thousands of years and who maintain rights and responsibilities towards this land to the present day.

Despite the presence of ex-government or mission settlements in which most people live, Anangu still move around this country constantly. Today, as they have done traditionally, they move to visit their lands and religious sites for ceremonies, to visit relatives and to attend political and sporting meetings. Traditionally, nomadic patterns were regulated by hunting and ceremonial obligations within their own estates and those of neighbouring clans. The term 'clan' refers to extended family groups who live together and hold rights to an area which Stanner called an 'estate' (Stanner 1965:2). These estates are usually referred to by naming the major permanent water source, a rockhole, spring or soak. Estates usually contain several water sources that people travel between when hunting and gathering. The hunting area is typically a larger region, which Stanner called a 'range', and this overlaps the range of other clans. Rights to enter another clan's estate to hunt and forage are negotiated and payment in kind given to the owners. The traditional laws regarding the right to hunt or visit sacred sites within estates are still enforced by individuals having the right to exclude others from their estates.

Anangu do not consider estates to have precise boundaries. This flexibility would appear to be essential for survival in these semi-arid lands where rainfall variability results in regular droughts and shifting patterns of vegetation and animal migration. Layton argues that these climatic conditions necessitate a flexible boundary approach to land ownership around Uluru and my research confirms a similar pattern is common on the AP Lands (Layton 1986:39-49). One of my teachers, Peter Nyaningu, explained the Anangu concept of ngura kaputu as a cluster of important places in country towards which closely related individuals and groups of people have rights and responsibilities. Nyaningu explains that 'traditional owner' is a whitefella term that does not convey the Anangu concept of walytjara walytjara, 'caring for country in family groups'.
In accordance with Nyaningu’s description of land ownership and management, I use the term *ngura walytja* to describe areas people refer to as *ngayuku ngura*, ‘my country’. Anangu on the AP Lands did not make a distinction between an estate and a range as Stanner defined them. Rather they talk of country for which they can speak; their rights and responsibilities include being consulted regarding any land use in this region. They spoke of their responsibilities to tracts of country and sacred sites, specifically those of their mothers’, fathers’ and grandparents’ countries and the place of their birth.

Nyaningu explained that each *ngura walytja* extends over an area of *kuka* rights, hunting rights that are recognized by their neighbours. Within that *ngura walytja* there are sacred sites towards which they and others from outside their country have rights and responsibilities. Access to these sites cannot be granted solely by the family resident in that country; other senior custodians must be consulted. These may be descendants of that totemic ancestor or holders of ritual objects associated with ceremonies for that site. Association with a site can be acquired through being born at that site, the umbilical cord being cut there, through the fathers, mothers and grandparents of either, through having close relations on either side or by being given custodianship when other closer relatives who held that law die.

Some senior men and women of the Law have become custodians of large areas of country through knowledge of the song, ceremony and sites of that region. Andy Tjilari and Dickie Minyintirri are two such men who are regarded by others as having knowledge of, and rights to speak for, large tracts of land; their relationship to the Ngintaka Songline will be discussed in greater depth later. This extensive knowledge appears to be restricted to a few elders today, as the impact of colonization since the 1940s has meant that less traditional knowledge is able to be passed on to younger generations who are engaged in Western schooling and work. Though male initiation ceremonies are still vital and extensive, often involving up to a thousand men, women and children (Linda
Rive, pers. comm., 2004), the three-year initiation into law and land is now reduced to three months.

Women’s ceremonial life is still strong but is also reduced by the demands of community living and irregular visits to country. Major ceremonies for totemic ancestors are performed in annual cycles if sufficient numbers of the appropriate men and women can gather at specific sites to perform the ceremonies, which take several days. Ceremonial life must now fit in between a wide range of commitments including; community work obligations, regional and local council meetings, government agency meetings, funerals, football matches, and interstate travel for meetings, conferences and art or dance exhibitions. Anangu on the AP Lands are currently negotiating over twenty new projects with members of the South Australian Government Task Force (Rainow [Nganampa Health], pers. comm., 12 April 2005; see also Rainow 2004:1). Regional administration and meetings take up a large part of people’s lives today. A new nomadic pattern has arisen following the money flow of state and federal government funding priorities according to the political climate, rather than following the water flow determined by the physical climate as in traditional times.

Ngura Walytja – Homelands Movement
The homelands movement developed on the AP Lands during the late 1970s and 1980s after the Whitlam Federal Government made a policy decision in 1973 to assist groups who wanted to move out of major settlement back to their traditional country. People had been continually travelling back to country every year since the Ernabella Mission was established in 1937. The 3–4 months over summer were the time for annual pilgrimages on donkey, camel or foot to ngura walytja, ‘country of my spirit’ (see Downing, 1988). This annual trip was supported by the mission staff who often accompanied people for some of the time, or visited by truck, exchanging food, blankets and medicines for dingo scalps (Nganyinytja, pers.comm., 1980-2000).
After 1973 it became possible to apply to the government for a bore, a windmill and a tank so that families could camp more permanently in their country. In 1980, Nganyinytja and her family moved out of Amata to her homeland about 100 km west and set up a camp near the Angatja creek in the Mann Ranges. They returned to a semi-traditional lifestyle, living off the land with some basic store-food and only a couple of forty-four gallon drums of water to supplement traditional waterhole supply. Water in this environment is the number one priority for living in one place for any length of time. Evidence of continued residence at the homeland was necessary for obtaining government assistance for the highly prized bore, tank and windmill that would enable permanent residence (Nganyinytja, pers. comm., 1980-2000; see also Downing 1988).

Figure 9: Map of Angatja and Murputja Homelands (SG 52-11Mann, 1cm to 2.5km scale)

During the early 1980s Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari operated a rehabilitation camp for juvenile petrol sniffers at Angatja. They transported the youth away from the troubled community of Amata where alcohol abuse and gambling had weakened parental care and control. The young people were dried out, fed
well, and once strong enough were taken out hunting and gathering, learning
the traditional skills of living off the land, reconnecting with the spirit in their
land and in themselves. The program was partially successful with some youth
successfully rehabilitated but the sustained support of the Amata community
and government assistance was not forthcoming so they had to close the
operation. However, the teaching model of camping out in country and
learning about the cultural and natural landscapes of Nganyintja’s traditional
country around Angatja was adapted to teaching interested piranpa, whitefellas

Why Tourism?
Nganyintja said:

I had this idea. Lots of other people were always asking us about our
culture. So I started these tours to teach people about our way of life.
That is how it began.

(James 1996:20)

In 1987 the first two tour groups came into the Pitjantjatjara Lands with the
Australian Conservation Foundation. These were so successful that
Nganyintja and Ilyatjari decided to regularly offer tours, they invited non-
Indigenous partners Greg Snowdon and Diana James to go into business with
them starting Desert Tracks tours in 1988.

The development of Desert Tracks tourism on AP Lands grew from this
decision of Nganyintja’s extended family. Angatja was the birthplace of
tourism on AP Lands in 1988 and it was not until 1991 that another homeland
family clan at Cave Hill asked to be included in the business. Stanley Douglas
approached a co-management meeting of Desert Tracks and said he had
watched the tourism business for a while and learnt from his aunty,
Nganyintja, how to work with tourists and wanted tours to come to

The anthropological clearance and permission of the AP Council took three
years to obtain so it was 1994 before the first Desert Tracks tours included Cave
Hill, or Walinynga as the cave site is called. Cave Hill, situated 20 km east of Amata, is the site of a magnificent rock art gallery that had been the focus of possible tourism plans since 1971 when the curator of Anthropology at the South Australian Museum, Robert Edwards, recommended that it be protected under the Aboriginal and Historic Relics Preservation Act 1965 (see Appendix 7). Despite a detailed proposal by Edwards in 1975 that an air-conditioned museum of desert culture be developed at Cave Hill (Edwards 1975:141-146) there was no tourism to the site until Anangu approved anthropological clearance of the site for visitors in late 1993.

Figure 10: The Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of Central Australia (D James, 2003).

Angatja
Angatja is a small homeland nestled in a beautiful valley at the eastern end of the Mann Ranges just below the Northern Territory border (see Figure 9). This is Nganyinytja’s country, the country of her father, very near to where she was born at the Piltarti rockhole about 15 km west of Angatja. She grew up in this country and walked it barefoot with her parents, aunts and uncles and blind
grandmother until she was aged about eleven years old. Her father traded 
dingo scalps for whiteman’s goods, walking the long distance from Angatja to 
Ernabella, about 400 km return journey, with a flour bag of mixed contents on 
his head. Nganyinytja and her mother winnowed out the flour, tea and sugar 
into separate useable items on his return (Nganyinytja, pers. comm., 1980-2000).

When her father’s brother moved to the new mission at Ernabella to escape the 
droughts of the late 1930s, Nganyinytja and her family stayed in their country 
for as long as they could, then they also moved to Ernabella in 1940. 
Nganyinytja has remained closely associated with her country all her life, 
travelling back there every summer for several months, and finally moving 
back to live there permanently in 1980. Her extended family includes Sandy 
Mutju, born near Angatja at Tjanmatapiti; he is also a senior traditional owner 
of the clan estate. He and his wife, Tjulkiwa, were core members of the Desert 
Tracks team, both being exceptional hunters and holders of Tjukurpa Law, the 
song, dance and stories of the tjala, ‘honey ant’, ili, ‘wild fig’, ngintaka, ‘perentie 
lizard’ and Kungkarangkalpa, ‘Seven Sisters Dreaming’. Nganyinytja’s husband, 
Ilyatjari, comes from country west of Angatja near Wingellina. His totemic 
ancestor is papa ‘the dingo’. He has moved to his wife’s country, which is not 
uncommon, and taken custodial responsibility for the country and performance 
of its Tjukurpa, particularly the Ngintaka and Wanampi, ‘water serpent’, 
Dreaming (ibid). Together this clan worked hard to keep their traditional 
knowledge alive through the modern business of eco-tourism at Angatja.

While Sandy Mutju and Tjulkiwa lived at Umpukulu, a homeland 10 km away, 
they were always present at Angatja for the tourists. Residents at any time 
varied between two and twenty, including children, and there were houses for 
five families. During the developmental years of Desert Tracks (1988–2000), it 
was a community alive with several enterprises. Ilyatjari and his sons, Sammy 
and Johnathon, herded wild camels, tamed them and sold them in Alice 
Springs; they also had a small ‘killer’ herd of cattle and several fine brumbies 
used intermittently as workhorses. Sammy’s first wife was an artist and one 
shed was used to store her works and carved artefacts for sale to tourists. The
school bus, from the Murputja regional homelands school, collected the children every day and sometimes the whole school visited Angatja for a day with the tourists. There was no store; the nearest is at Kanypi, about an hour’s drive away on dirt roads. At a nearer homeland, Nyapari, there is a nurse and airstrip for the mail plane or aero-medical assistance. Angatja is located close to these amenities but sufficiently isolated to be removed from the constant through traffic created by stores, schools, offices and airstrips. The population has declined since Ilyatjari died and Nganyinytja left in 2001. Now the management of the tours has passed on to Nganyinytja’s daughter, Leah, and her husband, Lee Brady, with Nganyinytja’s son Sammy Lyons and his family.

**Anangu Kinship Cycle**

Lee Brady is the son of a man who was born near Amata but taken away because he was ‘half-caste’, a member of the stolen generation. He grew up in Port Augusta and married an Aboriginal woman of the northern Flinders Ranges. He brought his family of sons back to Amata when they were youths who had to learn the language of Pitjantjatjara and go through Anangu traditional law and initiations late in life. It was a struggle for them to be accepted and gain the respect of the elders, but Lee worked hard and has gone through the Law.

He is now a caretaker for his wife’s country at Angatja and has become the main interpreter for Desert Tracks tours. Lee’s experience of learning traditional culture as a young man has put him in an excellent position to interpret it to outsiders and visitors. He and I designed a diagram to explain simply the generational cycle of Anangu people to visitors. One visitor commented:

> Lee with the aid of the Pitjantjatjara Kinship Web taught me about kinship relationships and the way people are connected within aboriginal society. The four generation system and how things come back to the source. There was much to learn. He also emphasised the idea of collective responsibility for the raising of children. For example, a son is expected to refer to their father’s brothers as
'father'. Hence a boy will have several fathers. I think this has great value, as it is so important for a growing boy to have mentors.

(Potter, 2000:4)

It is a system of two moieties, each composed of alternate generations, so the parents and children are in separate moieties, the grandparents and grandchildren in the same moiety. The two moieties are called *tjintulu* sun or north side and *wiltjalyuru* shade or south side (Nganyinytja, Ilyatjari and Tjilari, pers.com., 1998). Every fourth generation the cycle returns to the beginning; the great grandfather/mother becomes the son/daughter of his/her great grandson/daughter. A symbolic representation of this cycle was devised with Lee Brady to explain the generational cycle to tourists (see Figure 11).

**Figure 11**: Pitjantjatjara Kinship Cycle: Two Moieties, Four Generational Cycle (D James and L Brady 1998)
Kinship Relationships Working for Business

The non-Indigenous managers, guides and interpreters who worked on Desert Tracks in the first six years of operation from 1988 to 1994 had all previously worked with Anangu on the AP Lands and were related to the Angatja family through the kinship structure as brothers and sisters, daughters and sons. The interpreters were initially all non-Indigenous people fluent in Pitjantjatjara and with many years of experience on the AP Lands. From 1997 onwards, Anangu fluent in English became the main interpreters as personal confidence increased in answering the constant questions of tourists (see Figure 12).

Since 2001, with Odyssey Safaris operating a daily tour into Cave Hill, many new guides have become involved in the tourism performance space. Odyssey Safaris have attempted to use a limited number of their guides trained specifically to understand the Walinynga story and site, but due to the turnover of their guides specialised knowledge and experience of this site and Anangu protocols and language is limited. The daily pressure of tours has increased the numbers of Anangu guides involved, often these are less knowledgeable than the elder experienced guides and not aware of tourist protocols. The result has been a decline in the interpretative interface between tourists and guides at the site (James & Sale 2004:25).

Desert Tracks management has undergone several changes since early 2004 when the Anangu Board engaged Discovery Ecotours as contract managers. Initially the marketing manager, Martin Darcey, of Discovery Ecotours took over managing Desert Tracks. Operating out of the Canberra office proved too distant from the on-ground operations; relationships with Anangu directors, guides and the AP Council who administer permits could not be developed. Anangu business is best conducted face-to-face and then trust and relationship can be established. Therefore it was decided in 2005 that Brett Graham at Yulara would take over management. This has proved more satisfactory to all parties. A close relationship between Anangu and management is essential even if kinship is not initially extended to new staff.
Figure 12: Desert Tracks Organisational Structure (D. James, 2005).

DEsert Tracks Organisational Structure

Joint-Venture

1988–1990
Anangu Partners
Nganyinytja, Ilyatjarri, Tjulkika, Sandy Mutju, Andy Tjilari
(Traditional owners and guides).

Non-Indigenous Managers
Greg Snowdon, Diana James
(Managers and interpreters).

1991–1994
Manager
Diana James

Interpreters: Diana James, Linda Andy Tjilari, Rive, Ushma Scales.

1994–2000
Board of Directors
Nganyinytja, Ilyatjarri, Tjulkika, Sandy Mutju, Andy Tjilari,
Leah Brady, Henry Tjamumalyi, Stanley Douglas.

Manager: Diana James

Tour Operations: Linda Rive, Terry Patroni, Jim Montgomery, Hussein Burra.

Interpreters: Linda Rive, Diana James, Ushma Scales

Guides: Anangu from Angatja, Umpukulu, Kanypi, Nyapari,
Cave Hill, Amata (6–12 depending on tour group size).

2001–2003
Manager: Jim Montgomery
Sub-Contract Cave Hill Tours: Odyssey Safaris

Interpreters: Lee Brady, Stanley Douglas,
Dickie Minyintirri, Ronnie Douglas, Dixon Douglas.

2003–2004
Board of Directors
Leah Brady, Lee Brady, Stanley Douglas, Andy Tjilari.

Management Contract: Discovery Ecotours
Martin Darcey
Brett Graham

2005–
Sub-Contract Cave Hill Tours: Odyssey Safaris

Interpreters: Lee Brady, Stanley Douglas.

Guides: Leah Brady, Sammy Lyons, Rennie Lyons,
Barney Wangin, and Stanley, Ronnie and Dixon Douglas.
Angatja Tours

Angatja is scenically very attractive to tourists, situated in the curve of a very pretty valley at the eastern end of the Mann Ranges. It is named after the large rockhole in the headwaters of a creek that winds its way down from the hills through a rocky narrow bed until it emerges onto the valley floor and widens into a usually dry sandy creekbed. This was chosen as the site of the first summer camps as it provides beautiful cool sites shaded by large river red gums. This location took advantage of the summer breezes and was within walking distance of the waterhole, and nearby was the community with showers and toilets.

Figure 13: Ilyatjari and Nganyinytja (Photos: Skipsey 1994)

Figure 14: View over Angatja (Photo Murty 1988)
The winter camp, Atal, was about 5 km away from the homeland community sited in a grove of mulga trees on the northeast side of the eastern most edge of the Mann Ranges. The summer campsite was only used regularly for a few years from 1988 to 1990, and then intermittently for Inma Festivals of dance and song, which attracted crowds of several hundred. While the mulga winter campsite became the base camp for all Desert Tracks tours. The development of this site, Atal (see Figure 26), into a permanent ecologically and culturally appropriate tour camp with amenities is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Figure 15: Angatja Ngintaka Trail (Mann ED2-2000, scale:1mm=127m)

The tours to Angatja gradually increased from one a month from March to November to often two a month in the cooler months from May to September. These regular tour groups attracted large numbers of Anangu interested in seeing how tourism to their lands was working. Some came to join in the Inma Festivals, others because they were related to the Angatja families and lands, some as senior custodians of particular sacred sites in the estate and other who were related to the major Dreamings being taught: the Ngintaka lizard and
Wanampi rainbow serpent. As was to be expected the senior Anangu men and women from the surrounding homelands of Kanypi, Nyapari and Umpukulu in the Mann Ranges, became involved in the tours out of interest and concern that that tourists behaved appropriately on their lands.

However, soon others from more distant communities were taking an interest in the tours. Ngurartitja, ‘custodians and owners’, of the Ngintaka Tjukurpa from as far southeast as Wallatina, Mimili, Fregon and Ernabella came to Angatja and some from the Western Australian border lands and Arannga in the Northern Territory. These traditional owners and custodians of the Ngintaka Songline gave permission for the Angatja section to be open to the public, only a couple of sites were restricted (see Ngintaka Trail Map, Figure 15).

In 1994 Peter Nyaningu’s homeland of Ngarutjara, Mt Woodroffe, (see location on Figure 10) was opened to public visitors and Desert Tracks included this as a two day tour. Ngarutjara is the site on the Ngintaka songline and so gradually Desert Tracks was opening up new tours along this ancestral trail. It was not until 1998 that a joint meeting of the Directors of Desert Tracks and AP Executive Council decided to investigate opening the whole trail from Wallatinna to Arannga to public visitation (see Appendix 4). Funding for the feasibility study for this was provided by DITR in 2004 and the first stage of the study was carried out in April 2005 (see Appendices 9 and 10).

Nganyinytja advised Anangu at other homelands who were interested in tourism: ‘Plan what you will do with people; how you will look after them… you need to plan your time with tourists. It’s a lot of work, people need to understand this’ (James 1996:22).
Cave Hill Tours

Stanley Douglas, of the Cave Hill community, was one of the first to approach Desert Tracks in 1991 and ask to become part of the business. He wanted to start tours to the rock art shelter of Walinynga at Cave Hill. It was not until 1993 that the anthropological clearance was completed and approval for limited tourism given by the AP Council. All of the stakeholders, traditional owners, AP and Desert Tracks, were concerned that this magnificent rock art site be protected and tourism be strictly limited to ensure Anangu control of their cultural and natural heritage.

Walinynga, located 20 km east of Amata, is one of the best-preserved sites of ancient and recent rock art in Central Australia. It is also one of the few that are open to public access on tours, guided and interpreted by Aboriginal traditional owners and custodians. Unlike Arnhem Land, where there are many extensive rock art shelters, the desert regions of Central Australia contain fewer sites of rock art and these are often in remote regions not accessible to the public. The rock art in the main shelter at Walinynga has been painted and repainted for thousands of years.
Walinynga is a major site on the *Kungkarangkalpa* ‘Seven Sisters Dreaming’, which is an extensive Dreaming journey of Creation Ancestors right across Australia, from the east coast south of Brisbane to Roebourne in Western Australia, then back across Central Australia past Uluru and Mt Connor to Walinynga. Here the Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara people take care of the songline, story and sacred sites associated with the Dreaming as the Seven Sisters journeyed south through the Flinders Ranges to the southern coast of
Australia before turning back up to Kalgoorlie in Western Australia. This is the journey trail of *Kungkarangkalpa,* 'the Seven Sisters, painted symbolically across the map of Australia by Pitjantjatjara artist, Josephine Mick (Figure 1a). This Dreaming songline is of National Heritage importance, as it traverses Australia and highlights the pre-contact cultural links of Aboriginal peoples across the continent.

Walinynga rock art depicts this epic journey of the Seven Sisters Songline and the Anangu custodians know the story, song and law of this Dreaming, which they interpret to visitors as a gift of living cultural heritage. The landscape at Walinynga was shaped in the Dreaming by the Creation Ancestors, the Seven Sisters, who created the main waterhole, built a curved *yuu,* ‘wind shelter’ that can be seen in a distinctive rock formation on the western side near the large open campsite scattered with stone artefacts, then they moved around the hill away from strong winds to build a *wiltja* that has become the cave sheltering the rock art today. This is a living cultural landscape that visitors can experience through Anangu eyes when guided by the traditional owners.

Anangu, through Desert Tracks, host regular groups of tourists at this site. Desert Tracks, in 2001 under the new management of Jim Montgomery, established a joint venture agreement with Odyssey Safaris of Ayers Rock Resort to operate day tours to Cave Hill. These small groups stay an average of 3-4 hours at the site visiting the cave rock art gallery, walking to the top of the rock dome and the artefact chipping site on the western sand dunes. These commenced in 2001 with a reported 800 visitors (Montgomery, pers. comm., April 2005) to the site in small groups, with a minimum of two and maximum of six passengers per group. Initially, Odyssey Safari guides were trained by Jim Montgomery to adhere to Desert Tracks environmental and cultural codes of conduct. Under the contract, the interpretation of the site is by Anangu guides from the Cave Hill community. There is a provision however that if no Anangu guides are present the tour will proceed anyway. This is bad for their tourism business and for Anangu control of interpretation of the site.
Desert Tracks tours, now managed by Discovery Ecotours, visit the site for longer periods. In 2003 they advertised a 2–4 day tour of Seven Sisters and Ngintaka Dreaming. In 2005 the tour format has changed to a two-day ‘Cave Hill/Seven Sisters Dreaming’ at Walinynga (see Desert Tracks website).

Cultural Heritage Interpretation

Interpretation of these Anangu cultural landscapes at both Angatja and Walinynga relies heavily on the presence of skilled Aboriginal guides who can speak English. The problem is that often the elders who know most about the cultural heritage do not speak fluent English and the non-Indigenous tour guides employed now by Odyssey Safaris and Discovery Eco-Tours do not speak Pitjantjatjara. Thus there are potential translation problems. Instances of misinterpretation and dissatisfaction of both customers and Anangu guides was noted during my field research visits to both sites from 2002 to 2005:

Visitor comments at Walinynga, 2003:
‘We couldn’t understand the Anangu story.’
Guide, Dickie Minyintirri:
‘They didn’t listen properly, tours are too quick’
(pers. comms., 2003).

More appropriate interpretive material and signage in Pitjantjatjara and English may need to be provided for tourists; cultural protocols, the story of the Ngintaka and the Seven Sisters, maps of the cultural landscape and information regarding the natural environment would improve cross-cultural understanding. The Desert Tracks information booklet that used to be sent to all tour participants may need to be reinstated and updated along lines similar to those designed with Anangu of the Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park.

Governance Issues of Tourism on Anangu Lands

Protection of the natural and cultural heritage values of Anangu landscapes open to tourists is a complex governance issue. The major stakeholders in the
Desert Tracks communities of Angatja and Cave Hill are the Anangu traditional owners, the AP Council, which holds the freehold land title, Desert Tracks Aboriginal Tour Company, Odyssey Safaris, Discovery Ecotours and the tourists who come wanting a genuine experience of Aboriginal culture. It is in all their interests that the heritage values of the sites are protected.

The cultural and natural heritage conservation plans of management already developed for the sites include the protection of vegetation cover of fragile sand dunes, erosion due to vehicular and foot traffic, wood fuel and local water use, the rock art, artefact chipping sites, road access and the sacred trees and rock formations associated with the Anangu Tjukurpa. As the frequency and numbers of tourists increase, management and amenities need to be upgraded to prevent increased road and camping erosion and dust, to provide adequate shade shelters, fly-free food preparation areas, clean drinking water and environmentally and aesthetically acceptable toilets at all sites. The infrastructure at both locations is inadequate for increased numbers of tourists.

However, the issue of who is responsible for developing appropriate tourism and conservation measures and infrastructure is problematic. Anangu Pitjantjatjara owns any permanent structures on AP Lands; therefore, private companies are reluctant to build any amenity structures on AP Lands. AP Council is unlikely to build tourist amenities or conservation infrastructure unless it receives sufficient revenue from the tours, currently only a permit fee. Desert Tracks is a small business with limited capacity to construct the necessary conservation and tourism infrastructure. The significance of the Walinynga site to the National Heritage of all Australians makes it imperative that solutions are found to these dilemmas of multi-stakeholder interest on AP Freehold Title Lands. Any plan to protect the natural and cultural heritage of the site must involve all stakeholders. Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park and Walinynga are contiguous regions under Anangu traditional law and therefore compatible natural and cultural heritage management planning is appropriate.
Conclusion

Cultural tourism is presented by government agencies and the tourism industry as a potential growth industry on Indigenous Lands in Australia. The practical development of tourism on these remote traditional Indigenous communities and the often fragile ecosystems of these regions pose a significant challenge to development (see Chapter 8). On the one hand is people’s desire for economically sustainable development; on the other hand is their desire to sustain the cultural and natural resources of their homelands. Regionally, on the Pitjantjatjara Lands tourism to one homeland impacts on the shared cultural, economic, social and environmental landscape of several thousand Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara and Ngaanyatjarra people.

The traditional owners who have the right to refuse or invite tourists into specific regions on AP Lands are not individuals; they are groups. One man or woman cannot sign on behalf of their family or their clan. Anangu prefer to meet and talk together, seeking consensus among themselves, before being asked to agree to any development in their country. The proposed Nginntaka Songline Heritage Trail extends right across AP Lands involving many family clan estates and significant sites along a totemic ancestor track under the governance of many Anangu. This involves tangible and intangible cultural heritage that has to be discussed with each family clan in their country and with elders of that totemic ancestor; a consensus then has to be reached at regional level before AP Council approval can be given to any development on that route. On the AP Lands, approval on cultural terms must precede approval for any economic and conservation proposal. On Anangu Land cultural, natural, economic and social life is all sustained and governed by Tjukurpa, the Law (James 2005:8; see Appendix 9 & 10).
Chapter 6

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INDIGENOUS TOURISM

Introduction
This chapter examines the national and international tourism issues for Indigenous Tourism, asks why Indigenous Australians are engaging in tourism and reviews the impacts of this industry on the cultural and ecological environments of Indigenous lands. Indigenous tourism is classed by the industry as special interest tourism that provides experience of traditional and contemporary Indigenous cultural and natural environments. Indigenous people’s involvement in tourism in Australia has developed in response to market demand, from the trading of artefacts on the fringes of society to the world market for Aboriginal art, music and dance.

Indigenous culture is a unique point of difference of the Australian experience that has long been used to promote Australia internationally. The Australian Government has, for many years, promoted Indigenous tourism as a viable economic option for many remote Indigenous population centres devoid of any other industry. The sustainability of Indigenous cultural tourism will depend on market demand, Indigenous human resource capacity, improved Indigenous community health and living standards, authentic and quality product, land and cultural resource management, and investment capital and enterprise development partnerships with government or industry. The extent to which these factors are being dealt with to support the Indigenous tourism industry will be examined in this chapter.

Issues in Historical Context
Aboriginal people have a long history of involvement in the tourism industry in Australia. In the 1840s ‘early settlers paid to attend Aboriginal dance
ceremonies with a Sunday corroboree being a feature of Adelaide life’ (Parsons, cited in Ryan & Huyton 2000:54), while in Sydney from the 1890s Aboriginal families at La Perouse were producing artefacts to sell to tourists. Despite being officially discouraged by the government of the day, a popular pastime with Sydney residents was to catch the train out there on the weekends and purchase boomerangs from the stalls outside the Aboriginal Reserve.

Official government policy has changed from assimilation attempts to wipe out traditional culture and language to an active policy of promotion of Aboriginal arts and culture. Government involvement and promotion of Indigenous participation in the modern Australian tourism industry dates back to at least the mid 1960s with the Harris, Kerr, Forster report, *Australia's Travel and Tourism Industry* (1965). This report stimulated the Commonwealth Government’s establishment of Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Pty Ltd, which was a co-operative business, designed to involve Indigenous artists directly with the tourism industry. The production and sale of Indigenous art and crafts has remained a high profile sector of the Australian tourism industry (Office of Northern Development 1993:7).

Images of Aboriginal people have been exploited to promote Australia as a tourist destination. The wide use of these images produced stereotypes of authentic Aboriginality, such as the ‘noble savage’ dressed only in a loincloth, standing on one leg and holding a spear. This image first appeared in tourism related publications in the 1950s, including *Walkabout* (Russell 1994:4). Indigenous people today object to this ‘generic’ use of their images and individual operators through representative bodies like Aboriginal Tourism Australia have negotiated with the Australian Tourism Commission (ATC) to gain more control over images used in advertising.

Since the 1980s the ATC has been federally funded to promote Australia as an international tourism destination. The marketing emphasis has been largely twofold: the ‘pristine’ environment and the unique Aboriginal heritage. During
the 1980s and 1990s Aboriginal art, design and fashion gained recognition in Paris, Frankfurt and New York. Aboriginal art featuring traditional and contemporary designs and symbols was acclaimed as fine art and there has been sustained high international demand for this art from public galleries, museums and individual collectors. There has been a corresponding increase within the Australian tourism market of the appropriation of these designs and symbols (Simmons 2000:413).

The problems of authenticity and Indigenous intellectual copyright are issues of central concern to the Indigenous tourism industry. They question who profits from the use of Indigenous images and is the value of these images to the mainstream Australian tourism industry reflected in the income Indigenous people derive from selling these images? The prominent Aboriginal leader, Mr John Ah Kit, said that ‘Indigenous culture was being “strip-mined for commercial profit” and Aborigines were receiving little benefit’ (Jopson 1995:28). He referred specifically to the Qantas jet painted with the Yanyuwa people’s designs. While Qantas paid a fee to the Sydney based Aboriginal artist for the design no payment went back to the Yanyuwa community. As traditional Aboriginal designs are communally owned the community expects payment, ‘the profit on a single planeload of passengers would be enough to pay for a much-needed kidney dialysis machine for Borroloola…to treat the custodians of the Yanyuwa culture’ (ibid). The use of Aboriginal imagery by advertising executives is for commercial profit with no consideration of the cultural importance or impoverished social conditions of the artists. The ‘old “Made in Australia” logo was in the shape of a boomerang when Indigenous people were not recognised as citizens’, said Mr Ah Kit, and ‘he no longer wanted to hear lies about Aboriginal religious beliefs being a threat to the economy. Logos and designs had been derived from sacred places and commercial interests’ denial of these sites’ existence was terrible’ (ibid).

Sustainable industry relies on the availability and quality of product; the eco-tourism industry recognises its reliance on the natural environment and invests
in its protection. Similarly the mainstream Australian tourism industry relies heavily on Indigenous cultural imagery and product; the industry needs to invest in its cultural continuity and the greater return to Aboriginal people. Indigenous tourism cannot be developed and sustained independently of the political and social welfare of Indigenous people. It is not an industry that will develop equitably for Indigenous people in response to market forces alone.

In a largely stable, functioning society like mainstream Australia the government emphasis on economic reform in order to secure growth is a reasonable but not sufficient prerequisite for social improvement and equity. As Noel Pearson says, ‘as an Aboriginal Australian, I have a different perspective, because we live in an inferno of social disintegration and in many places we suffer not from slow economic growth, but from the absence of a real economy altogether’ (Pearson 2002:1). He is a strong proponent for Aboriginal economic enterprise development and reduction of welfare dependence, but he is realistic about the current incapacity of many Aboriginal people to enter the market.

This national issue of inequality needs to be redressed to enable Indigenous Australians to benefit directly from national and international trade in tourism. To develop their businesses Indigenous people require access to mainstream finance. Land held under communal title cannot be used as collateral for bank finance so they seek alternative methods of raising finance that accommodate Indigenous land ownership. It is important to Indigenous people that land is valued as much more than just an economic resource, it is vitally important to their spiritual and cultural continuity.

Indigenous culture is grounded in people’s relationship to the land and all living things. This concept of connectivity is a core value of all Indigenous societies: ‘nature is an extension of society itself, and the creatures that share life with them are manifestations of past and future generations - of their flesh and blood’.

(Posey 1999:xvii)
The Indigenous sustainability ethic is holistic; there is no divide between the natural and cultural environment; the connectivity must be sustained. Hultsman has developed a similar ethic in the Western context by amplifying Leopold's 'land ethic' (see Leopold 1966) to an ethic of sustainability where individuals act in the best interests of the common good of the 'community of interdependent parts, beyond humankind including the soils, water and the biotic community of plants and animals' (Hultsman 1995:566).

The United Nations recognises the cultural and spiritual values of biodiversity as essential to global sustainability. Darrell Posey writes in the introduction to a world study of these values: 'Values of diversity – biological, cultural and linguistic – are intrinsic to life itself and celebrated by the myriad cultures and societies that have co-evolved with the natural and metaphysical worlds that surround them' (Posey 1999:xvii).

Sustainable Indigenous tourism must support biological and cultural diversity. This is both an ethical mandate and an economic necessity. Tourism cannot afford to destroy the natural and cultural environment that sustains the people and their cultural tourism products. Butler defined sustainable tourism as:

Tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well being of other activities and processes.  

(Butler 1993:29)

Globalisation and Tourism Sustainable Development

The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), in its International Cultural Tourism Charter of 1999, clearly states that each country is responsible for ensuring the protection of the cultural heritage rights of all its peoples:
At a time of increasing globalisation, the protection, conservation, interpretation and presentation of the heritage and cultural diversity of any particular place or region is an important challenge for people everywhere. However, management of that heritage, within a framework of internationally recognised and appropriately applied standards, is usually the responsibility of the particular community or custodian group.

(ICOMOS 1999 website)

The international market directly affects aspects of Australian Indigenous tourism, especially the visual and performing arts. It is yet to be seen if the multilateral trade agreements Australia has signed will protect our environmental and cultural diversity and reduce social inequality by ensuring a high return to local people involved in tourism.

In 1995 the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) and the Earth Council adopted a joint declaration: *Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry: Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development*. This included the principles that:

- tourism should contribute to the conservation, protection and rehabilitation of ecosystems;
- tourism should be planned at the local level and allow for the participation of the citizens;
- tourism should recognise and support the identity, culture and interests of indigenous peoples;
- international agreements to protect the environment should be respected by the tourism industry.

(WTO 1995, website)

However, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), in its recent Millennium Vision on travel and tourism, actively supports the globalisation of the industry and increased control by transnational corporations. If local state
economies cannot bear the high cost of such modernisation to accommodate the needs of wealthy international visitors then privatisation of transport infrastructure is recommended, thus opening the way for increased control by large transnational corporations. Globalisation could be in direct conflict with the WTTC stated aim of local involvement and benefit from tourism. Critics like Pleumaron (1999) view tourism in developing and Indigenous societies as often just an extension of former colonial inequalities. The poor countries of the South become the ‘hosts’ of the wealthy Northern ‘guests’; the costs of the negative impacts of tourism are felt by the hosts and often as much as two-thirds of the tourism dollar ‘leaks’ back to the North. It is already well documented that in ‘some developing countries, more than two-thirds of the revenue from international tourism never reaches the local economy’ (Pleumaron 1999, website).

The WTTC has been strongly involved in the globalisation of tourism, while multilateral agreements facilitating globalisation have shown little, if any, concern for social and ecological issues. The market economy is driven by profit not conscience. Australia with its post-colonial legacy of inequality has a responsibility for government and non-government organisations to facilitate capacity building and access to the market economy for Indigenous peoples.

**Indigenous Tourism: In ‘Our Own Hands’**

In 1998 Terry Janke produced a benchmark report *Our Culture: Our Future* on Australian Indigenous cultural and intellectual heritage rights. This report and the Mataatua Declaration on the Cultural, Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1993) provide strong guidelines for the development of an Indigenous Tourism code of ethics. The Mataatua Declaration states the following:

Indigenous people are the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge. They also have the right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions.

*(Mataatua 1993)*
This is in accord with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which affirms that cultural heritage constitutes an irreplaceable tangible and intangible legacy of all peoples. There are inherent duties and responsibilities for individuals and communities, as well as for institutions and states, to protect this right for future generations.

The Indigenous Australians and Tourism Conference (IATC), held in Darwin in 1993, was the first national gathering of Indigenous and non-Indigenous stakeholders in Indigenous tourism. ATSIC, the Northern Territory Tourist Commission and the Office of Northern Development of the Commonwealth Department of Industry, Technology and Regional Development jointly sponsored the conference. The delegates including Indigenous tourism operators, policy makers, academics and tourism wholesalers, were convened with the principal objective of providing substantial input into the developing National Aboriginal and Torress Strait Islander Tourism Strategy. The executive summary cautioned that 'any consideration of Indigenous participation in the tourism industry needs to question the assumption that there is a necessary correlation or connection between the realisation of self-determination, self-management and economic self-sufficiency and tourism' (Office of Northern Development 1993:8).

This statement was made after thirty years of active promotion of Indigenous involvement in tourism by government agencies, dating from the 1960s. In 1984 the Northern Territory Tourist Commission was the first state agency to appoint an Aboriginal Tourism Officer. Since then there has been a huge investment in advertising Aboriginal tourism in the Northern Territory during the 1980s and 90s. The main marketing tool was a full colour glossy booklet, *Come Share Our Culture*, advertising all tours and attractions with Aboriginal content. The Australian Tourism Commission (ATC) engaged Tjapukai Dance Company in the early 1990s to tour Switzerland, Germany and the UK as part of the ATC tourism recovery plan following the pilot's strike. Despite this
marketed image of Aboriginal Australia, Brokensha’s subsequent research in the Northern Territory in 1992 found that ‘the expectations of tourists’ exposure to authentic Aboriginal cultural experiences is severely limited by lack of Aboriginal tourist experiences’ (Brokensha 1992:112-113).

It is necessary in any discussion of the sustainability of Indigenous tourism, to appreciate the extent to which Indigenous participation in tourism has been promoted by and is dependent upon continuing governmental support. This support continues to be directed towards capacity building, market research, strategic planning, training, regional and national business cooperatives and specific Indigenous representation in state and national tourist commissions and non-government associations. While this assistance is well intentioned, there is serious concern that expectations of both Indigenous people and tourists may have bee raised by government business development funding without feasibility assessment and over marketing.

In 1997, as a response to the Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody released in 1991, the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (NATSITIS) was released. Recommendations from this report identified tourism as a mainstream industry that offers Indigenous people opportunities for self-determination and economic independence. Indigenous tourism was identified as a vital and growing area of the Australian tourism industry. The Office of National Tourism and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) developed the Strategy jointly. This is the most comprehensive national government and industry collaborative strategy developed that seeks to direct and support ‘greater indigenous participation in the tourism industry’ (ATSIC 1997:v).

Glen Miller, the current manager of ‘Special Interest Tourism’ in Tourism Queensland 2005, has been involved in promoting and assisting the operators of Indigenous Tourism since 1992. He participated in the development of the
National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Strategy over four years and has assessed the industry in Queensland and nationally over many years. His response to the question, 'How is it working?' was: 'Indigenous Tourism is not the spectacular success politicians tell us it has the potential to be' (Miller pers.comm., 1999).

His realistic appraisal of the current situation raises serious questions about the value of previous government encouragement of Indigenous people’s involvement in the industry. Has the potential of Indigenous tourism been unrealisable due to failures to implement the recommendations of the National Strategy? The Strategy was designed to provide a support framework for building the capacity of Indigenous people to be involved in the tourism industry as a whole. It is recognised as an excellent model for building sustainable tourism but, unfortunately, the implementation plan was not actioned. The recent formation of the Indigenous Tourism Leaders Group provides new opportunities to revive the Strategy. This important document has wide industry support and could be updated to dovetail with the national government’s new ten year tourism plan.

In 2002 the Australian Government proposed a Ten Year Plan for Tourism but critic Jane Stanley felt it was not an advance on the benchmark, the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy. Stanley’s consultative group commented: ‘We are concerned that the Discussion Paper does not acknowledge the full significance of Indigenous tourism for adding value to the Australian tourism industry, nor the considerable work that has already been done by the Commonwealth Government in developing strategies for Indigenous tourism development’ (Stanley 2002). Though some aspects of the report are out of date, Stanley found that ‘recent scoping carried out amongst industry and government experts by the CRC [Cooperative Research Centre] for Sustainable Tourism has indicated that there is still a high level of support for the content of the Strategy as it stands’ (ibid).
Aboriginal Tourism Australia

Despite the success of some ventures, tourism has not fulfilled the promise of widespread employment for Indigenous people that was envisaged. One specific outcome of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (NATSITIS) was the formation of Aboriginal Tourism Australia (ATA). This is a non-profit industry organisation formed by Indigenous tourism operators. It is the peak body representing Indigenous tourism operators in Australia today and its development was supported by a national meeting of Aboriginal tourism operators in Alice Springs in 1995: ‘ATA is committed to raising the level of industry professionalism, enhancing economic sustainability and employment opportunities and protecting the cultural property rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders within the tourism industry’ (ATA 2000, website).

ATA has developed a financial management guide to assist Indigenous business development; it is actively running business management workshops in all states and is concurrently developing an Indigenous Tourism accreditation scheme for operators. The total package is called Respect Our Culture (ROC). This is a business development initiative that will address business management, cultural authenticity and integrity, and sustainable environmental (Caring for Country) practices. The program will meet the Australian tourism industry accreditation standards, providing operators with national tourism accreditation.

In 2003 the ROC program was first tried with operators. Now facilitator positions are funded in each state and territory to provide local-level support to potential and existing tourism businesses and Indigenous communities. This provision of direct capacity building at the grassroots level is necessary to ensure sustainable Indigenous tourism development. The ROC program is one of the many government and tourism industry plans to assist the development and marketing of Indigenous tourism. It is the first Indigenous-run program to be driven by and responsible to a national Indigenous tourism association. It has identified key areas essential to sustainable Indigenous tourism.
Aboriginal Tourism Australia's (ATA) website, established in September 2000, promotes 'Welcome to Our Land', a set of protocols 'to facilitate and encourage the tourism industry to operate on Aboriginal lands in ways that respect and enhance the cultural heritage and living cultures of local Aboriginal communities and which protect Aboriginal cultural, social, religious and spiritual values' (ibid).

**Cultural Protocols**

The primary protocol emphasised by the ATA, which is also in the guidelines for visitors to Indigenous communities developed by Michael Dobson, is seeking permission of local elders:

> Seeking and gaining permission from the appropriate individuals or groups is by far the most important aspect of dealing with or approaching Aboriginal people for information. Dealing with Aboriginal communities should always be through appropriate channels. Be aware that in urban areas cultural values and protocols still exist. (ATA 2000, website; Dodson 2000:3)

This relies on visitors having access to 'accredited' tour operators who will 'ensure that protocols are gone through so that local Elders welcome you to their land and the correct interpretation of local culture, sites of significance, bush tucker use, art and craft of the region will enhance your Aboriginal experience' (ATA 2000, website).

Ideally there would be accredited Indigenous guides in all regions and sectors of the tourism industry but currently this is not the case. In reality, the majority of tourists to Australia, even those with expressed interest in Aboriginal culture, do not visit Aboriginal land and meet Aboriginal tour operators, the notable exceptions being the Indigenous guided tours offered to visitors to Uluru and Kakadu National Parks. In other regions of Australia, especially urban areas, it is difficult for most visitors to access Aboriginal tour operators or
seek permission to enter country from Aboriginal elders recognised as having authority in the region. Nationally there is, as yet, no recognised system of accreditation of Indigenous tours or operators, though ATA is developing accreditation through the program, ‘Respect Our Culture’.

It is important that visitors, the industry and government tourism authorities are guided by a code of ethics developed by a nationally recognised body of Indigenous people in the tourism industry. The ATA has developed a set of protocols that could form the framework for such a code for ethical Indigenous tourism under three main categories: relationship, responsibility and respect. These will be discussed with reference to:

- authenticity of tourism product and interpretation
- interpretation of Indigenous material/objects/stories
- protection of the cultural/spiritual landscapes
- protection of communal and individual intellectual heritage and communal heritage ownership; recognition of intellectual property rights in regards to communal oral history, story, dance, song and art designs
- permits/restrictions regarding access to Indigenous sites and ceremony
- respecting kinship, gender and age restrictions to knowledge
- media representation of Indigenous culture.

Indigenous people have identified the proposed protocols, issues and ethics as crucial to a sustainable Indigenous tourism industry. These will be considered in the context of Indigenous tourism in the Anangu Lands of Central Australia that include Uluru and the contiguous AP Lands south of the Northern Territory border. The Indigenous tourism ventures, Anangu Tours and Desert Tracks, have developed products for different sectors of the market. Anangu Tours operates short day tours within the National Park, while Desert Tracks operates extended camping tours from Uluru to remote Aboriginal homelands in the AP Lands.
Cultural Landscape Management under Two Laws

Indigenous people, from the coastal cities to the inland desert communities, say their main motivation for becoming involved in cultural tourism is the desire to keep our culture alive (James 1996b:8). Protection of tangible and intangible cultural heritage is a big issue for Indigenous tourism operating in the free trade market. The Federal Copyright Act is currently inadequate to provide protection for Indigenous arts, crafts, designs, symbols and oral stories that are usually communally rather than individually owned.

The 1998 report, Our Culture: Our Future identified these limitations of protection:

- commercial interests are protected under copyright law rather than interests of cultural integrity
- individual notions of ownership are recognised, rather than the Indigenous concept of communal ownership.

(Janke 1998:xxiii)

Protection of intellectual property must extend to traditional ideas and knowledge that identify places, customs, and beliefs. In 1957 the International Labour Organization, a legal instrument of the United Nations, developed a convention concerning Indigenous issues which was revised in 1987 as the Convention Concerning Indigenous Peoples. This states that governments ‘shall respect the special importance of the cultural and spiritual values of the peoples concerned, of their relationships with the lands and territories – and in particular the collective aspects of this relationship’ (Simmons 2000:415). In the absence of adequate copyright protection for Indigenous intellectual property, how can the growing tourist commercialisation of Aboriginal culture, especially exploitation of the Dreaming, be addressed within the industry? Will codes of ethics or standards of best practice be sufficient to control the Indigenous tourism industry?

Tourism marketing of Aboriginal culture has focused on the Dreamtime (see Chapter 2, 'Key Concepts', for full discussion of this term) because of 'the
relative lack of arresting Aboriginal sites or permanent structures, with the exception of spectacular rock art sites' (Zeppel 1998:68). However, the promotional material has not educated the tourist market about the sacredness and importance of this living heritage to Aboriginal people today. Rather, it has created an appetite to experience the exotic, with articles头lined 'Tourists urged to relive Dreamtime' (The Advertiser 15 May 1996:4). But it has not fulfilled the dream of helping 'Indigenous Australians orchestrate their emergence from behind immense veils of misunderstanding and the prejudicial practices of the non-Aboriginal world which have grown up, about and around the precious numinousity of traditional Aboriginal Australians' (Hollingshead 1996:309).

Inappropriate public knowledge of traditional beliefs, and visitors' disregard of restrictions on visiting sacred sites or discussion of restricted secret information can result in the destruction of living cultural identity. Usually such transgressions are due to the visitor and tourism industry's lack of understanding of the relationship between Aboriginal people, their land and their Dreaming. However, there is also the effect of market demand, especially from American and German visitors, for special access to restricted secret, sacred Indigenous knowledge. Visitors asking questions about secret ritual practices or sacred objects are more than embarrassing: they reveal either a complete lack of awareness or a disregard for the cultural protocols of others.

If customer expectations of authentic Indigenous cultural experience can be met in structured situations within national parks or in specifically designed eco-cultural camps or lodges, it reduces the intrusion of tourism into community life. In these situations, structured tourism experiences that are sometimes criticised as not being the real thing may actually 'help to maintain an authenticity for Aboriginal Australians by locating tourists at arms length from their communities’ (Ryan & Huyton 2000:83).
The difference between the tourist demand for knowledge of and participation in Indigenous cultural experiences, and the need for Indigenous people to maintain their cultural laws regarding secret and sacred material, sites and knowledge, is an ontological divide that must be bridged in the promotion of Indigenous tourism. Aboriginal Tourism Australia (ATA) has recognised the problematic interface between cross-cultural protocols regarding language and questioning styles in its approach to tourism and Indigenous culture. In conjunction with the Federal Government Department of Environment and Heritage (DEH), they have produced an attractive brochure for tourists called *Welcome to Country: Respecting Indigenous Culture for Travellers in Australia* (ATA and DEH brochure 2004; see ATA and DEH 2000a, website). In this they emphasise that the tourist performance space should be one of 'relationship, responsibility and respect' for each other’s culture (see Figure 20).

**Figure 20: Remember the 3Rs (ATA & DEH, 2004).**

![Image showing the 3Rs: Relationship, Responsibility, Respect]
**Relationship** - Recognise Indigenous people’s relationship and connection to the land.

**Responsibility** - Acknowledge the ongoing responsibility Indigenous people have to their country, and recognise your own responsibility to travel thoughtfully.

**Respect** - Respect Aboriginal beliefs associated with country and culture. As a visitor, respect the wishes of your hosts and any restrictions that you have been asked to observe (ibid).

**Remember the 3 Rs**

1. **Relationship - Reconciliation to People and Land**

   Indigenous cultural tourism businesses are often motivated by reconciliation. 'They seek a greater understanding between two cultures, the indigenous and the later settlers' (Kauffman 2000:xii).

   Aboriginal people believe that at the time of Creation, ancestral spirits made epic journeys across a barren earth creating the geographical features of the landscape. The ancestral spirits created Laws to govern every aspect of Aboriginal life and attributed ongoing custodianship of the land to local groups. This is the ‘connectedness’ to the land, the essence of Aboriginal spirituality which underpins the unique relationship with the land.

   (ATA 2000, website)

1.1 **Authenticity**

NATSITIS (1997) Principle 3.1: Indigenous people have the right to determine how their culture is presented within the tourism industry.

Aboriginal Tourism Australia refers to the principles of authenticity and cultural integrity as those that encourage respect and consideration of Indigenous customs, spiritual and religious beliefs. Authenticity is defined by individual and group relationship to land and knowledge.
According to Indigenous belief, the activities of ancestral heroes and creator figures prescribe the peoples’ rights to lands and informs their rich traditions of ritual, dance, music, art and stories. Particular groups have authority over the ownership of such knowledge and strict protocols determine who may narrate or paint particular stories or use associated designs.

(_ibid_)  

*Our Culture: Our Future* identified Indigenous people as setting authenticity standards:  

- Be recognised as the primary guardians and interpreters of their cultures, arts and sciences, whether created in the past or developed by them in the future  
- Prevent distortions and mutilations of Indigenous cultural and Intellectual Property.  

(Janke 1998:xxi)  

How is authenticity of product and experience to be maintained under the increasing pressure of domestic and international markets for their preconceived notion of the ‘real Aborigine’? Tourism marketing has focused on stereotyped images of traditional Aboriginal culture. The international images of Australia, marketed by the large organisations such as the ATC, Ansett Australia, Qantas, and state tourism authorities, promote traditional Aborigines in north and central Australia. This advertising ignores non-traditional Aborigines living in contemporary Australia. It also raises the visitor expectation of seeing traditional Aboriginal people in ceremonial dress. This is rare and almost always in artificial performance situations which tourists criticise as inauthentic, even though the ‘performance’ is less culturally intrusive and often preserves the authenticity of the real culture.

International tourists might only visit one Aboriginal community or cultural centre when they come to Australia. Their expectations have been formed from films and advertising that promote a ‘pan Australia Aboriginality’ of didgeridoos, boomerangs, loincloths, spear throwing and smiling traditional
dancers. Should Indigenous tour operators cater to market demand by supplying these products, whether or not they are authentically of the traditional or contemporary culture of their people and region? Business profitability may make broad appeal essential.

In each of the Indigenous tourist enterprise case studies examined, the principle in determining ‘authenticity’ has been that the Indigenous people are the determinants of their traditional and contemporary authenticity of cultural expression. Desert Tracks incorporates an ethical statement at the beginning of its business plan:

Control of the itinerary and content of the tours remains with the elders. Authenticity of Indigenous product demanded by tourists means respect for culture and the status of elders is reinforced.

(Desert Tracks 1994)

This Central Australian tour enterprise has not succumbed to pressure to include didgeridoos or souvenir returning boomerangs in its product. It has taken education of the market as a goal, to explain in advertising and pre-trip information that this is an authentic tour of local desert Aboriginal culture as distinct from generically promoted pan-Australian Aboriginal culture. Important in maintaining this market respect for its authenticity has been the extensive education of travel agents, state and federal tourist commissions and non-government organisations.

1.2 Interpretation of Indigenous material/objects/stories
Relationship to land is crucial in determining who can speak for what country, which traditional stories can be told or painted, and who can use specific designs. As stated in the ATA guidelines, only local elders can welcome people to country and give correct interpretation of the local culture.
The ICOMOS (1999) principles of the International Cultural Tourism Charter are invaluable in developing high standards of interpretation of Indigenous cultural heritage, both for the host communities and the visitors:

Since domestic and international tourism is among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange, conservation should provide responsible and well managed opportunities for members of the host community and visitors to experience and understand that community's heritage and culture at first hand.

The natural and cultural heritage is a material and spiritual resource, providing a narrative of historical development. It has an important role in modern life and should be made physically, intellectually and/or emotively accessible to the general public. Programmes for the protection and conservation of the physical attributes, intangible aspects, contemporary cultural expressions and broad context, should facilitate an understanding and appreciation of the heritage significance by the host community and the visitor, in an equitable and affordable manner.

(ICOMOS 1999)

The Desert Tracks business plan makes a similar ethical statement: 'That Indigenous people tell their own story about their culture and land' (Desert Tracks 1994). The traditional owners ensure the authenticity of oral interpretation of sites, dances, songs and stories. When new guides join the tour they learn these interpretations from the elder experienced guides, and then only the communally agreed version is told. The traditional elders, prior to any information being printed for tourists, must verify the written or recorded version of story or dance. All published material distributed or sold through the tours is under copyright to Desert Tracks and Anangu Pitjantjatjara.

The process of authenticating all government tourism publications through a recognised Indigenous approval process, by reference to the appropriate
Aboriginal or Torres Strait people, is gradually being implemented. In the past, Government Tourist Commission publications often used Indigenous images as generic material, non-specific to place or people. Keith Hollingshead points out: 'If an agency or an organisation in the tourism marketplace sincerely seeks to introduce non-Aboriginal travellers to the realities of indigenous life and living in outback Australia, it must take informed and considered steps 'to know', and then to attune its visitors to the inner dreaming that is Aboriginal spirituality' (Hollingshead 1996:309). The tourism industry needs to portray the specific cultures of the peoples it markets, rather than selling stereotypic postcards of Indigenous culture.

South Australia, in its 1996 brochure, Aboriginal Tourism Experience, was the first state tourist commission to 'adopt the spiritual concept of songlines to market Aboriginal sites, destinations and wildlife encounters as transforming tourist experiences' (Zeppel 1998:74) [my italics]. There is a serious attempt to 'interpret' this spiritual relationship through the concept of songlines (see Chapter 2 for origin and history of this term), which link important Dreaming sites featured in Aboriginal tours to the Flinders Ranges, Yalata and the Pitjantjatjara lands.

Desert Tracks is one of the Indigenous-owned tour companies in South Australia from which Aboriginal authority for this style of advertising is gained. The welcoming quote in the South Australian brochure is by Nganyinytja, of the Pitjantjatjara people, and the brochure includes photographs of Dickie Minyintirri in ceremonial dance and one of elder, Andy Tjilari, with tourists in a cave captioned 'The Angatja people’s Ngintaka Creation Law Cave' (South Australian Tourist Commission 1996:13). Permission was sought and given to use these photographs, but the accompanying text was not cleared by the elders and none of the conditions or limits on tourists’ access to Aboriginal sacred sites or knowledge were included from the Desert Tracks brochure. While consultation with traditional elders was a feature of this brochure...
production, the marketing emphasis on Indigenous spirituality was a
decision of the Commission. Aboriginal controls over information,
photography and access to sites should have been clearly included to create
a realistic tourist expectation and reduce unreasonable demand for secret,
sacred material.

Caution is needed in marketing Aboriginal culture to prevent cultural
stereotyping and market dissatisfaction with a less glossy ‘exotic’ reality.
There has been a distinct bias in Tourist Commission marketing, at state and
federal levels, towards traditional Aboriginal culture and relationship to
land, rather than contemporary Aboriginal society: arts, dance, music,
theatre and urban tourism enterprises. Modern Indigenous definitions of the
authenticity of Aboriginal product need to be developed and included in an
authentic portrayal and marketing of Australian Indigenous tourism.

The more recent Queensland Tour and Travel Corporation brochures
promoting Indigenous tourism have depicted a wider range of authentic
Indigenous product. Their research revealed that frequent depictions of
Aboriginal people in ceremonial dress created visitor dissatisfaction, as the
product did not match the advertisements. The Tjapukai Dance Company’s
inclusion of part-Aboriginal performers was not accepted as ‘authentic’. In
response to market research, the new brochure of 1996 focused on the
‘holiday experience’ but not the ‘culture’. Aboriginal and Torres Strait
Islanders are depicted in modern clothes in a greater variety of settings,
part-Aboriginal people are included and more fun activities are illustrated.
The brochure aimed to ‘present a non-threatening or more acceptable

2. Responsibility

Traditional owners or custodians of the land have the responsibility for
looking after the environmental, cultural and spiritual wellbeing of the land.
This is referred to as ‘Caring for Country’ and acknowledges that the local
Aboriginal community are custodians of the land and Indigenous culture of the area:

Traditional knowledge is considered to be intellectual property. Be aware that not every person you meet on your tour will be able to speak on all cultural matters. Certain knowledge is the responsibility of tribal elders and may be secret/sacred or imparted only on a ‘need to know’ basis. Consider what aspects of Aboriginal culture and history are of interest to you and accept if your guide tells you that he/she cannot speak about a particular matter.

(ATA 2000, website)

2.1 Intellectual property protection: communal and individual

*Our Culture: Our Future* defines Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual property thus:

Heritage consists of the intangible and tangible aspects of the whole body of cultural practices, resources and knowledge systems developed, nurtured and refined by Indigenous people and passed on by them as part of expressing their cultural identity.

Any definition of Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property should be flexible to reflect the notions of the particular Indigenous group and the fact that this may differ from group to group and may change over time.

(Janke 1998:xvii-xviii)

The declaration of ICOMOS, marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1998, confirmed its support of these rights:

The right to cultural heritage is an integral part of human rights considering the irreplaceable nature of the tangible and intangible legacy it constitutes, and that it is threatened in a world which is in constant transformation.

(ICOMOS 1998)
The enterprises, Desert Tracks and Anangu Tours, referred to in these introductory chapters, have both developed high standards for cultural integrity and have managed to communicate selected cultural information, not secret or sacred restricted knowledge. This cultural information, though reduced and simplified, allows visitors an authentic insight into Indigenous culture. In each case the decisions about what was open and what was restricted information were made by the traditional elders in each community under the regional governance of their Indigenous Land Council. Both have encountered the difficulty of controlling the use of orally communicated traditional communal heritage.

The Creation stories, singing, body painting and ceremony shared on these tours are not the private property of any individual; many Aboriginal people of these communities are owners or custodians of this traditional knowledge. Control of this communally owned intellectual knowledge was the same problem faced by the Yanyuwa people when one of their artists painted their traditional designs on the Qantas jet. The use and transmission of such information needs to under the control of the owners of the traditional knowledge, regional Land Councils can enforce local by-laws on Indigenous land but misappropriation of Indigenous intellectual property is more difficult to police in the wider national and international community.

The problem arises when information shared in one context, while the visitors are on Aboriginal Land, is unable to be properly protected when the tourists return to Western society. Publication, or other commercial use of this information by these tourists, can cause serious problems for the traditional people who have assumed that it was shared only for private understanding. The direct and polite message of ATA's '3 Rs' may be sufficient in highly controlled situation like Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park where much Indigenous cultural property is protected by a system of strong permits and fines. However, in the experience of Desert Tracks on the AP
Lands, these ‘softly spoken’ protocols were not sufficient protection of cultural heritage. Western tourism culture is increasingly legislated, and the do’s and don’ts are spelled out specifically in each situation where a service is being provided or given to another person. The detail is necessary to protect the customer and the provider from litigation. It is easier for the Western tourist or tourism operator if the do’s and don’ts of the cross-cultural exchange on Indigenous Lands are clearly spelled out with associated permits and fines for breach of conditions. Desert Tracks had to design a specific legally binding declaration of intent for its customers to agree to on booking a tour. This was necessary after intellectual property was taken and resold by visitors. This case will be examined in detail in Chapter 13, ‘Stealing the Grindstone’.

Figure 21: Declaration of Intent by Tourists on Desert Tracks Tours (Desert Tracks brochure, 2000)

WELCOME TO OUR LANDS

Our Desert Tracks Tour offers visitors a unique opportunity to meet Pitjantjatjara people and learn from our culture and traditions. Information shared with you by us during a tour is not intended for publication or for professional use. For that reason, if you have a professional interest in our Pitjantjatjara culture, that interest must be declared prior to commencing your visit. If our Regional Council agrees to your purpose and (sic) Agreement will be prepared. Please note that it takes at least two months to finalise any such agreements. General conditions re. The recording of information is that photography is allowed only with the agreement of our Elders, confirmed via your Desert Tracks’ Guide.

We Aim to Educate people into our oral tradition of retaining and transmitting knowledge, and to experience our environment, culture and people directly, and to take home wonderful memories enlivened by some special photographs.

If you are printing and faxing or posting this booking form, please sign to indicate that you understand and are prepared to abide by the above conditions

Signature: ...................................... Date: .....................................
Tracks operates under permit from AP Council on Aboriginal Lands and each visitor must hold a permit under the Land Rights legislation of South Australia. The conditions of this permit preclude entry into houses or camps of Aboriginal people without their consent, and specify that no alcohol be taken onto Aboriginal Land. While these permit conditions cover physical intrusion into areas of cultural sensitivity, they do not cover intellectual intrusion and appropriation of Indigenous culture. A copy of the Desert Tracks customer declaration, a ‘welcome to country’ called ‘Welcome to our Lands’ is included here (see Figure 21).

This is part of the pre-trip information that influences the customer’s decision to go on this Aboriginal tour. To my knowledge, no other Indigenous tourism experience requires customers to sign a similar pre-trip declaration of intent. It does not reduce the Indigenous tour company’s responsibility to insure against any mishap that may occur to the customer whilst on the tour, as do many pre-trip ‘At Your Own Risk’ declarations; rather, it allows the company to prosecute any visitor who uses the information, photographs or stories, songs and dances taught in the exchange in a public or published forum without the consent of Anangu. It is an intellectual border check that the potential visitor must pass before they enter Aboriginal Land and become accountable under the Two Laws for their behaviour in Aboriginal country.

3. Respect

Aboriginal belief system and cultural teachings instil respect for the land, elders, kinship, sustainable use of the land and for every living thing. For Aboriginal people, the heritage value of the landscape is largely associated with Creation events and places; therefore a site may not have remarkable geographical features. Respect should be given to the legends associated with sites as well as the anthropological, historical and contemporary sites important to local
Aboriginal people. Respect that there are some sacred sites that by Aboriginal Law, you may not be permitted to visit.
(ATA 2000, website)

3.1 Permits: restrictions on access to Indigenous sites and ceremony.

Our Culture: Our Future recognises the rights of Indigenous people to:

- Maintain the secrecy of Indigenous knowledge and other cultural practices
  (Janke 1998:xxi)

Desert Tracks operating on Anangu Pitjantjatjara Land must obtain permits for each tourist and special permits for interest groups not covered under the general tourism provisions; film, television or print journalists.

The tourism enterprise, though Aboriginal owned, must apply for anthropological and legal clearance of any sites, communities or traditional songlines it wishes to visit. Due to the nature of communal ownership of all traditional knowledge the company must gain permission from traditional owners before Creation stories are told or dances performed. Tourists are issued with individual permits that prevent the taking of alcohol onto the Lands, restrict photographs without permission and specify the length of time and the areas they can visit.

Tourists often resent the restriction on photographs of the magnificent rock art site of Cave Hill. However, the elders, on the advice of rock art specialists, restrict photography to preserve ochre colours. Interestingly, some of the most strident demands for photographs have come from visiting archaeologists who feel that their profession gives them legitimate rights to photograph.

The first state tourism brochure to include comprehensive information on access to cultural sites was put out by Queensland Tour and Travel Corporation in 1994: A Guide to Experiencing Aboriginal and Torres Strait...
Islander Culture. This brochure booklet included information on permits, sites protected by law, public viewing sites, photography permission, recognition of authentic Aboriginal artefacts, and reference books on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture. In comparison, the 1994 Northern Territory Tourist Commission brochure only mentioned that permits were necessary to enter Aboriginal land, with no information on visitor behaviour or cameras. The 1996 brochure of the South Australian Tourist Commission, The South Australian Aboriginal Tourism Experience, as mentioned earlier promoted ‘Aboriginal spiritual beliefs, without indicating that there are any limits on what tourists may see, know, or understand’ (Zeppel 1998:75)

State and National Tourist Commissions now adhere to a policy of consultation with all individual communities on use of Indigenous cultural images. New brochures include ‘advice on appropriate cultural interaction with Aboriginal people, rules for photography, restrictions on visiting sacred sites and permits to enter Aboriginal lands’ (Zeppel 1998:77).

While Aboriginal communities may be able to control interaction with tourist on their own lands, these protocols of respect are harder to enforce in commercial operations in areas of public access. Even in national parks such as Uluru, owned by Aboriginal people and involving them at all levels of tourist management, they can only recommend visitors not to climb Uluru.

Tony Tjamiwa, Traditional Owner of Uluru/Kata Tjuta, asserted the priority of Anangu interpretation of the Indigenous cultural landscape of Uluru but he could not enforce it:

This is Anangu land and we welcome you. We want our visitors to learn about our place and listen to us Anangu... Now a lot of visitors are only looking at sunset and climbing Uluru. That rock is really important and sacred. You shouldn’t climb it! Climbing is not a proper tradition for this place.

(Uluru/Kata Tjuta National Park 2000 website)

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Some commercial companies still market the 'Climb' as a highlight of their tours so a large number of visitors still climb Uluru. Some visitors are disappointed that the Anangu request that they not climb is not more obviously signposted or in the information they receive before arrival in Australia and on arrival from the tour companies. However, the websites and advertising of Uluru all now reflect Anangu wishes that visitors do not climb. The major companies promoting this are Voyages who own Ayers Rock Resort, AAT Kings, Anangu Tours, Discovery Ecotours, the National Park and the Northern Territory Tourist Commission. Influencing mainstream tourism to respect Indigenous cultural protocols has been a difficult and long-term project, but attitudes are changing.

3.2 Media representation of Indigenous culture

*Our Culture: Our Future* recognises Indigenous people want the right to:

Prevent derogatory, offensive and fallacious uses of Indigenous cultural and intellectual property in all media including media representations.

(Janke 1998:xxi)

On the AP Lands permits for the media are separate from tourist permits and are specifically designed for all journalists, film or television projects. These must be signed prior to obtaining permits to come on a Desert Tracks tour. The contracts include the usual restrictions on access to information, sites and photographs, and also a clause where the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council, prior to public release, must clear all articles and films (see Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Media website for more information). While the media resent such restrictions on the 'freedom of the press', they generally come to an agreement because access to these Lands and people is denied otherwise.

As discussed previously in relationship to images, the State and National Tourist Commissions need to exercise great care in how they promote Indigenous Tourism. Detailed information of the permits required on
Indigenous Lands, and particularly the length of time needed to obtain journalist permits, often three months at Uluru and on AP Lands, would assist the media. A French journalist, who had come specifically to write stories about the Aboriginal tourism experiences available in South Australia, commented on the false impression overseas people often gain from Australian tourist publications. In 1996 the glossy Aboriginal tourism brochure produced by the South Australian Tourist Commission caught Jonathan Farren's eye and inspired his visit:

The impression that Europeans receive from this glossy attractive booklet is that these many centres advertised are readily accessible and one can easily drive to them and spend time with Aboriginal people.

(James 1996:28)

The reality he found was very different:

In many areas one needs a permit which is difficult to get. Often one can only travel with a tour company. Tours are often not running. Aboriginal people do not run them themselves because of lack of business knowledge. Aboriginal people vary greatly in their exposure to European culture, ability to speak English and ability to deal with tourists. Traditional culture takes precedence over tourism, reliability is not high.

(ibid)

Even with his contacts in the South Australian Tourist Commission, Jonathan did not manage to go on one organised Aboriginal tour; although he visited the Coorong and Mimili Communities, no tours were running. This was a great disappointment to him personally, and a loss of international publicity for Indigenous tour operators.

The marketing of Aboriginal tourism by the state authorities of the Northern Territory in 1994 and South Australia in 1996 'clearly presented Aboriginal
traditional culture and knowledge as accessible and open to visitors' (Zeppel 1998:71). However, with the increase of direct Indigenous involvement in tourism there is more realistic information on cultural difference regarding the accessibility of sites and cultural knowledge appearing in advertising brochures.

There has been a significant improvement in the development of interpretive materials on Indigenous culture, particularly in co-managed Parks like Uluru, and there is greater availability of Aboriginal guided tours in many destinations around Australia. However, there remains a gap between the predominantly traditional image of Aboriginality as a passive, ubiquitous part of the Australian landscape, which is still marketed overseas, and the availability of contact with 'traditional' culture and peoples for the average tourist.

**Conclusions**

It is important that, in promoting Indigenous tourism, the State and Federal Tourist Commissions respect the integrity of traditional and contemporary culture. Appropriate marketing has the potential to increase market demand for authentic traditional and modern Indigenous cultural experiences. It is a dynamic time, when the need for Indigenous people to derive income from their land, cultural resources and new businesses coincides with a growing tourism industry interest in their participation. Whatever the nature of future Indigenous tourism product it is essential that Indigenous people are the determinants of their own standards of cultural integrity. Only through increased representation of Indigenous people, and consultations with rural and urban communities, can the industry develop authentic interpretation, appropriate guide training of Indigenous and non-Indigenous tour guides, approved media images and Indigenous intellectual heritage protection.

Aboriginal Tourism Australia is promoting ‘Welcome to Our Land’, outlining the Indigenous protocols of relationship, responsibility and respect to assist the
tourism industry to operate in ways that respect Indigenous culture and heritage. The national tourism industry is in the process of adopting codes of best practice that incorporate the specific ethical concerns of Indigenous peoples in regard to their culture and intellectual property rights.

The program 'Respect our Culture' incorporates the business management strategies, the cultural authenticity and integrity standards, and the caring for country environmental practices that are necessary to develop a sustainable Indigenous tourism industry in Australia. Aboriginal Tourism Australia is determined to provide relevant local assistance to all Indigenous tourism operators and communities involved in tourism. This grass roots planning and implementation by Indigenous people needs to be matched by government and tourism industry agencies' commitment to implement recommendations of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy through the new Ten Year Plan in the Tourism White Paper. Market demand, where shown to exist, does not convey rights to the industry or the Australian government, to use Indigenous imagery and culture to enhance their mainstream tourism marketing.

Aboriginal people have the right to participate in tourism or not at a level and rate they decide. Australian tourism must support the sustainability and integrity of Indigenous culture. Indigenous people who wish to develop their own tourism enterprises need to find a balance between profitability and meeting market demand while respecting their traditional lifestyle and ethics. These issues are complex and often difficult to balance as demonstrated in the following two chapters. Chapter 7 presents an overview of market demand for Indigenous tourism experiences and Chapter 8 is a detailed case study of how one such Indigenous tour company, Desert Tracks, has responded to this market demand and managed the impacts of tourism on their country and community on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands in Central Australia.
Chapter 7

INDIGENOUS TOURISM DEMAND: WHY TRAVEL TO ANANGU LANDS?

Introduction
Modern tourism demand for Indigenous experiences has its roots in the ancient epics and travellers’ tales of Western culture. Homer’s 800BC Greek poem, *The Odyssey*, gave birth to the usage of the term ‘odyssey’ to describe a series of wanderings or a long adventurous journey. Anangu culture has its own travellers’ tales; the Ngintaka epic is the story of a journey of one of their Creator Beings who left his mark on the land and culture of the AP Lands. This is the Tjukurpa story used by Anangu guides on Desert Tracks tours to take modern travellers on a journey into their culture. The heroes of both these epics embarked on travels that would teach them more than they expected as they faced unforeseen challenges along the route. Modern-day tourists embarking on their personal odysseys can learn moral and ethical protocols that govern the behaviour of hosts and guests in this cross-cultural performance space of Western and Indigenous cultural exchange. These protocols will become clear as the stories of the actors in this performance space are told.

At the beginning of the journey it is useful to inquire of potential travellers, the reasons they are seeking an Indigenous experience. I will examine two sources of data on the question of why people travel: the market demand for Indigenous tourism experience in Central Australia. One source of data is the domestic and international visitor surveys conducted by state and federal tourism commissions. The other source is the direct accounts of people who have come on a Desert Tracks tour over the period 1988 to 2000.

The surveys of domestic and international visitors to tourism destinations within Australia distinguish various categories of visitor. Within these categories a useful distinction can be made between ‘true travellers’ and
‘tourists’. True travellers visit other places and people for the purposes of education, to attend religious, artistic, music or sporting festivals, professional conferences, to visit relatives, or to conduct business. In this sense travel is a universal human characteristic independent of culture, language, and economic or social status. In comparison, ‘tourists’ are considered to be people with disposable income to spend on leisure travel, which is consumptive of services, spectacles and cultural products of other people and places. Hence the tourism terminology of ‘product’ referring to any thing or event designed to cater specifically to this tourism market. In this sense, ‘tourism’ is a Western cultural phenomenon.

This chapter considers the categories of market demand and the travellers who express interest in Indigenous tourism experience, the types of experiences they demand, what they actually experience and their expressed levels of satisfaction. Quantitative results from visitor surveys are examined to attempt to quantify the specific demand for cultural immersion experiences as offered by Desert Tracks.

The Story of Desire: Modern Travel and Tourism

Carriage, take me with you! Ship steal me away from here!
Take me far, far away. Here the mud is made of our tears.

(Baudelaire, in De Botton 2002:35)

T.S. Eliot (cited in De Botton 2002:35) credits Charles Baudelaire as being the first nineteenth century artist to give expression to the beauty of modern travel destinations and machines. Eliot says, ‘Baudelaire...invented a new kind of romantic nostalgia for places of departure – docks, train stations, airports’. Baudelaire may have been the first poet to romanticize modern departure stations and modes of locomotion but his voice was just another in the poetic tradition of romanticizing the other ‘where’, anywhere but the ‘here’ of everyday existence. The departure points, however grimy, epitomized the industrial world from which the traveller departed to enter the other world of paradise. The traveller boarded the train, boat or plane of Western desire to
return to paradise, 'The state of innocence, and the spiritual blessedness of man before the fall, in the paradisiac myth, becomes, in the myth of the good savage, the pure, free and happy state of the exemplary man, surrounded by a maternal and generous Nature' (Eliade 1960:41). Modern tourism advertising and travel writing is just a retelling of the old story of the Western psyche seeking paradise, the natural glades though which Odysseus walked, inhabited by Greek gods of the Golden Age, and a return to the original human, the 'noble savage' uncorrupted by civilization. In seeking this paradise tourism seeks access to the remotest places and peoples of the globe, ironically corrupting that which it seeks. As Tony Wheeler discovered, the man who pioneered the world's most successful guidebook series, The Lonely Planet, 'taught the world to travel, and now almost wishes he hadn't' (Sydney Morning Herald, Good Weekend, 13 August 2005:cover).

One of the deep stories of Western culture is that of 'seeking the noble savage', which has fired the imagination of poets, storytellers, anthropologists and scientists since the eighteenth century expansion of Western empires saw small ships set sail across uncharted oceans for unknown foreign lands. This imagination and desire for 'wilderness' and 'authentic Indigenous culture' continues to fire the modern eco-tourism and exotic cultural tourism world trade. Travellers' tales of the paradise of the Pacific islands preceded the ethnographies of primitive tribes and noble savages. The myth of the noble savage, despite the academic critique of such stereotypes, has continued to be elaborated throughout all the utopias and social theorizing of the West up to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Eliade 1960:42). As an Italian folklorist, G. Cocchiara, claimed, 'Before being discovered the savage was first invented' (Cocchiara, cited in Eliade 1960:39), a Western myth of 'in the beginning', *ab origine* in Latin.

Today's Aborigines of Australia, with a history of continuous habitation of an isolated island in the South Pacific for approximately 40,000 years, present an ideal object on which to project this Western mythic image. Their modern reality has become cloaked in Western myth. It functions within modern
tourism to provide occidental man with contemporary people still living in an earthly Paradise. This Western myth of paradise on earth continues to generate market desire for destinations incorporating ever more beautiful ‘wilderness’ places and ever more authentic people living ab origine in the state of original balance with nature. Places and peoples untouched by the rush and stress of modern Western lifestyle, from which we are constantly being enticed to escape. The title of very popular television program on Australian commercial station Channel Nine promotes travel as a ‘Getaway’.

Some modern travellers’ tales are similar to the literature on ‘savages’ that Eliade explored as a ‘precious documentation for the study of the minds of western men’ (ibid:43). A couple of travel books that have assumed similar modern mythic status are Mutant Message Downunder by Marlo Morgan and Songlines by Bruce Chatwin. These best sellers in America and Europe have had a direct impact on tourist demand for Indigenous experiences in Australia.

Morgan depicts Australian Aboriginal people as the ‘good’ people still living in tune with nature with a ‘message of redemption’ for Westerners who have become ‘mutants’ through the ‘evil’ effects of Western civilization. Traditional Aboriginal elders were so incensed by Morgan’s false depiction of their culture that they travelled to America in 1988 to confront her. While she apologized and in further editions did not claim her story to be a true traveller’s account, she has since recanted and said it was the elders who were deluded, not her. Marlo Morgan’s book has been so successful at targeting the Western cultural desire to discover the noble savage that it lead to public disclaimers by travel agents, Diverse Travel, who specialise in connecting visitors with genuine Indigenous tours in Australia. They published a rebuttal, by Joe Smiechen:

THE REAL AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL EXPERIENCE
(Not Mutant Message Down Under) Many people, especially overseas, gain a false and often romanticized view of Australian Aboriginal culture, mainly through erroneous and hyped up journalist accounts or a few misleading books that have been cleverly
mass marketed to large and unsuspecting audiences. 'Mutant Message Down Under' by Marlo Morgan is possibly the worst and most wide spread example. It is in essence fiction and a new age fairytale based on very little fact.

(Smiechen 2004, Aboriginal Australia Travel website)

Bruce Chatwin’s story, by comparison, is based on a factual record of his journeys with Aboriginal people in Central Australia. He did travel there, with Toly Sawenko of the Central Lands Council as guide and interpreter, and the conversations he reports happened. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, his interpretation of Aboriginal Dreaming in terms of ‘songlines’ has been criticised as too facile by some but it is a concept that has inspired many travellers to follow his footprints. His interpretation of the interconnectness of Aboriginal people’s creation beliefs across the continent as ‘songlines’ is a useful translation metaphor for Westerners seeking greater understanding of Australian Indigenous culture.

Australia is often presented to the world as the land of the Dreaming. Indigenous artistic directors of the opening ceremony of the Sydney 2000 Olympics were happy to capitalise on this and call their dance sequence ‘The Dreaming’. Tourism ‘commodifies’ culture and nature, and Australia’s Indigenous lands offer both commodities: the natural environment and the pre-industrial culture that fits the advertising clichés of the ‘dream getaway’ to an ‘island paradise’, a place where the ugly side of civilization with its rush, smog, traffic and noise can be replaced by timeless clear skies, long empty roads and beautiful natural vistas and sounds. This is the language of modern tourism, the language of Eliade’s Western paradisiacal myth, ‘the islands, and the heavenly landscapes of the tropics, blessed nudity, the beauty of native women, sexual freedom and so forth’ (Eliade 1960:42).

Western ‘tourism dreaming’, trips to paradise, is a powerful business that is rapidly expanding globally as more countries attain the affluence and appetites of the West. It is within this wider world market that the demand for
Indigenous cultural experiences exists. Visitor surveys indicate that it is a niche market that is interested in an Indigenous tourism experience in Australia. Within this market segment there is an even smaller group of travellers who seek a full cultural immersion experience, as offered by Desert Tracks tours. What type of person is drawn to this cultural experience and what do they perceive and value in these tours? The evidence suggests that these travellers are distinctly different from mainstream tourists. They travel to change their consciousness of ‘the other’ and themselves. They come to learn how Anangu care for country physically, culturally and spiritually.

**Australian Indigenous Tourism Dreaming: Reality versus Myth**

Since the 1840s Aboriginal people have chosen to be involved in tourism, and since the 1950s Aboriginal imagery and culture have been marketed as part of generic Australian culture. This focus on Aboriginal imagery increased during the 1980s as part of the Australian Tourist Commission’s international marketing campaign presenting Australia as a place of ‘pristine environment’ and the home of the ‘true Aborigine’ (Russell 1994:4). This targeting of the Western desire for paradise, identified by Eliade, is a clever market strategy that has greatly benefited Australian mainstream tourism. However, it has not directly benefited the Aboriginal people depicted in the images. Their reality is continued social disadvantage and exclusion from most of the wealth generated by their cultural images. Secondly, the pervasiveness of the ‘traditional archetype’ as authentic Aboriginality distinctly disadvantages Indigenous tourism ventures that do not perform to the script of this myth.

The Australian natural landscape is not a ‘wilderness’; it is not ‘pristine’, as in ‘untouched by human hands’, but a landscape co-created by human and natural forces over the last 40,000 years. Prior to colonisation, Aboriginal hunting and gathering, particularly their fire resource management methods, transformed the vegetation of this continent (see Flannery 1994; Latz 1995). Since colonisation, a far greater transformation of the natural and cultural landscapes of this continent has occurred. The Indigenous people are no longer living
'blissfully en aborigine', unaware of and unaffected by the spread of 'civilization' which has irrevocably changed their land and their lifestyles. Rather, they are the most socially and economically impoverished people within Australia today (HREOC 2003). In remote communities on Aboriginal lands the opportunities for economically sustainable lifestyles, independent of government support, is even more remote than their locality. Traditional living on the land is no longer possible due to the impacts of colonisation. Of the introduced industries, tourism is seen by many to be less destructive of their natural and cultural resources and more sustainable economically. This has yet to be proven.

Tourism, while offering a way forward, may be asking Indigenous people to turn the clock back. The tourism demand has been for Indigenous people living in touch with nature, undeveloped and unsophisticated in Western industry, business and global knowledge. To maintain the 'pristine primitive' lifestyles of the Western myth, Indigenous people may need to perform themselves, living displays in outdoor museums. The other peril of modern tourism is that it can, and has often, destroyed the very object of its desire. The touch of mainstream tourism turns nature into a nice view from a hotel window, and other human beings into colourful sideshows. Tourism demands the new and pristine then, by its touch, fouls its own bed and does not want to return; the demand declines and people who have become dependent on tourism are left penniless.

To continually feed the desire for paradise and fuel the travel industry 'paradise', pure nature or pure native must be recreated in the performance space of tourism. Australia is, as yet, still vast enough and has many scattered Indigenous communities which only attract small numbers of tourists. The most successful at handling large numbers of tourists have created 'artificial' performance spaces in which to interact, like Tjapukai Dance Company's Cultural Theme Park in Cairns and the controlled interface of Indigenous guides and tourists in national parks like Uluru Kata Tjuta and Kakadu. This ability to perform culture with authenticity may not satisfy traditional elders like Armunta and Dickie Minyintiirri of Cave Hill who said 'One day no good.
They come, walk around, go, no good, not proper way!' (Minyintirri, pers. comm., June 2003). However, other traditional owners of Walinynga vetoed this view because the money flow and employment from tourism increased with regular daily tours; the satisfaction of teaching culture the proper way was replaced by the satisfaction of being employed and paid well. These are adaptive decisions of survival in a harsh global market place.

**History of the Market Dream**

Distinguishing myth from reality in an industry built on dreams is difficult, but we can reflect on how the dreams were built by tracing the history of market research into Indigenous tourism in Australia. In 1997 the first major review of Indigenous participation in the Australian tourism industry was undertaken by the then peak national Indigenous representative body, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Commission, and the Office of National Tourism. Pilot research projects were funded throughout Australia during 1995 and in 1996 they published the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy (NATSITIS). The conclusion of this report was, ‘In the absence of good information it is difficult to plan ahead...This is particularly critical in the area of market research, where it is important to establish what tourists want from Indigenous tourism, but where reliable data is lacking’ (ATSIC1997:44). In 2003 when the Australian Tourist Commission (ATC) overviewed the existing research on Aboriginal Tourism they echoed the earlier report: ‘there has been limited research conducted in the past specifically focusing on Aboriginal tourism’ (ATC 2003:1). Despite offering no answers the ATC summary of Aboriginal Tourism consumer research includes valuable insights into consumer perceptions, interest and participation in Aboriginal tourism products. The major conclusions regarding international demand were:

- Overall, Aboriginal tourism experiences for most visitors were regarded as desirable but did not drive destination choice or holiday itinerary planning;
- Interaction and authenticity were important aspects of an Aboriginal tourism experience. Visitors to Indigenous tourism product were
typically keen to learn, to experience and interact with the Aboriginal people;
Western markets (United Kingdom and Europe in particular) hold most potential overall for Aboriginal tourism, with higher levels of awareness, interest and participation. (ibid:3)

My case study of Desert Tracks revealed similar international customer expectations of Indigenous tourism. The notable exception was that for most people the Desert Tracks cultural immersion tour of 7–10 days was the prime reason, and often their only reason, for visiting Central Australia. Rarely did international visitors decide to take this tour once in Central Australia because of the length and cost of tour. Travellers who joined a Desert Tracks one or three day tour to Cave Hill were more likely to have added it to their itinerary once in Central Australia. Since the year 2000 this has also been offered daily, as a one-day tour, to increase their appeal to the short stay international market.

**Unsatisfied International Demand**

The Australian Government Tourism White Paper, launched on 20 November 2003, identified Indigenous Tourism as one of the key niche markets to be developed as a high priority because of the supposedly high unmet demand. The Federal government tourism minister claimed that 72% of all international visitors want an Indigenous experience (*The Australian*, 2004, 24 November) though the evidence is that only 10–15% achieve it. Researchers, Jeremy Huyton and Chris Ryan (2000) say it depends on the sorts of questions being asked. They have found that the claims of unsatisfied tourist demand for Indigenous experiences have little quantitative substantiation in their extensive research in Indigenous tourism demand in the Northern Territory. They criticise the promotion of Indigenous tourism development based on ideals of self-determination and authenticity control with no assessment of the market demand:

This relative lack of firm data is socially, economically and culturally important...If oversupply of a given type of product means few, if
any, tourist offerings possess economic viability, the circle of income deprivation is perpetuated against, in some instances, further criticisms of a waste of public monies on "social engineering".

(Ryan & Huyton 2000:54)

This is yet another scheme set up to fail for Aboriginal communities. The promotion of Indigenous tourism without sound research is ‘irresponsible, socially dangerous and obscene. It is a denial of any form of “sustainability” however theorised in the touristic academic literature’ (ibid).

The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Industry Strategy recognised these problems of oversupply based on false expectations and the difficulty of assisting ‘increased Indigenous participation in tourism by lack of information about what is possible’ (ATISC1997:44). In 2002 the Indigenous Tourism Leadership Group (ITLG) found the situation had not improved. In response to the Government Ten Year Plan for Tourism it highlighted the need for greater market research into visitor participation and satisfaction in Indigenous tourism (ITLG 2002). While the 2003 Australian Government Tourism White Paper identifies Indigenous Tourism as one of the twelve niche markets to be developed, there is no guarantee that this will ensure future detailed research into the international and domestic demand for Indigenous tourism product that will empower the industry.

**Figure 22:** Cover images on the Tourism White Paper Implementation Plan 2004 (DITR 2004a)
The Government Tourism White Paper promotes the Australian Dream using three iconic tourism images of Australia to introduce its implementation plan: the wild, wide horizon Outback, the Aboriginal exotic ceremonially decorated face of innocence, and the laid back beach lifestyle of our island paradise, evidence of the enduring myths of Western paradise, the ‘tourism Dreaming’.

**Domestic Market Demand**

The Australian Government commissioned the most detailed recent research into the domestic demand for Indigenous Tourism product in 2004. The Department of Tourism Industry and Resources (DITR) contracted Colmar Brunton Social Research (CBSR) to determine ‘what was missing in nature-based and indigenous tourism products in Australia’ (DITR 2004b:10).

According to the DITR brief to consultants, ‘recent data indicates that domestic visitation to national parks is declining and domestic interest is low in Indigenous tourism product’ (DITR 2004a:28). Colman Brunton research findings were that; ‘54% of all Australians have participated in at least one Indigenous activity in the last five years. This is significantly lower than participation in nature-based activities (90%).’ (ibid:113). Of those who had visited an Indigenous activity, 31% had visited art galleries or museums specialising in Indigenous culture. Only 7% or less had engaged in more hands-on immersion experiences of visiting Indigenous communities and learning about their culture (ibid:112).

The DITR estimates tourism is worth $73 billion per annum of which 75% is generated by domestic tourism (DITR 2005, website). The importance of tourism to regional Australia is significant, attracting forty-eight cents of every tourism dollar, especially as traditional rural industries are in decline or undergoing restructuring. Regional Indigenous operators in remote locations are probably getting only a small slice of this domestic tourism pie; unfortunately, figures are not available. However, the domestic market is so significant a percentage of the overall tourism market that Indigenous operators should be refocusing their marketing. Domestic tourists are nearly three times
more likely than international tourists to stay outside major capital cities (CBSR 2004:10).

The Australian Tourist Commission (ATC) conducted an extensive review of research into the international visitor interest in Indigenous tourism experiences in 2003. The Brand Audit research showed that although a high percentage of international visitors expressed interest in Aboriginal culture, the actual numbers of visitors who experienced Aboriginal art and cultural displays was recorded as much less by the International Visitor Survey interviews for the year ended 30 June 2003 (ATC 2003:3-4). Visitors from Europe, the United States (US) and Canada registered the highest interest in Aboriginal culture; however, actual uptake of experiences was low: of 84% US interest there was only 24% uptake; of 75% English interest only 29% uptake, and the results for other European countries and Canada were similar (ibid). International visitors in total generate only a quarter of Australia’s tourism income and are more likely to spend that in major capital cities. The obvious conclusion is that Indigenous operators need to attract more of the domestic market to experience real growth.

**Specific Product Concepts**

The Colman Brunton 2004 report, *Demand for Nature-Based and Indigenous Tourism Product*, identified four distinct categories of visitor demand (see Figure 23) and then tested the market interest in five Indigenous tourism products (see Figure 24). In the following section of this thesis these categories of tourist demand for specific product types are compared with the qualitative records of visitor interest in and evaluation of tours offered by Anangu in Central Australia.

Colman Brunton described the types of visitors interested in Indigenous experiences as: ‘bonders’, ‘connectors’, ‘learners’ and ‘reflectors’ (see Figure 23). The researchers claim that each of these segments has ‘clearly different needs’ (CBSR 2004:19). Though they have identified different needs it is difficult to agree that these needs define different tourists.
The travellers on Desert Tracks tours would commonly have fitted into at least two, and usually all four, of these segments. Visitors on these tours to the Anangu Lands wanted to 'connect' and interact with Indigenous people; they wanted to 'learn' and to share these experiences, usually with a friend or family member or like minded group of which they were a member; and they were all 'reflectors', keen to take time out from the group experience to think, often writing their reflections later and sending these back by letter to the Anangu and non-Indigenous guides. Rather than being distinct segments of the Desert Tracks market, these categories present a continuum of needs to be filled by the Indigenous experiences offered by these tours.

The CBSR researchers then identified five products that 'described participants' ideal Indigenous experience', as shown in Figure 24:
The specific Indigenous product concepts researched were:

**Indigenous Theme Park**: a place where you can enjoy finding out more about Indigenous culture, people and art with your family or friends. A variety of hands-on activities would be available such as learning how to play a didgeridoo or track an animal, and you could also see Indigenous art or dancing. Facilities such as toilet blocks, shops and cafes would be available.

**Cultural Full-Immersion**: a place where you can get to know Indigenous people by participating with them in their daily activities. You could spend time with the Indigenous people and get to know about them and their culture. The experience would take place in a remote area on Indigenous land, and you would eat ‘bush tucker’ and sleep in the open in the traditional way.

**Indigenous Teachers**: a luxurious, 4-5 star resort where you can also experience traditional Indigenous culture. You could take guided walks in the natural environment during the day and experience traditional Indigenous dances and music at night. Both traditional
Indigenous and everyday foods would be available, and the experience would be suitable for both adults and children.

**Outback learning**: a place where you can learn about authentic traditional Indigenous culture. Indigenous people would teach you about relationships within traditional Indigenous communities, and about myths and storytelling. You could also learn the local environment and animals.

**Cultural Semi-Immersion**: a place where you can stay overnight with and learn from Indigenous people about their traditional culture and about their life in modern Australian society. Activities like sharing stories around a campfire and taking walks would be available. Traditional Indigenous and everyday foods would be available.

(CBSR 2004:20-21)

A quarter of those interviewed were interested in the Indigenous Teachers concept; 21% were interested in the Indigenous Theme Parks and Outback Learning; 20% were interested in the Cultural Semi-Immersion and only 16% expressed interest in the Cultural full-immersion concept. All concepts attracted only 6-7% of ‘extremely interested’ domestic travellers, which, in the opinion of the researchers, most accurately reflects those who will seek the experience. Interestingly, the five products developed are similar to existing Indigenous tourism products. Domestic participants in this survey were unaware of many existing Indigenous tourism products in Australia, including Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in Cairns, which is well known internationally. Lack of domestic knowledge of existing product could be due to an international marketing focus of Indigenous tourism operators, tourist commissions and informative guidebooks.

These tourism products are ‘idealised concepts’ developed from qualitative research into domestic customer expressed needs for Indigenous product. However, as noted before, they are very similar to Indigenous tourism products
already existing in the market. Thus, this research is of value in terms of evaluating Indigenous tours that are offered by Anangu in Central Australia, the percentage of the domestic market they are appealing to and the aspects of these experiences, which match the ideals identified by the research. I will briefly overview some of the types of Indigenous tourism product available in the greater Anangu lands and how these are fulfilling perceived customer demand. The products examined will include Anangu Tours at Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park (UKTNP), Odyssey Safaris’ Cave Hill tour operating out of Ayers Rock Resort, and Desert Tracks operating on the Pitjantjatjara Lands.

**Indigenous Tourism at Uluru and on Anangu Lands**

1. **The Park and the Resort**

   Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park can be considered as fulfilling the domestic tourist’s ideal Indigenous experience for all the types of tourist identified, and it fits within several of the ideal product descriptions. Firstly, because of its world heritage natural environment status it will attract 80% of Australians (CBSR 2004:114). While it is not an Indigenous Theme Park in the sense of a constructed landscape like the Tjapukai Centre in Cairns, it is packaged as the ‘Aboriginal Heartland’ of Australia and marketed around the ‘themes’ of natural and cultural world heritage landscapes. The advantages of the Park for mainstream tourists are that it can be explored from the comfort of luxury hotels or, more economically for the self-drive and safari tour market, from manicured campgrounds.

   The Ayers Rock Resort itself is marketed as a destination where the ‘Indigenous Teachers’ experience is offered. The Resort positions itself in the Park as an eco-sensitive luxury adventure or escape holiday destination in the ‘wilderness’ of Central Australia where visitors can learn about Aboriginal culture from the traditional owners of Uluru. The advertising key words are ‘luxury’, ‘spiritual’, ‘authentic’, ‘mystery’, ‘far away’, ‘wilderness’: a perfect destination to fulfill the desire of people entranced by Eliade’s Western paradisiacal myth seeking ‘true nature’ and ‘true aborigines’.
Ayers Rock Resort lies 'at the gateway to Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park, in Australia’s Northern Territory...Here you can immerse yourself in the timeless landscape of one of the world's most beautiful natural wonders...Everything about the Resort reflects a sensitivity to the environment and respect for the area's traditional Aboriginal owners (Voyages 2005, website).

It is interesting to note that the possibility of spiritual transformation is part of the package offered: 'Many people don't consider themselves as spiritual before they visit The Red Centre. Come out to Ayers Rock, Kings Canyon or Alice Springs Resorts for an adventure and you may be surprised who goes home' (ibid).

Visitors are offered scheduled times to experience particular natural and cultural 'shows' within the Park, particularly sunrise, sunset, the climb, the cultural centre, the night sky. Touring options and visitor experiences are intensely organised to fit into the 1.5 average day's duration of stay. Fences, walkways, signage and restricted access areas protect the environment and cultural heritage. Despite these protective measure visitors often diverge from the sign-posted tracks, but Park Rangers actively police this. The intention of the National Park management is that the natural landscape and the interaction with Indigenous people are structured and controlled.

Though the reasons for all these restrictions are to protect nature and the privacy of Indigenous people, it has the effect of creating an artificial performance space. Visitors, once inside the boundary of the National Park, enter a large natural theme park, a place where they can experience nature 'and enjoy finding out more about Indigenous culture, people and art with your family or friends' (CBSR 2004:20-21). The tourism experience is completely controlled by two major players: Voyages Resorts, managing all
accommodation, food and retail outlets at the Ayers Rock Resort, and Parks Australia managing the National Park.

The Resort is owned by a monopoly that garners revenue from high cost accommodation, food and has its own line in clothing and souvenirs. The tourists spend most of their money at the Resort while the Park Entry fee is a small percentage of their costs. The Aboriginal owned Ininti Store and Maruku Arts at the Cultural Centre inside the Park must compete for the tourism dollar. While Anangu traditional owners of the land are co-managers of the National Park and receive a percentage of entry fees, they do not receive a direct percentage of the larger tourism profit from the Resort. However, they successfully negotiated support from Voyages in 1994 to establish their own tourism business, Anangu Tours, which now employs many local people.

2. Anangu Tours

Anangu Tours is ideally located at Uluru, a ‘must see’ destination for both domestic and international tourists. Anangu tours are marketed as nature-based Indigenous experiences, thus satisfying the identified 90% of Australian domestic market demand for these two products. ‘On their tours they share their intricate understanding of the land, plants and animals with small groups’ (Anangu Tours, website). Anangu Tours offers a selection of 3-4 hour tours around the Park that also fit the tourism product concept categories of Indigenous Teachers and Outback Learning. International tourists whose destination choice is not driven by a desire to experience Indigenous tourism can add these short tours to their visit once they arrive or pre-book them as part of a package.

Anangu, as owners and co-managers of the UKTNP, want to create sustainable employment and income for their people, not just as Park Rangers but also as guides in their own tourism business. They share some of their culture and ‘spiritual’ understanding of their country through the displays in the Cultural Centre and as guides on Anangu Tours. Their
mission statement includes the following reasons why Anangu at Uluru have started their own tourism enterprise:

It is important that all visitors to our country gain an understanding of Tjukurpa, and it is our role to pass it on...

We have designed our tours to give visitors of all ages the opportunity to learn Tjukurpa, and something of our lifestyle and history...

We want you to see what we see inside that big Rock, and take home some of our spiritual feelings for this place.

(Anangu Tours, website)

3. Odyssey Safaris

Odyssey tours, owned by Voyages Resorts, has been licensed by Desert Tracks to operate a tour to Cave Hill on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AP) Lands that fits the product concept of Indigenous Teachers: ‘a luxurious, 4-5 star resort where you can also experience traditional Indigenous culture’ (CBSR 2004:20-21). Odyssey tours are marketing this tour to the top end of the market, particularly to people who stay at their luxury tented safari camp, Longitude 131. The price per person for a twin share tent overnight is $812.50, minimum two nights stay, no children under 15 years. This is double the rate of the next most expensive accommodation deluxe suites at the five-star Sails in the Desert hotel at Ayers Rock Resort. This is a niche market that demands luxury, exclusivity, authenticity, privacy, mystery and spirituality, a totally encapsulated experience tailor-made for each guest: ‘Our touring program has been developed with the aim of sharing an authentic experience that will allow each guest a chance to immerse themselves in the mystery and spirituality of this remarkable desert region’ (Voyages 2005, website).

This type of traveller seeks the Indigenous Teachers experience, in a ‘luxurious, 4-5 star resort where you can also experience traditional Indigenous culture’ (CBSR 2004:20-21). This was the product that generated the most interest in the domestic market, with, as previously mentioned,
24% being interested overall. However, the customers from Longitude 131 who take an Odyssey Safari tour to Cave Hill are a select group within an already select group of high-paying customers, both domestic and international. Their tents are the most expensive rooms at the resort. These tourists require the luxury cocoon of the resort so that personal comfort is not lost while they ‘enjoy the view’ of the Indigenous other.

4. Desert Tracks

Desert Tracks, established by Anangu on AP Lands in 1988, provided an in-depth ‘cultural immersion’ experience before this category of tourism was invented. Anangu teach by including the visitor their daily life, expecting them to look, listen and learn by becoming part of the experience. According to the CBSR research this experience of ‘cultural immersion’ is the least Indigenous tourism product least desired by the domestic market, only 16% overall with only 6% expressing extreme interest (CBSR 2004:20-21).

This research finding does not account for the high numbers of domestic visitors who filled 80% of the Desert Tracks tours in the first five years of operation. This high percentage of domestic visitors was probably due to the marketing method of targeting special interest groups within Australian society and not relying on mainstream marketing. Perhaps the tours tapped the latent unmet demand in the domestic market for real in-depth Indigenous experiences, which were not commonly available to tourists in the late 1980s. Since Desert Tracks started in 1990 there has been an explosion of Indigenous tours offered by Indigenous people around Australia. Without a doubt, the visitors to Desert Tracks reflect a special interest niche in both the domestic and international markets. It is a more difficult Indigenous tourism product to market: it costs more, takes more time and involves more personal risk for the average tourist as it requires leaving one’s cultural cocoon or comfort zone.
Desert Tracks Attracts True Travellers

Because people travel for complex reasons, the categories of 'true traveller' and 'tourist' overlap. It may well be that they might include luxury accommodation with the opportunity to participate in a genuine Aboriginal cultural tour. This takes our inquiry into another borderland where travelling to learn about other cultures interfaces with the tourism demand for the Indigenous other.

We travel, rather as Matisse and Klee painted, I think, to articulate and also to change consciousness, to remark on what happens when two ways of being in the world intersect. In other words, for wisdom's sake...Tourists, needless to say, travel for the opposite reason: their whole tour, from the arrangement of the furniture in their hotel room to the 2.00pm performance of the Monkey Dance, is planned to make sure nothing at all happens – that no connections are made, no sparks fly, no planes of being intersect.

(Dessaix 1998:197)

The following chapter provides a background to the performance space of Desert Tracks where true travellers are invited by Anangu to experience their country and culture through cultural immersion that could possibly change their consciousness.
Chapter 8

CULTURAL NATURAL LANDSCAPE MANAGEMENT OF DESERT TRACKS TOURISM ON AP LANDS

Introduction
This chapter examines the cultural and natural resource management issues that have occurred during the development of this business over the years from 1988 to 2005. Mistakes were made, as this was the first tourism business on the Indigenous lands of the Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara people of Central Australia that was jointly managed by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. The business, of necessity, developed bi-cultural management strategies in the economic, social, cultural, spiritual and natural landscapes that overlap and interweave in the cross-cultural performance space of Indigenous tourism. An overview is presented of the hybrid economy that incorporates customary and Western economic systems in Indigenous community enterprise.

The Vision
Nganyinytja spoke of her vision for Desert Tracks:

My land is still alive with the Dreaming Law of the wayampi, ‘rainbow serpent’ and the ngintaka, ‘perentie lizard’ and all the Creation Beings who travelled through here. Our families have kept these alive. Those who have lost their Dreaming Law, its been cut and finished, they can come here to learn, to reconnect to how it is for us and then they can go back and find that for themselves.

(Nganyinytja 1993)

The Tours
Desert Tracks offers Indigenous cultural immersion tours into the AP Lands of north-west South Australia. These 4wd camping tours take people from the comfort of Ayers Rock Resort, or direct from their plane flight from the green coastal fringe of Australia, into the red heart of the desert and its people. The
travelling distances are long because of the remoteness of the Pitjantjatjara homeland destinations. The visitor has firstly to overcome the strangeness of the vast empty spaces of the desert and then the differences of language and culture of our hosts. The desire to communicate both ways is there and with the aid of interpreter guides the differences are bridged.

The shortest tour offered is a one-day tour to Cave Hill. The tour commences and ends at the Resort at Uluru. Driving east 100 km on bitumen, the tour turns south onto a gravel road that passes Mt Connor, an impressive mesa, sometimes mistaken for Uluru, rising up out of this region of extended sand-dune plains. The next 100 km journey, over rough dirt roads, brings us to Cave Hill and the rock art site of Walinynga. Three-day tours are also offered by Desert Tracks, different itineraries having been tried over the years. Some incorporate visits to community art centres, some the Mt Woodroffe climb, others visit both Cave Hill and Angatja, briefly.

The longer 7–8 day tours have been called a ‘Bush College’ by the Angatja people. This is an intensive experience of desert living and Anangu traditional lifestyle. The major songline that traverses the country around Angatja is part of the Ngintaka Tjukurpa. This story is told that the songline followed some 20 km, and the song saga sung and danced for the visitors. The relation of Dreamtime Creation Law to country, food, water sources, daily life and tribal laws is explained. The experience of immersion into another cultural reality allows people to become open to the Land in a new way. City people need to forget their watches and slip into ‘Anangu time’.

The Business Plan

MISSION STATEMENT
Desert Tracks aims to provide a unique experience of Aboriginal culture and lifestyle for the participants on its tours into Pitjantjatjara Lands. Visitors enter the space where the two worlds meet, the Pitjantjatjara desert culture with the traditions stretching back over 40,000 years and the modern western technological society.
Desert Tracks Business Plan

1. Aims:
   i. The primary goal of any Desert Tracks business plan is to ensure: maintenance of cultural heritage and ensuring authentic information is given on all tours and in promotional material.
   ii. Profitability of the business and employment of traditional custodians in their homelands.

2. Objectives:
   i. Community control of the delivery of tourism business, creating pride and a real enterprise for the children to become involved with.
   ii. To provide employment opportunities for Anangu in the cultural tourism business as guides, interpreters and in public relations.
   iii. To provide employment in communities that economically sustains the maintenance of cultural heritage and current lifestyle of Anangu living on traditional land.
   iv. For Anangu to control the information being given to visitors about their country by telling their own story of the Law and Dreaming.
   v. To use legally appropriate contracts for the use of cultural material by journalists, photographers, artists, film makers and musicians.
   vi. To develop a profitable eco-tourism enterprise, the profits of which will be distributed equitably back to the participating communities.
   vii. Operate in accordance with internationally recognised standards of ecotourism.

In Western business terms the Anangu approach to tourism is heavily biased towards vision and community cultural goals and is not focused primarily on profit or economic viability. In fact, 'profit' was not initially mentioned in the first four objectives it was relegated to a lower priority than cultural continuity and sustainable living on homelands. It was only after consultation with ATSIC business advisers that 'profitability' was added in to the business aims (see Figure 25). The linear framework of Western business, the strict timetables of management thinking that moves in straight lines from product to sale to profit, would appear antithetical to Indigenous cyclical organisation of the traditional business of ceremonies, hunting and gathering and life responding to natural seasons. However, the continued success of Desert Tracks suggests that bi-
cultural models of business can be developed that integrate the different
cultural and economic priorities of Indigenous and Western people.

Strategies
1. Economic

Aboriginal traditional economic activity on the AP Lands was cyclical,
moving through country in response to seasonal patterns of water, growth
and game. Sustainable practices of environmental resource management
were essential in this marginal desert country. These practices were
governed by strict rules encoded in Creation stories learnt from early
childhood and enforced in customary law, reciprocity ethics, ceremony and
restricted access to water and sanctuaries of biodiversity, often 'sacred sites'.
These rules and practices that governed social behaviour towards self,
community and the environment were reinforced by cyclic performance of
ritual along songlines. Anangu describe a traditional pattern of autonomous
groups of varying sized 'families' who pursued independent economic
activity, sustaining the livelihood of each group and producing excess to
share when meeting for ceremonies. Each group was constrained in their
exploitation of natural resources by their rights and responsibilities to
country defined by regional Law, the Tjukurpa that links people, places and
species across the Land.

On remote Indigenous lands, communities participate in what Jon Altman
describes as a 'hybrid economy' made up of market, state and customary
components. This system is often derided as 'welfare dependency' and
'important Indigenous economic contributions remain unquantified in
mainstream calculations' (Altman 2001, 226:1). It is a testament to
Indigenous ingenuity and adaptation that they continue to survive in an
imposed foreign social, economic and political system, the boundaries of
which have continued to change over the years since colonisation.

On the AP Lands, for example, the early explorers first traversed the lands
in the late 1800s; then came the Afghan traders, pastoralists, doggers and
miners during early 1900s; the missionaries and rations of 1936; the government settlements and welfare administration started in 1960; land rights and self-determination in 1970-80s; to the self-governance of today, that collapsed temporarily between 2001-2004, when an administrator was appointed by the South Australian government. However, self-governance has been restored and a new Land Council elected which has adopted the new name of Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Council. During these years the governance and economic rules of interaction with Western society have changed many times, from rations and mission handouts, to state welfare, to the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs grants in aid, to the Aboriginal Development Commission business grants, to ATSIC regional funding and now, the dissolution of this Aboriginal controlled funding body and the return to grants through a variety of state and commonwealth agencies.

Old Piti Piti, an elder at Pipalyatjara, expressed his opinion regarding the changing white face of governance he had seen over the years since 1940: 'We had mission, we had welfare, DAA, ADC; maybe we work with mining company now. Easy, they pay for what they want' (Piti Piti, pers. comm., 1980). To survive all these changes of economic rules within his lifetime, old Piti Piti had become an astute economic opportunist. Like all Indigenous people living at the mercy of seemingly flippant and changeable whitefella law the clearest lesson learnt was to spend all the grant funds as quickly as possible, leaving no surplus, or the government will take it back and give less the next financial year. Short-term government funding practices have ensured poor saving and money management practices, while long term planning has not been encouraged, as government funding rounds are yearly and policies likely to change every three years.

There are also few models of private enterprise that exist on Indigenous lands from which people can learn to manage business. Anangu have been involved in learning to manage community stores and local art centres but
as these are both community owned they do not operate on strict commercial lines. Community stores often allow ‘book up’ credit to pensioners or powerful political figures in the community; this system has often deteriorated into corruption, supporting store managers who themselves are living out of the store and embezzling profits. The art centres have survived on a combination of government grants and sales; usually this requires non-Indigenous management as the system is complicated and payments to artists piecemeal, dependent on sales and subsidies.

Desert Tracks began as a joint venture between the landowners Angatja community and financial partners Greg Snowdon and Diana James. There was no government assistance from 1988 to 1994. The partners and guides were not on salary as employment and payments to all guides and communities was dependent on tour income. This system has been retained, with a community camp fee per passenger per day and a fixed daily rate for the Anangu interpreter being costed into each tour. Other Anangu guides are paid from the community camp fee. Guide payments bring direct cash into the community after each tour. This is irregular but substantial income, and allows some families to save for cars, swags, tents or other large items. In the early years of operation large guide payments to younger guides did result in drinking binges at Curtin Springs. The elders have solved this by restricting the use of community vehicles.

Traditional obligations to share resources mean that most guide payments are quickly dispersed amongst a large number of kin. To allow the distribution of income according to the traditional obligations the guide payments were not made as wages to particular people but rather as a lump sum community camp fee. To ensure that a minimum of four guides was employed, with extra fees set aside for inma dance performances, a minimum daily rate for camp fees was established based on ten or fewer passengers. With over ten passengers the rate increased per passenger. The Anangu directors of Desert Tracks were responsible for distributing
2. Funding for Enterprises

The difficulties of raising investment finance to start businesses on Indigenous native title lands have been discussed previously and apply to the AP Lands, which are owned in common by 3000 Anangu: individuals or communities cannot use land ownership as collateral for a business loan. To finance Desert Tracks the Angatja community proposed a joint enterprise with non-Indigenous partners, Diana James and Greg Snowdon, who could access a bank loan through the mortgage of private property. The business operated as a joint enterprise with these partners from 1988 to 1990.

The joint enterprise consisted of a Memorandum of Agreement between the parties involved and operated under a special business permit from AP Council that had to be reviewed every year. It was an arrangement based on mutual trust and good faith built up over many years of previous work on AP Lands by the non-Indigenous partners. This was a precarious business arrangement where the non-Indigenous partners were carrying the financial risk and the Angatja people were carrying the cultural risk. If the tourists were to enter, photograph or publish articles about areas of secret sacred cultural significance or cause offence to any traditional owners, the permit for the tours would be withdrawn. This would incur shame and traditional punishment for the Anangu involved and financial loss for their non-Indigenous business partners. Small tourism enterprises typically do not make a profit for the first five years of operation, as most income needs to be put back into the business to develop capital items, service loans and to increase market knowledge of the product. The insecurity of the permit conditions worked against long term planning and marketing, which was essential in this market niche where many international visitors plan eighteen months ahead.
Lack of profits and the stress of the permit insecurity caused one partner, Snowdon, to quit at the end of the season in 1990. Desert Tracks continued with James as sole trader and a new five-year permit contract with the AP Council was negotiated. This permit security allowed for longer-term business security and the siting of a permanent campsite with minimal infrastructure at Angatja. The reputation of the business grew and winning the National Award for Cultural Tourism in 1992 was recognition of excellence from the Australian tourism industry. The aim of full Indigenous ownership of the business could only be achieved with a government grant to purchase the capital assets. In 1994 the business was expanding and a long-term business plan had been developed with two community partners, Angatja and Cave Hill. This provided the business security that ATSIC required before they would give a grant to purchase and expand the business. The business is now 100% Aboriginal owned and ceased receiving ATSIC assistance in June 1996. Non-Indigenous office staff and management continue to be employed. The income from tours has continued to increase and the numbers of communities involved has grown.

3. Joint Business Management

The joint management of the business has involved non-Indigenous financial and tour operational management while the designing of tour itinerary, planning of where to go and what to see has been controlled by the elders of each tour destination. This division of management responsibility reflects the areas of expertise of all people in the business.

When the people of Angatja bought the business in 1994 they retained non-Indigenous management because there were no Anangu with business skills who wished to live away from their community at the Yulara resort or Alice Springs. The business office, buses and camping equipment had to be located near an all-weather airport to pick up the tourists, and at a centre with good phone, fax and computer communication, none of which was available on AP Lands prior to 2000, so it was located at Yulara. The
possibility of a trainee Anangu manager was considered but the location was problematic. Nganyinyija said: 'We don't want our Anangu manager to live at Yulara; too much drink, no family. If we have an office on the Lands our young people could work there. There are lots of young people eager to work as they get older' (ibid:21).

The system of non-Indigenous management, removed by physical distance from the Anangu directors, relies on mutual trust and good communication between the two. Few directors are literate or fluent in English, which is an added area of difficulty in the operation of a business that requires knowledge of company law, accounting, advertising, control of media reporting, permits to enter Aboriginal land, writing brochures, and communicating with clients and the tourism industry. The knowledge of the Pitjantjatjara language by the manager has been an essential element in the early development of the business and training of Anangu guides and directors in tourism business. Younger community members are becoming involved in the management of the business as the older generation pass on. However, the difficulties of low literacy levels and the distance of office management from the communities remains a source of potential misunderstanding.

Anangu management has not yet become a reality, with the business depending on non-Indigenous managers not resident on AP Lands. James resigned at the end of 2000 when Jim Montgomery, who had worked as tour operations manager for several seasons, was employed as manager from 2001 to 2004. In February 2004, Montgomery and the Anangu Directors, with assistance from AP legal advisors, negotiated a management contract with Discovery Ecotours who run special interest environmental tours at Uluru. Montgomery also negotiated a contract between Desert Tracks and Odyssey Safaris, the touring arm of Voyages and the owners of Ayers Rock Resort, to operate daily tours to Cave Hill paying Anangu guides a fixed rate and a percentage of the profits going to Desert Tracks.
Competing Economic and Cultural Enterprises

Cattle, horses and camels have at various times been primary industries at Angatja. In the 1980s and 1990s Ilyatjari and his sons ran a few head of cattle and horses around Angatja. They also herded wild camels for sale or for breaking in for tourist rides. These enterprises competed for water, access to country, human resources and community vehicles. Eco-cultural tours cannot operate in an area where domestic livestock is breaking fences, trampling vegetation and despoiling water sources.

Negotiation with the directors of Desert Tracks to resolve these issues was very difficult. Many Anangu have long term associations with stock work on stations; Ilyatjari and his sons had all worked at Curtin Springs for many years. These real skills are highly valued and provide one of the few opportunities for employment and enterprise on AP Lands. The stock work was not, however, providing a substantial income, the sale of camels was intermittent and the land could only sustain a small ‘killer’ herd of beef cattle. The camels polluted natural waterholes. Fencing and stock management continued to be a difficult management issue for many years.

Cave Hill was a different story as the family there were employed in Amata, less than 20 km away, in the police force and community services. The land surrounding Cave Hill had been depleted in the past by the grazing of cattle from Amata but these were irregular intruders by 1994 when tourism started there. Stanley Douglas, the senior traditional owner at Cave Hill, is concerned about native flora and fauna conservation:

I would like to see it like this. We could put up a fence to keep the cattle out. We would like to see our native plants grow back. Native grasses, and bush tucker like bush tomatoes will grow back. Bush turkeys eat these so they will return to the area. We don’t want the cattle and horses to interfere with tourism.

(James 1996a:21)
Traditional business on the AP Lands was, and is, a more serious competitor for the time and energy of Anangu. Obligations to attend ceremonies, funerals and the constant round of government agency and community meetings compete for the time of Anangu guides and elders. These customary obligations take precedence over guiding a tour group. If no guides are present for some or all of the tour then the Company can be sued for not providing the advertised itinerary. Obviously, as an Aboriginal cultural tour, Desert Tracks depends heavily on Anangu guides. The Anangu directors have discussed this difficulty and established a system where there is always a guide drawn from a large pool of potential guides. If one is called to traditional business another takes their place in the modern business of tourism; both businesses are seen as important, with law that must be respected.

The difficulty of recruiting younger Anangu as guides is the attractions of larger communities, as the tourist camps are remote. Younger people may find full-time employment in service industries in the larger communities more rewarding than part-time guiding in remote homeland centres. Thus there is a scarcity of younger guides, which is changing to some extent at Cave Hill, with increased frequency of daily tours from Uluru providing regular income.

**Cultural Impacts of Tourism**

This is a central concern of Anangu managing their cultural landscape resources. The issues relating to Indigenous protocols of relations, respect and responsibility were introduced earlier in Chapter 2. A brief overview of the issues is included here to reaffirm the integral importance of the intangible cultural landscapes of their country to holistic resource management on Anangu Lands.

1. **Permits**

Protection of sacred sites, knowledge and photographic images of country and people have been issues that the business, with the assistance of the AP Legal service, has had to address. The Declaration of Intent must be signed by all
visitors to declare that they are coming for personal reasons, not professional journalism, research, or with the intention of making any profit from the knowledge of Aboriginal culture that they gain on tour. All professional journalists, photographers, researchers and writers, prior to participation in a tour, must sign legal contracts. All material must be returned to the Company for vetting prior to publication. Secret or sacred material must be edited out and misuse of information can be prosecuted. Traditional methods of controlling access to sacred sites and knowledge have proved to be insufficient in the modern world of tourism. The senior custodians of Cave Hill, Dickie and Armunta, believed sitting down in country would protect it:

We protect this place and watch over it. . . in case someone comes in the back way to the cave. This place is a very important place. . . we are the only ones allowed to take tourists into this place. We teach them about its Creation Law and about the Dreamtime ancestors.

(James 1996a:21)

Unfortunately this method of protection of Anangu cultural and intellectual property has not been sufficient. The problems encountered by Desert Tracks, and the methods used to prevent future misappropriation of cultural material, are discussed in the later chapter, ‘Stealing the Grindstone’.

2. Market Commodification of Culture
The highest market demand is for shorter, easier tours returning at night to comfortable hotel accommodation. The strong desire of the elders to teach people properly about their culture has meant that Desert Tracks has not developed a short one-day cultural tour until recently when there was a generational change in guides and directors. Dickie Minyintirri, a guide of many years experience at Uluru as a park ranger, now works at Cave Hill where the one-day Odyssey Safari tour has operated since 2001. Minyintirri argues strongly that this tour is too short for the visitors to gain any real understanding of culture (Minyintirri pers.comm., June 2003).
Younger community members with more knowledge of Western society have to assist the elders in understanding the limitations of tourism. It cannot be the vehicle for cultural teaching in the way they would like it to be. To become more economically viable, Desert Tracks has to fit its product more to market demand for shorter tours. However, it is not yet evident that Anangu on AP Lands are ready to fully adapt to the mainstream tourism market. Economic necessity and a lack of other viable enterprises on the lands may force a more commercial outlook. However, traditional obligations will need to be carefully balanced with the demands of commercial tourist activity if plans for the Ngintaka Trail are to open up tourism access to more of the AP Lands. Two excerpts of the Cultural Heritage Report that I completed in 2005 for the feasibility study of this proposed tourism route are presented in Appendix 9 and 10. Aspects of this report are discussed in Chapter Thirteen.

**Environmental Impacts of Tourism**

The main environmental impacts of Desert Tracks tourism on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of South Australia have focused around Angatja in the Mann Ranges 100 km south-west of Uluru, and Cave Hill north-east of Amata. The Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people have had freehold title to these lands since 1981 and have continued the pastoral landuse established in the mission era of the 1940s. The other major natural resource use of the region is mining, but its impact is limited and has not affected the Mann Ranges. The homeland communities of Angatja and Cave Hill have had an obvious impact on their immediate environments, being small villages of houses, sheds, windmills, tanks, fences, roads, rubbish tips and introduced plant species in small gardens. The major impact of modern settlement on the desert environment is of many roads crisscrossing the landscape; 4wd vehicles have greatly increased the web of small roads over fragile sand-dune landscapes.

Tourism initially increased these road networks and contributed new denuded campsites and rubbish at the local tip. For the first three years, campsites were areas of cleared spinifex and prickles in mulga-scrub or, sometimes, dry
creekbeds were used. The pattern was to shift camp regularly, a pattern set by Anangu hosts in accordance with traditional movement of campsites. However, when this practice was applied to frequent groups of tourists with large vehicles the camp clearances proved to be rapidly destroying the fragile desert environment.

Rubbish disposal was a problem; not just that of the tour groups, who could take out non-burnables to recycle or to town tips. There was the rubbish generated by from six to twenty Anangu guides and families. The style of rubbish disposal was to 'burn, bash and bury' but this proved inadequate against persistent dingoes and crows digging it up. Local rubbish disposal systems were poorly organised due to lack of facilities in the small homeland centres. Factors such as isolation, having no bulldozer for the tip work and the proliferation of polystyrene from packaging in the local stores, made rubbish disposal difficult. Water cartage of forty-four gallon drums to campsites was difficult and hard to maintain hygienically. Toilets were bush-style dry pits. The problem of flies in summer was a worry. Campsites rapidly felt unclean.

In 1991 it was decided by the co-management team that stronger environmental controls were necessary. The tradition of moving campsites was degrading too many areas so permanent winter and summer campsites were chosen by Anangu. The summer camp is a wide sandy creekbed close to Angatja, with large river red gum shaded areas. The location takes advantage of summer breezes, access to a local waterhole and community showers and toilets. The only additional structure is a pit toilet constructed on site on the riverbank. The winter camp, Atal, is sited in a grove of mulga trees on the northeast side hills.

**Atal Eco-camp**

Camping out on the ground in swags under the night sky full of stars is a new experience for most visitors. Tents are available for those who prefer them. The facilities at Atal were upgraded in 1994-5 with a grant from the Department of Industry, Tourism and Science under its National Ecotourism Program. The aim was to design minimal infrastructure: to provide hot showers and solar-
powered refrigeration and lighting; toilets are the pit design appropriate for this dry desert area. The facilities were designed to restrict water usage to a minimum in this desert location where water is a precious resource. International eco-camp standards were adhered to in the design and waste removal systems (see Appendix 5). The campsite plan was in accordance with Anangu metaphysical and physical concerns of siting living shelters in the cultural and natural landscape. Other crucial considerations were the Western concerns of tourist comfort and the minimal impact of roads, showers, toilets, lighting and waste disposal.

Figure 26: Atal Camp Plan: Architect’s View (P Pholeros 1996, in D James 1997)

1. Metaphysical Aspects of Site Analysis and Design

The Anangu decision to choose the Atal site and their brief to the consulting architect was based soundly in their physical and metaphysical knowledge of country. Nganyinytja described the Anangu design principle of living in the open, connected to people and the environment, not in closed boxes of Western housing:
Our spirit stands open. I live in the open, where I can see the hills and the bush. Living in the open, not enclosed, one’s spirit is strong. A long time ago everything became related - the stars, the earth, the hills, the different animals, the different bush foods - everything.

(Nganyinytja 1990)

The design of campsites and the spatial arrangement of wiltja, traditional shelters, allowing privacy and intimacy to each other and the environment, are important to the wellbeing of people. If Anangu live too long inside houses and in large settlements that close them off from their environment, Nganyinytja says, they lose heart. They need to see the country, feel the wind and the early morning sun on their skin. Then they can hear the land and know themselves.

Where Anangu live and how they orientate their camps or wiltja is determined by the spiritual, ecological, topographical, hydrological and sociological considerations. Where people camp in relation to the land and other people is part of their rich cultural life that gives meaning to all their actions and relates them to their living environment and the land. Anangu say something of a person’s spirit is left where he or she camps.

The elements considered in siting and orientation of wiltja and tents are:

- **Spiritual**: Location within walking distance of sacred sites of the Tjukurpa is common during ceremonial times. Respect and awe of sacred sites dictates a certain distance away for campsites.

- **Ecological**: Shelter minimally impacts on food and water sources, while proximity to these resources is a high priority. Spinifex is burnt
as protection from snakes. Existing trees, rock overhangs or low hills are used for shelter from wind, rain and excessive heat.

- **Water:** Proximity to clean, reliable water sources is critical. It was taboo to camp too close to a water source; thus the cleanliness of the drinking water was preserved. This also allowed the animals they relied on for food to gain access to the water.

- **Land:** Shelter is sited and orientated to take account of natural protection from prevailing winds. Valleys or beside ridges of hills or sand dunes were chosen because of the natural protection offered. Orientation of shelters is towards the north-east with movable shade extensions to provide shade in heat and warmth in cold times. Traditionally this meant just moving branches and spinifex; now sheets of iron or canvas can be easily moved.

- **Sociological:** Siting and orientation of shelter is responsive to one’s relationship to other families in the community. Extended families will locate in proximity to each other to allow the free movement of children between many fathers and mothers of extended family and to protect women, children and the elderly from violence. Open living encourages the family resolution of disputes and celebrations.

- **Health and wellbeing:** Anangu say being in and being part of the open environment is essential for the wellbeing of the soul: listening to the wind, feeling the sun on skin, listening to the birds, observing the stars to tell the passage of time and the seasons.

As Nganyinytja said, ‘Open your heart and let the wind that blows across your country talk to you’ (Nganyinytja, pers.comm., 1990).
2. Physical Site Design at Angatja

The mulga winter campsite at Atal is 5 km from Angatja community, so prior to 1992 water and rubbish still had to be carted long distances. In 1992 the community erected a pit toilet on site; in 1993 a water line was laid to the camp from Angatja, and three taps positioned, one in the tourist camp and two in the Anangu guide camp. In 1993 an environmental architect, with many years of experience working with communities on the AP Lands, was engaged to assist in developing a plan for the camp infrastructure. The brief to the architect was to work with the Anangu and manager of Desert Tracks to solve the problems in accordance with national eco-tourism standards of minimal impact infrastructure and Anangu cultural considerations of location and camp design, to best accommodate tourists and Anangu guides. Design of a permanent, ecologically sustainable campsite was necessary to reduce environmental damage from vehicles and camping. This has restricted road access, solar power, restricted water usage, non-polluting soaps and detergents, careful wood lot usage and minimal infrastructure designed to fit in with traditionally designed structures.

Land clearance of the main campsite was planned with minimal destruction of vegetation and ground cover so as not to create a dust bowl, but the need was for comfort and no snakes. Anangu usually burn and clear a wide area of spinifex around their camps to clear away snakes, stinging ants and spiders. They realised that Westerners like camping under shade so located the visitors' camp amongst the mulga, while they chose the open sandy area for themselves. The assessment of the Atal site by Mike Last, an environmental land management expert from the Pitjantjatjara Council, confirmed Anangu concerns about the flow lines of stormwater from the nearby hills. To prevent too much topsoil erosion, existing roads had to be blocked and a new circular vehicle access route devised for the tourist buses and Anangu cars. All structures were located to minimise erosion damage. It was suggested that there be ongoing monitoring of damage to sites.
The increased use of what had previously been local hunting tracks by buses and 4wd vehicles made some restrictions on access necessary. Tourist vehicles are now restricted to major roads. The practice of taking tourists on cross-country hunting has been limited because of the creation of many tracks, over fragile dunes and through mulga scrub, that take a long time to revegetate. Although hunting is of prime importance to Anangu, and is exciting for tourists, the cultural differences in perceptions about hunting often cause friction and are damaging for eco-tourism. Anangu, with use of guns and 4wds, often kill more animals than they can eat and the ‘skinny’ ones are discarded, much to the horror of Western environmentalists. After several tourists burst into tears at the sight of kangaroos being shot, it was decided to limit hunting as a tourist activity and reduce the impact of overuse of native food resources for tourism. Now the principle is to only hunt and gather for tourists to taste samples of local foods.

The structures for shade, bush kitchen, eating space and sleeping shelter were designed using local materials and incorporated traditional wiltja building techniques. Traditional designs were altered to accommodate tourists’ desires to stand upright and to sit in chairs and use tables. Solar power was used throughout the camp to provide lighting and to provide refrigeration to increase food storage capacity.

The cultural aesthetics suit the place and the combination of Western and Anangu sensitivities. The campsite spatial plan and structures had to reflect traditional Anangu camp plans to enable the flow of people and teaching of traditional activities to take place as naturally as possible. The positions of people’s sleeping structures had to allow for privacy without walls and group cohesiveness by being able to see everyone’s camp, and were based on traditional camp plans. People are encouraged to sleep in the open to enjoy the clear night sky but tents are provided with comfortable swags consisting of a bedroll with mattress, pillow, sheets and blankets.
Improved infrastructure facilities for tourists provided upgraded facilities for Anangu guides. Ensuring good clean water supplies for tourists has improved the water supplies for both Angatja and Cave Hill communities on homeland destinations. When tourism first started at Angatja, water was carted in forty-four gallon drums, often from a community bore supply that was contaminated. The result was cases of dysentery, usually mild, but when several people contracted shigella it became a public health problem. The manager of Desert Tracks contacted the Pitjantjatjara Council Projects officers who were responsible for the supply of safe drinking water on AP Lands. Water quality testing of Angatja bores and water tanks was undertaken and the systems cleaned and upgraded. A new bore was sunk and water to the tourist camp was provided by polythene pipe. The extra precaution of locating a rainwater tank within the ablutions block designed
for the Atal campsite, provided clean water without high levels of mineral salts for visitors with weak stomachs. Cave Hill, similarly, had a poor water supply which was augmented by a new bore, tank and pipeline system after tourists started to regularly visit and it was obvious that the local water supply was inadequate to service this industry.

Waste disposal systems on the homeland communities were inadequate to properly deal with their own wastes and thus were totally overstressed by the additional wastes created by gatherings of Anangu to perform inma and sell artefacts to the tourists. A system of waste disposal needed to be designed to be useable by the tour group and Anangu guides. The tour group can take all non-biodegradable rubbish out, but Anangu cannot, so solutions for both parties' needs had to be found. An old pit toilet was used to dispose of food scraps safe from dingoes and crows. All paper rubbish was burnt in drums, all cans squashed and carried out and all glass recycled by the tour groups. However, community rubbish disposal was more difficult to resolve. The Western eye is appalled by rubbish, and the rubbish in Anangu communities is a problem for tourists, who cannot understand that people who love the land would leave so much rubbish around. Anangu do not have the same aesthetic problem with rubbish, nor do they have regular community services to collect and bury domestic rubbish. In the shared environment of a tourist camp rubbish is everyone's problem so cleaning up became part of the Desert Tracks directors' responsibilities. Communities cannot ignore rubbish if they want tourists.

3. Walinynga Rock Art Site Management

Walinynga is a site of both cultural and natural environmental significance. The landscape surrounding Walinynga is extremely beautiful. The view from the granite rock outcrop affords a sweeping panorama that includes Uluru to the north, Mt Connor to the east and the majestic Musgrave Ranges to the west. The site incorporates natural beauty, desert flora and fauna, a magnificent rock art site and living Indigenous heritage interpreted directly to the visitor by local Anangu traditional custodians.
The Anangu owner, Stanley Douglas, has continued his father's tradition of preserving local fauna and flora by proclaiming a no-shooting zone around the site. Walinynga is named after the rockhole created there by the Seven Sisters, a reasonably reliable water source which attracts many birds, large goannas, wallabies, dingo, bush turkey, emu and kangaroo. Anangu traditional land and cultural management practice at the rock art site has preserved it as a wildlife refuge allowing local animals and plants to flourish. Thus, visitors gain an understanding of the rock art and the cultural significance of the site while having the opportunity to see desert animals and learn about Aboriginal plant uses in this region.

When Stanley Douglas joined the Board of Desert Tracks Directors in 1994 he instigated site management planning for Walinynga (Cave Hill) before tours began to increase to the rock art site. Together with the manager, consultation with land management and heritage rock art specialists was undertaken to develop a management plan designed specifically for the
Walinynga rock art and stone artefact sites and the surrounding sand dune area. A program to monitor changes due to tourism was initiated. This land and site management plan combined Anangu traditional knowledge of their cultural and natural landscapes, with the AP land management experience of Mike Last, rock art heritage preservation knowledge of consultant, Katharine Sale, and the cultural and eco-tourism expertise of manager, Diana James. It was a bi-cultural environmental management plan.

The key activities undertaken were:

- restricting vehicle access away from the main cave
- closing access to the original campsite on the dune nearest to the cave as it was too unstable and was a high erosion area
- a new day visitors area on the more stable dune site
- a long term campsite on the protected western side of the hill
- locating two pit toilets between the day and long stay campsites
- planning to use a larger flow bore for water supply and a tank external to the community (Pitjantjatjara Projects)
- defining a single walking track to the main cave, then up to the hilltop lookout around the south-eastern side, avoiding a sacred area on the north-eastern flank and returning down around the western slope and to the wilytja site
- to minimise erosion, Mike suggested following the natural wallaby tracks up to the main cave, putting branches and brush over the rest of the slope, maintaining obscuring vegetation across the face of the cave and discouraging any clearing around the cave precincts
- spinifex matting on the cave floor to reduce dust and erosion.

To protect the rock art itself, one of the recommendations was that Walinynga be regularly re-inspected, every two years if possible, to monitor any changes in the condition of the art and the place. Other strategies included restricted visitors only, with traditional custodian guides. This was
a key conservation measure, initiated by the traditional owners and reinforced by the heritage consultants, to limit numbers of tourists to small groups of 10-14, on foot, always with a traditional custodian guide, and to prohibit photography in the cave ‘in case it damaged the art’ (James & Sale 2004:3-4; see Appendix 7).

**Long Term Desert Tracks Goals for Tourism**

Ilyatjari repeatedly said:

> Long term, the young people will continue. When I’m gone they’ll look after this business...the culture may be lost if they don’t have a reason to learn it...the business brings in money for people to live in their country

(James 1996:19).

The younger generation, especially the grandchildren of the original directors, are keen to learn traditional knowledge because they see that it has economic relevance today in a business. Cultural eco-tourism is an economic interface where traditional knowledge is a valuable asset to be shared, but not sold in tourism.

Training in traditional cultural knowledge can provide a skill base for involvement in modern enterprise. Within the Anangu tradition of *inma*, song and dance, are structures for improvisation and adapting to changing environments. Ilyatjari and Andy Tjilari have incorporated new song and dance performances into the traditional Ngintaka song saga to communicate cross-culturally and involve tourists in the performance. In the following section of this thesis, Act II, a group of tourists travels along the Ngintaka Trail and learns some of these songs and dances. The participants encounter the old and new Anangu cultural management of their environment, and learn a little of the dynamics of this cross-cultural performance space.
THE ODYSSEY

Sing to me of the man, Muse, the man of twists and turns, driven time and again off course, once he had plundered the hallowed heights of Troy.

Many cities of men he saw
And learned their minds,
Many pains he suffered,
Heartsick on the open sea,
Fighting to save his life
And bring his comrades home.

But he could not save them from disaster,
Hard as he strove, the recklessness of their own ways destroyed them all;

The blind fools, they devoured
The cattle of the Sun
And the sun god blotted out the day of their return.

Launch out on his story, Muse,
Daughter of Zeus,
Start from where you will – sing for our time too.

(Homer, from P. Levi, 1984)

WATI NGINTAKA : LIZARD MAN SONG

'Ngantja kuru kuru nyinara wanaau
Ngantja kuru kuru nyinara wanaau.'

Sing to me of my country, Singers, of the Lizard man of twists and turns, obscuring his tracks, once he had plundered the Nyintjiri fine grinding stone.

He who travelled far from home, seeking a sound, the sound of fine grinding, coming on the wind. He found the stone and stole it. Then journeyed home.

The Nyintjiri people pursued him, they who had welcomed him as an honoured guest and offered him their food, and their country to share.

But he was greedy and broke the hallowed laws of hospitality, taking without asking their precious grindstone...

On his travels he created hills and valleys, rain from his brows watered the seeds he spread. He is a hero and a villain, bringing seeds to the desert people but taking their grindstone. In their anger they speared him to death.

Sing his song, people of the desert, start from where you will – sing for our time too.

(Anangu story paraphrase by D James 2004)
**Prologue: Travelling the Songlines**

In ACT II the stage is given to the Anangu storytellers and Wati Ngintaka while the Western bard retires to the wings and draws the attention of the audience to parallels between this epic song saga and that of *The Odyssey*. The cross-cultural dialogue between host and guest progresses with the tourists’ journey along the storyline of the epic song-poems. The visitors also physically journey the Wati Ngintaka Songline in the tour bus as it follows the winding tracks of the ancestor through the country. The elders in the bus singing the song as they go through Nganyinytja’s clan estate at Angatja in the Mann Ranges of northern South Australia (see *Ngura Walytja*, DVD, Appendix 2).

**Anangu Ask Visitors**

What can Western tourists understand of Indigenous culture by travelling the Wati Ngintaka Songline Heritage Trail?

‘I am of the Ngintaka. How can we understand each other, we of the Ngintaka and you of the...? What is your Dreaming?’ Kawaki Thompson asked this of the assembled white advisors at a meeting of the AP Executive and Desert Tracks Board of Directors at Umuwa on 12 November 1998 (see Appendix 4). The meeting had been convened to discuss the possibility of developing the Ngintaka Songline through the AP Lands as a Heritage Trail for tourists. Mr Thompson, as Director of AP challenged the advisors present to explain how this would assist cross-cultural understanding. How could their Tjukurpa, their law, help them understand Anangu who are ‘of’ specific Tjukurpa, related by ancestral ties to Creation Beings, animals and plants today, and the very land itself? Thompson’s question exposed the chasm beneath our feet, the cross-cultural ontological divide our dialogue was attempting to straddle. There was no Colossus or superhero present to bridge the gap for us; we had to struggle to find our own answers to his question.
We stood on either side of the gap, the white advisors on their mixed heritage of Western knowledge, and the Anangu sure of their belonging in the *Tjukurpa*. The Western scientific secular knowledge tradition offers no similar sense of belonging to land and the natural world. Rather it rationally deduces knowledge from a ‘detached contemplation of the world’ (Russell 1959:20). A clear distinction is made between nature and culture, spirit and matter, morality and reason. This is in stark contrast to Anangu knowledge that holistically incorporates the sacred and physical reality within moral and spiritual laws of their *Tjukurpa*. The ground of being, the ontology, of these two theories of knowledge is vastly different.

The Western intellectual tradition claims to transcend place and time and provide a rational system of thinking that can explain any situation to all human beings irrespective of language, culture, place, power or status of person speaking. This has been exposed as a Western myth by the work of Michel Foucault on the relationship between power and knowledge (see Foucault 1972). Despite the academic deconstruction of the myth by Foucault and others, it persists in the hegemony of Western language and power in cross-cultural meeting on Indigenous Lands in Australia. Western knowledge claims to be not of a particular place or country, thus western ontology claims a boundless geography of meaning.

The ground from which Western ontology sprang can, however, be identified. Bertrand Russell, champion of the western humanist tradition, tells us it originated in Greece in the eighth century BCE. While proud to claim its Greek roots, he was selective in which roots he considered true and which false. The Greeks were both practical and mystical philosophers. Russell suggests the Greek advances in philosophy, arts and sciences were possible because the Greeks split matter and spirit, and rational inquiry was separated from irrational or mystical inquiry.
However, Pythagoras of Samos was both a scientist and a mystic: he devised the basis of modern mathematics and established the mystical tradition of the Pythagorean school 2,500 years ago. To account for the experiential reality, that the square on the diagonal of a square equals twice the square on the side, Pythagoras developed the theory of ‘irrational’ numbers. The logic of rational numbers alone could not account for reality. Pythagoras believed that intangible or non-sensate knowledge could be accessed by adhering to the Orphic doctrine of asceticism in which a state of mental ecstasy, ‘enthusiasm’ or union with god, could be attained and used to gain knowledge not otherwise available to human beings (Russell 1959: 13).

Bertrand Russell, though he tries, cannot completely deny the importance of ecstasy and mystery as he attributes the ‘extraordinary explosion’ of Greek culture to the heady mix of science and mysticism, the passion to search for truth and beauty. The key he claims is objectivity, ‘passionate yet disinterested inquiry, this is what gives the Greeks their unique place in history’ (ibid). Thus Russell creates the logical arguments that support Western dualism, the division of spirit and matter, thought and feeling, real and unreal. But as Pythagorus found, experiential reality does not always conform to rational logic, the ‘irrational’ must be acknowledged as real.

Western rationalists must acknowledge the limitations of their logical theories and academic disciplines in seeking to understand reality. That which is outside Western defined ‘rationality’ also exists. To begin to understand other ontology and epistemologies of knowledge Westerners must discipline themselves to open their minds and hearts to other ways of knowing. No matter how far one travels and how many wonders of the world one sees, no transformation of consciousness will occur without openness to the new.

**What is your Dreaming?**

Kawaki attempted to transform the perception of white advisors by asking ‘What is your Dreaming?’ However, with no modern English word with which
to translate this concept the white advisors floundered and could not respond. ‘Dreaming’ is a common but inadequate translation of *Tjukurpa*, as discussed in Chapter 2, which fails to convey the omnipresence of this system of knowledge and Law in all ways and all places of Anangu ontology, epistemology, language and land. The Western experts’ inability to answer Kawaki’s question was largely due to the attrition of sacred language and concepts from the rational Western tradition. Concepts like ‘Dreaming’ are shrouded in mystery for Westerners because the West no longer has words for omnipresent law or morality in our ontology or epistemology.

**Travelling the Ngintaka Songline Heritage Trail**

In Act II the tourists who travel the Wati Ngintaka Songline Trail need a language in which to understand what they see, hear and experience of Anangu ontology and relationship to country. Anangu know they need to learn by doing. As in many religious traditions the pilgrimage trail is only experienced by walking it, so too, a songline can only be experienced by walking, singing and dancing it in country with holders of the law of the song.

Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari invite visitors to travel the Ngintaka Songline because they know it will transform their relationship to the land. They provide an Inma Ground, a translation performance space, where Anangu can share knowledge of country through performance of *Tjukurpa*. The tours provide a space within which hosts and guests perform the deep stories of their ontological ground of being; each performs in turn while the others listen, watch and learn.

When Anangu meet in a traditional Inma Ground, the protocol followed is that the hosts first dance the *Tjukurpa* of their country and then visitors dance. The connections between the places and people who are present are made clear upon the ground by the singing and dancing of joining or crossing songlines.

In accordance with Anangu protocol, Act II allows the epic song-poems of both hosts and guests to be performed in the translation performance space of the
journey. The Western cultural foundation epic is *The Odyssey*, a story over 2,500 years old, which is compared throughout the next chapters with the Anangu epic of the Ngintaka, a story many thousands of years older.

The version of the Ngintaka story used in this thesis was recorded in 1994 at Angatjä; the story is told by Nganyinytja and sung by some forty traditional owners of the songline. The lead singers and the storyteller were all over sixty years old at the time of the recording. In their oral tradition they are elders and law men and women of high degree and they learnt the Wati Ngintaka Songline travelling on foot through their country as children with their parents.

The Ngintaka Tjukurpa is the vehicle Anangu have chosen for their tourism venture. Not only are they prepared to make this Tjukurpa story public; they are also absorbing tourism into their ontology through this Tjukurpa Law. The Ngintaka man oversees the bus, the guides, the stories, the dances, the hunting and gathering, all activities in which Anangu engage tourists who are on their country. Ngintaka Tjukurpa provides the ontology and the epistemology, the theory and the practice, of cultural natural resource management of the Anangu tourism enterprise Desert Tracks. We learn this as we travel the songline.

The maps of country are written on the performance ground by the footprints of the dancers. Ilyatjari and others say performing inma is vital so that:

*Tjukurpa uti ngarinyi!* The Law and the Dreaming is clear to see.

(Ilyatjari, pers. comm., 1988)
Odysseus and his fleet sailed south, and were blown off Cape Maleas by a severe storm. They kept sailing on until they came upon the country of the Lotus-Eaters. The inhabitants of this strange land were amiable, but those of Odysseus' men who ate of the lotus, a local plant, quickly lost all memory of home and duty. Odysseus and his men who did not eat the plant dragged the men who did eat it back to the ship and sailed on.

Wati Ngintaka travelled following the sound—ruulmananyi—the sound of really fine grinding coming on the wind. He travelled far from home to the Ngintirri people near Mintabie. Here he made a separate camp and waited until he was invited in. The people said, 'Who's that stranger?' Then the men came over to talk and asked him, 'Hey, where do you come from?' (Nganyinyija trans. D James. 1994).
Introduction

Odysseus and the Wati Ngintaka were welcomed on their travels by strangers who invited them to stay. Odysseus, like many tourists, had to choose between the beguiling luxury and ease of the lotus-eaters’ hospitality or the bare shipboards and wet cold seas of his real journey. Tourists who choose Desert Tracks, leave the comforts of Ayers Rock Resort five star luxury hotels, air-conditioning, sumptuous buffet dinners and wine to rough it by camping on the hard ground, choked by desert dust and pestered by flies. What sound do they hear on the wind that blows over the desert?

Who journey to these distant lands and who choose to greet them? It is time to introduce some of the groups of companions who travel on these long dusty, bumpy outback roads to visit Anangu. Some are organizations that return each year with new members. Others are composed of free independent travellers, ‘FITS’ in industry jargon, individuals who book a tour directly for themselves. Those travellers who write notes in the visitor’s book or articles about their journey for publication later, have left crumbs for us to follow as their comments illuminate the dilemmas and opportunities that arise for visitors to this cross-cultural tourism performance space.

Visitors Welcome

_Ngalya pitja ngayuku ngura nyakuntjikitja. Manta nyangatja milmilpatjara! Ngayuku kamiki tjamuku ngura iritinguru. Pitjaya! Pina ala, kuru ala, kututu alatjara!_  
Come and see my country. This land is sacred! This has been my grandmother’s and grandfather’s country from a long time ago. Come with open ears, open eyes and an open heart.  
(Nganyinytja, in Desert Tracks Brochure 1988)

This was the invitation in a desert woman’s melodic Pitjantjatjara voice that was carried on radio waves into people’s living rooms or blown by light breezes into people’s hands as they stood idly beside newsstands or in ubiquitous
waiting rooms perusing magazines. Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari sent out their message sticks entrusting them to many hands before they reached those for whom the invitation was meant. The message was translated from Pitjantjatjara to English, twisting and turning through the voices of political, environmental, social justice and adventure writers who wrote the simple words in their own script. Nganyinytja's call was a surprise to the Australian ear tuned at that time to an Indigenous voice of pain, of anger, demanding land rights and social justice. Many Australians sympathetic to the Aboriginal voice felt guilty for their colonial legacy of Aboriginal land taken by force. The opportunity to share the life and home country of traditional Aboriginal people was not previously open to the general Australian public.

Aboriginal land rights had the positive effect of restoring ownership of country to Aboriginal people but it also effectively locked out mainstream society. The rationale was to protect traditional peoples and allow them to adjust to Western industrial society at their own pace. In practice, the administration of Aboriginal lands was often experienced both inside and outside the boundary fences as overly protectionist. As Aboriginal rights activist Gary Foley said in June 1996 at a meeting in the Aboriginal Health Service in Prahran Melbourne, 'I’m black and I can’t visit the Pitjantjatjara Lands with out a permit…I have to apply to some white c… of a lawyer to get one!'(pers. comm., June 1996). Nganyinytja echoed this in expressing her perspective from inside the fence: 'It’s good to have our land, this has always been my grandmothers’ and grandfathers’ land, but we don’t want to shut other people out' (Nganyinytja, pers. comm., 1980).

However, not all Anangu want tourists to visit the AP Lands. Therefore, the Regional AP Council agreed to allow tours into Angatja but restricted the bus access to main roads and no photographs or visits to other communities without specific permission.
Before Desert Tracks tours started in 1988, Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari had been cross-cultural teachers to their own people and kids in schools at Ernabella and Amata, and ran a rehabilitation course for petrol-sniffers at Angatja. They knew the value of balancing Western skills with Anangu traditional knowledge. Non-Indigenous people working on AP Lands also sought their expertise and many attended a week's course at Angatja called 'Anangu way nintini' in 1982.

The First ACF Groups, 1987

It is instructive to consider elements of the tour planning and the responses of participants on these first ACF Tours that formed the structure of future tours. The importance of tour management mirroring Anangu life was recognised from the beginning. The importance of separate men's and women's business in Anangu life was acknowledged by providing male and female guides on tour. Cross-cultural family and kinship ties were essential to establishing a framework of trust in the joint-venture business. Children are central to Anangu life and so were always welcome on tours. Linda Rive, a skilled interpreter, brought her young son of two cultures, Pirpantji, on these first tours. One of the visitors, Beryl Blake, commented that Linda’s ‘four year old son, Pippy, and dog Bluey, were soon adopted and loved by our whole party’ (Blake 1987:29).

The first article advertising trips to AP lands was written by the media consultant for ACF, Simon Balderstone, a journalist who had previously worked at the Age for nine years, specialising in politics and environmental issues. His was an advertising article imagining ‘the diary extracts of anyone fortunate enough to visit the region for a cross-cultural, ecological and purely aesthetic insight’ (Balderstone 1987). The emphasis of his article was the rare opportunity these tours presented for small select groups, with expert guides to travel into Aboriginal Lands inaccessible without permits. His language was carefully chosen to assuage the doubts of politically correct Aboriginal rights supporters who might feel tourism was an unwelcome imposition on Aboriginal Lands. The distinction was made between these tours as genuine
travel and other 'tourism': this was a 'small party' rather than a 'commercial
group'. It had the ACF stamp of approval and was a personal 'co-operative
agreement' between Phillip Toyne and Anangu. The tour was promoted as
'cross-cultural and nature oriented' (Balderstone 1987).

There was also the political agenda of ACF to 'increase ties between Aboriginal
and conservation movements' which it was claimed had 'many common
interests' (Balderstone 1987). This convergence of Aboriginal and
conservationists political agenda has been a consistent line of the Australian
conservation movement. The assumption is that Western 'love' of the
environment is the same as Indigenous connection to land physically,
emotionally and spiritually. Statements expressing the love of nature, not
owning the land but belonging to it, and living in balance and harmony with
nature, are assumed to mean the same thing in both cultures. This is a fuzzy
feel-good gloss that naively links the Rousseau myth of the 'noble savage' with
the modern political agenda of the Green movement.

However, Indigenous peoples of Australia were not traditionally
conservationists; they hunted and gathered then, and still do kill native animals
to eat; burn woodlands to create savannahs and utilise all aspects of the natural
environment to enhance their survival and comfort. In fact, the environmental
history of Australia, as presented by Tim Flannery and others, reveals a
landscape dramatically changed by Indigenous hunting and gathering
techniques.

Anangu were not, nor are they today, 'conservationists' in the sense of
conservers of the natural environment as it is, frozen in time. Rather they
accepted and promoted change to enhance their exploitation of natural
resources. Their impact on the environment was limited by their practice and
law of resource management that regulated the balance between taking and
ensuring continuance of species. The fact that environmental conservation was
not a ubiquitous concept across cultures had to be recognised in the joint
management of national parks like Uluru Kata Tjuta where Anangu maintain hunting rights and patch-burning practices. The Aboriginal and National Park Conservation Alliance has been a transforming one for both cultural perspectives and practices.

Beryl Blake was one of the participants in a group of fifteen on the first ACF trip to AP Lands in July 1987. The group was connected by membership of ACF but, as Beryl said, 'everyone had their own expectations and experiences to bring to this venture' (Blake 1987:29). She asks, 'What was I anticipating? Well, to be in this fascinating country was enough in itself...I couldn’t imagine how our first meeting with Anangu (Aboriginal people) would work out. But I was completely open minded, just hoping we would get along with each other' (ibid). These tours included Indulkana, Mimili, Fregon and Amata on a drive-through view of the Everard and Musgrave Ranges. It was not until they reached the Angatja creek bed that real relationships could be established. Here, after camp was set up, the pattern of the days was 'a leisurely pace, like reading a slow-moving book in which the atmosphere and sense of timelessness are pervasive and images, once absorbed, leave a lasting impression' (ibid:30). The importance of providing male and female guides was noted: 'A most memorable day was when the men and women went in different directions: the men to hunt kuka (meat) and the women to collect mai (non-meat)' (ibid:31).

The gender separation in Anangu lifestyle includes food gathering tasks, camp construction and knowledge of ritual and sacred law. Westerners often find this very difficult to accept, coming from a society that champions 'freedom of information' assuming that surely this separation of men's and women's business is archaic and counterproductive in the modern world. Westerners often overlook the 'secret sacred business' of their own society: the Secrets Act regarding governmental or military 'sensitive information'. Australians accept restricted access to the uranium mine at Roxby Downs, the American spy base at Pine Gap, the privacy laws protecting private property and private corporations. Westerners accept 'secret sacred business' restrictions based on
wealth and power but rebel at those in other cultures based on physical gender. It is true that we see the stick in another's eye yet miss the log in our own.

Secret sacred rituals are not restricted to so-called 'primitive' societies. Our superior colonial ethnocentric gaze blinds us to the underpinnings of our own cultural beliefs. Distinctions based on gender in Anangu society are not necessarily indicative of inequality: women have a rich and powerful ceremonial life and are holders of sacred objects essential to the life of the community as are men; they hold law that is complementary and sometimes performed separately but also performed together depending on the ceremony. It is important to note in this context of tourism on AP Lands, that Nganyinytja was the prime instigator of cross-cultural tours at Angatja. It is her traditional country and she is a senior law woman of high degree. Her husband, Ilyatjari, moved to his wife's country after marriage and supports her there. He is a senior medicine man and holder of law, song and dance for his traditional country further west at Wingellina. They respect and balance each other looking after the country around Angatja, managing the homeland community and its associated businesses of training youth, camel ranching and tourism.

Beryl felt that the experience of different learning facilitated by gender separation was another valuable dimension of the tour. What else did she feel was learnt by this first group? Beryl says candidly, 'Each lesson we learnt sparked off new questions, some unanswered. The message that came to me was these people who have lived on and cared for their land for many thousands of years, take great pride and responsibility in this caring and are closely linked with their environment both spiritually and physically' (ibid:31). She is an ardent conservationist and political activist for human rights accepted the value of traditional land-care practices that emphasised the human being as part of the environment.

Katy Sher, who came on the second ACF trip in October 1987, agreed with Beryl that the trip left her overwhelmed by Anangu knowledge and spiritual
connection to the land. Katy, a generation younger than Beryl, was shocked 'to realise that here was the race of Australians of whom I’d learnt practically nothing whilst at school or university’ (Sherl978:10). To meet Aboriginal people was a strong motivation for many Australians who joined the first Desert Tracks tours in 1988. Una, an enthusiastic seventy-seven year old, said she had wanted all her life to meet Aboriginal people and had waited until she felt invited by them.

It is often difficult to meet Aboriginal people in coastal cities because of the destructive results of colonisation and the remoteness of most traditional people makes them inaccessible. The Aboriginal land permits form a barrier, and then there is the individual’s ambivalence, wanting to visit yet knowing that tourism can be just another voyeuristic activity of privileged Westerners. The desire of many Australians to be reconciled through meaningful contact and learning from Aboriginal people is complicated by the shame of the practices of our colonial past and the concern that commercialisation through tourism will sully the exchange, commodifying Indigenous culture for the market. It is necessary to acknowledge these as real concerns of many Australians, rather than simply criticising the domestic market as disinterested or fearful. Recognition of fear and shame may be necessary precursors to change but the compassion and open-hearted invitation of people like Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari is also necessary to achieve reconciliation.

Tourism is a crucible in which many cross-cultural elements of Australian post-colonial society ferment. Reconciliation for the nation is a difficult ambiguous path. Is it better to respect and preserve cultural difference or does this automatically disadvantage Indigenous people by preserving traditional culture in ghettos cut off from the mainstream capitalist society’s benefits of wealth, health and power? Ambiguity lies at the heart of Indigenous cultural tourism: how to make money from a non-moneyed culture without destroying the reciprocal economy and ontology of that culture. These are real concerns that have to be addressed, even in situations like Angatja where Aboriginal people are choosing to engage in tourism on their own terms on their own lands.
Wheels Roll on Desert Tracks, 1988

To advertise the first tours of Desert Tracks in March and April 1988, Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari travelled with their non-indigenous manager to Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, Australian state capital cities, to speak on radio and with journalists about their tours. Snowdon said, ‘Nganyinytja has decided that this is the only way white people can get a feel for what Pitjantjatjara people are all about; their relationship with the land, their whole approach to life, the dreaming’ (Cornwall 1988:1). This report on page one of the Adelaide Advertiser of 7 April 1988, emphasises the reconciliation theme of learning from Aboriginal people: ‘After years of being told how to live by “white fellas”, Nganyinytja thinks it is time we ngali_utjaras (“poor buggers”) developed a feel for life in the Dreamtime’ (ibid:2).

Snowdon claimed that visitors will ‘see it as it really is: ‘the tough bush, real life of Aboriginal people sleeping on the ground in sub zero temperatures, eating half raw kangaroo meat, honey ants and witchetty grubs…it really is culture shock’ (ibid.). This is not the usual advertising for either adventure or gourmet touring which tend to emphasise the magnificent scenery and exotic foods. The tone of the article is almost didactic, with people warned that their behaviour may offend Anangu and that entering their lands is under strict permit conditions. This is because whitefellas are the ngaltutjaras or ‘poor buggers’, the ones who don’t understand this land or its people and Anangu need to be protected from their offensive behaviour. Snowdon make reference to Anangu forgiving past injustices, ‘The astounding thing about these people is their generosity and openness and trust. I wouldn’t want to see that change because of our insensitivity’ (ibid.).

These early articles written by tour participants and journalists about the Desert Tracks experience seem highly idealistic and far removed from the usual tourism reportage. The writers are motivated by social justice and Indigenous land rights issues, by a need for personal and national reconciliation, by an
aversion to superficial touristic experience and by a need to be almost brutally honest about the rough camping conditions on tour. While some of these might be positive advertising angles, the emphasis on the 'hard bush' is appealing to only a small niche market within the already limited market for Indigenous cultural tourism. Desert Tracks also engaged in mainstream marketing through Peregrine Adventures, a well-established national and international adventure travel company. Desert Tracks advertisements appeared in environmental and law magazines, in major city newspapers, often with accompanying articles. It was one of the first tours into Aboriginal Land in Central Australia and thus newsworthy.

The early brochures were simple, single sheets, home printed on coloured paper and posted to prospective organizations. The first Desert Tracks brochure read:

An exciting and unique opportunity is now available to live with a family group of Pitjantjatjara people in their own country. This ‘once in a lifetime’ experience enables participation in traditional Aboriginal ways of living. Members of this cross-cultural exchange will take part in a range of activities including:

• collection, preparation and eating of bush foods;
• traditional singing and dancing;
• journeys into different parts of the country which allows participants to see, hear and feel the connection between the country and Pitjantjatjara spirituality;
• camping in swags under the desert stars.

Ten days for $1,000; special children and family rates
(Desert Tracks brochure 1988)

The advertising thrust was initially towards the domestic market, which responded quickly and with enthusiasm. This is interesting as market research indicates a low domestic interest in Indigenous tourism today. This will be discussed later as the market sector attracted to Desert Tracks is examined and
representatives of it introduced. Firstly, it is important to meet the workers, both white and black, who were attracted to Angatja to work on these tours.

Cross-Border Land Governance and Tourism
It was a bold decision by Angatja people to market themselves and their country. Not all Anangu on the AP Lands were interested in tourists or wanted them visiting their country or seeing how they lived. This antipathy to tourism was particularly high at settlements that had grown around government or mission service centres. In fact, the ACF groups and early Desert Tracks groups were instructed not to get out of the bus at fuel stops in these communities en route to Angatja. The wariness towards tourists and photographers arose from previous experiences of Anangu at Uluru. This monolith rising out of the desert sands has been sacred to Anangu for thousands of years and a beacon to tourists since the 1950s. It has been a performance space of cross-cultural conflict ever since, with Western conservation and tourism vying with Aboriginal traditional land use. Today under the joint management of Anangu and National Parks there is progress towards a negotiated space, but differences remain between Western and Indigenous concepts of caring for country.

Since the 1950s, state and federal governments have supported the concept that tourism and conservation are compatible, but Aboriginal hunting and gathering, restriction of areas for sacred secret rituals and a proposed ban on climbing Uluru have been deemed contrary to conservation and tourism. Anangu in the AP Lands constantly visit family at Uluru and have assessed the impact of tourism and the National Park on their lives and traditions. The impacts are not all bad; the economic wealth generated by ‘gate money’ at Uluru is valued as positive but some Anangu comment adversely on the perceived trivialisation of culture. Dickie Minyintirri, who had worked as a guide at Uluru and then at Angatja, made a clear distinction between the type of tourism at Uluru and the type he wanted on AP Lands:
Tourist just come one day to Uluṟu. Too quick, just give little story, not big story. Takes a long time to know Anangu country, better go slowly, listen, learn! (Minyintirri pers.comm., June 2003)

This was a sentiment agreed to by the Directors of Desert Tracks, so for many years one-day tours were not developed despite market pressure.

As discussed previously, Anangu of the AP Lands are neighbours and relatives of those in the Northern Territory living in the Uluṟu Kata Tjuṯa National Park. It is only the accident of Western government state boundaries that divides them. Nganyinyṯja’s traditional country extends over the border and into the National Park; she walked all that country with her parents as a child. The songlines of the mala, ‘hare wallaby’, the kungka kutjara, ‘two women’, the walawurru, ‘eagle’ and the kaŋka, ‘crow women’, all cross the state, national park and land councils’ borders. These are just some of the tracks created by the ancestors of the Tjukurpa, the Dreaming Law, long before white man walked these sands. The complex or cultural Dreaming Law linking the Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people and their lands hold greater meaning to people of this land than arbitrary lines on a map.

Anangu experience of tourists at Uluṟu, prior to 1985 when the land was returned to the traditional owners, had not been positive. In 1920 Uluṟu Kata Tjuṯa and the Peterman Ranges were gazetted as an Aboriginal Reserve for the exclusive use of Aboriginal people. However, after World War II pressure from tourism operators influenced the Director of Native Affairs to excise Uluṟu and Kata Tjuṯa in 1958 (Commonwealth Gazette 20 December 1958). It was first administered by ‘the Native Welfare Branch until the Northern Territory Reserves Board was created during 1958 to manage it as a tourist and wildlife reserve’ (Layton 1986:76). When the government declared this region a wildlife reserve the Anangu were no longer welcome there to hunt and perform their ceremonies. The anthropologist, FGG Rose, at Angas Downs in 1962, found few Aboriginal people living at the Rock and commented ‘it is almost certain that if the Aborigines were not kept, or as it is expressed locally, ‘hunted’ away from the
vicinity of Ayers Rock, the Aboriginal population at Angas Downs would largely transfer...there' (Rose, in Layton 1986:76).

The Northern Territory Reserves Board management, after Bill Harney left in 1962, strongly rejected Anangu traditional land-care techniques so patch burning was discontinued resulting in huge wildfires several years later that destroyed much of the vegetation of the Park. The sacred cultural landscape was also defiled. Sacred caves and sites were not protected, tourists, in ignorance, clambered through them. There was no information regarding the need to respect Anangu as the custodians of their cultural and sacred landscape.

In 1975, when I first visited with Andy Tjilari and his family from Fregon, the ignorance of Indigenous culture and protocols shown by most visitors and tourist guides was appalling. The motels were scattered around the base of Uluru, and Anangu lived in a shanty camp of canvas and wrought iron sheets near the one store. We were camped in the public camping ground when we awoke to a busload of tourists who poured out and lined up to gawk and snap cameras at us. What an interesting picture: a few dishevelled, barely awake Aboriginal people camped in piles of blankets around smouldering fires. Cameras were clicking with no words being exchanged, no 'hello', let alone asking if people wanted their photo taken. I surprised them greatly by emerging from my blankets, white, dishevelled long red hair and an angry face demanding that they stop photographing. I soon realised that they did not speak English. There was no guide or bus driver in sight. In those days the driver guides were often extremely ill informed, racist and derogatory about Anangu. They were often the major source of misinformation on Australian Aboriginal people and sites like Uluru that international tourists experienced.

Today tour guides at Uluru Kata Tjuta are encouraged to complete an accredited three-day intensive course offered by Anangu traditional owners and National Parks rangers. Major bus companies like AAT Kings actively
support this initiative. All their drivers must gain this accreditation. They appreciate that knowledge of Aboriginal culture and heritage is essential to understanding the Australian environment. Tourists are more informed and demand higher levels of interpretive knowledge from their guides.

Ânangu are now involved in the joint management of Úluru Kata Tjuţa National Park and their cultural landscape is protected as well as the natural landscape. Sacred sites are now protected with fences and signs around the base of Úluru and in Kata Tjuţa. There is a sign informing visitors of Ânangu expressed preference that people not climb Úluru. However, signs and fenced off areas are not the only face of Ânangu interpretation of landscape. Ânangu are park rangers and guides in their own tour business, Ânangu Tours. They provide the Indigenous cultural interpretation of this extraordinary natural landscape. The Úluru Kata Tjuţa National Park is listed on the World Heritage List for both its natural and cultural values, and was only the second national park in the world to be recognised as a cultural landscape.

Desert Tracks developed after joint management of Úluru was declared in 1985 and Ânangu had seen that positive change could occur at the interface of tourism and their traditional culture within the Park. However, there was no other Aboriginal-owned tourism enterprise operating at Úluru or in the surrounding region until Ânangu Tours started in 1995 so Desert Tracks was a trail breaker. It developed as a joint enterprise from the beginning and Ânangu management of itinerary content and interpretation was paramount. Being a safari camping tour to a remote location, it was not designed to attract the numbers of tourists who today take a one to three hour tour at Úluru. Even by the year 2000 less than 500 of the 598,000 holiday visitors to the Centre visited the Pitjantjatjara Lands, most to see the rock art at Cave Hill. Fewer than 200 chose the seven-day camp at Nganyinytja’s Bush College. Remoteness and lack of comforts is an automatic selective sieve that sorts the visitor vision. Those who are prepared to get red dust and smoke in their eyes, ears and nose, get their clothes dirty and feel uncomfortable in an alien language and cultural
landscape, are few. The demands on Anangu guides are also very different as short tours are repetitious and demand consistency of time management. The longer tours to Angatja require being on location with tourists twenty-four hours a day for a week.

Anangu who choose to work as tourist guides need to be outgoing personalities who want to work with tourists. All relatives and other traditional owners of the areas and specific sites must give permission for these to be shown to tourists. It eventuated that many elders and traditional owners of the Angatja region joined the tours to check the procedure and protocol. Then a core group of guides who were their close relations consolidated.

The Country Selects its Guides

Peter Nyaningu described the Anangu concept of land ownership as walytjarara walytjarara kanyinma, ‘caring for country together with relatives, together with relatives’: caring for country together in family groups linked to other family groups. Nyaningu emphasised that ‘traditional owner’ is a whitefella term. He objected to the notion of owner as ‘singular’, a concept foreign to Anangu who think of rights and responsibilities to land as they do of their rights and responsibilities to their kin relations. The Anangu concept of ‘walytjarara walytjarara’ is of being together with relatives, going together with relatives, doing together with relatives; it signifies a strong working together with relatives for one’s relatives, which include people, animals, plants and places. He said:

Nganaga walytjarara walytjarara manta kanyini. We care for country together with our relatives, in our interconnected family groups. Our home country is not fenced. Station fences keep people out. We invite people into our country. We say “Camp over there, water there.” Our law includes a law for sharing food that can be hunted or gathered on our land.

(Nyaningu, pers. comm., 26 March 2005)
The right to invite people into country is determined by one's relationship to that country. Anangu recognize rights to country through more than one connection: being born there, father's country, mother's country, grandparents on either side and through one's totemic ancestor sites in country that extends into overlapping family clan estates. The traditional owners who have the right to refuse or invite tourists into specific regions on AP Lands are not one but many. One man or woman cannot sign on behalf of their family or their clan, Anangu prefer to meet and talk together seeking consensus among themselves before being asked to agree to any development in their country.

Tjulkiwa, a spritely woman in her fifties, is Nganyinytja's sister-in-law and her right hand woman. She is Tjała, 'honey ant woman'; her country is Makari, a sacred site south from the Angatja. She is a dancer and superb hunter, who expresses herself in active interaction with her environment. Her embodied knowledge of land and water, song and dance of her country will inspire and lead the group ever deeper into the practice of caring for country.

Sandy Mutju, Nganyinytja's brother, is husband of Tjulkiwa and traditional owner for the ngintaka site of Tjanmatapiti. This is the place where the Ngintaka Man created tjannmata, 'wild onions', a tasty food of sandy rocky places. Mutju is not a great talker, rather a person of action like his wife. He is a fine carver of spears and other traditional artefacts as well as the desert animal sculptures favoured by tourists. People will enjoy just sitting and watching this master carver at his work.

Andy Tjilari is kuta, older brother of Nganyinytja, a senior songman for the Ngintaka Tjukurpa that travels through Angatja. He came as a guide custodian with his wife, Kalkulya. His grandfather was brother to Nganyinytja's grandfather; we would call them second cousins but in Anangu kinship they are of the same generational level or moiety and call each other siblings.
However, Tjilari’s father’s country is Aranngna, further west just over the Northern Territory border; this is Tjilari’s ngura walytja, ‘homeland’. It is a significant site on the Ngintaka Songline, the place where he is caught and killed. This songline links Tjilari to Angatja, so he and his wife have come here to help teach the tourists, to look after Tjukurpa, his country and his kin. Andy Tjilari has related to me as father since I first worked in Fregon in 1975. My position, then, is daughter to him and all the senior teachers of his generation.

Kalkulya, Tjilari’s wife, sits quietly beside him smiling but saying little. Not all Anangu like up front interaction with the visitors; they come to participate in teaching by example in hunting and gathering bush foods, dancing and singing the Tjukurpa.

Inawinytji is Tjilari’s daughter and I have known her since we were both young women aged twenty at Fregon. We worked together in the arts and crafts centre, a small tin shed in the central compound of the community. Inawinytji has always been an extraordinarily talented artist whose steady hand constantly painted intricate designs of walpa, ‘design of country’. Now, years later, we are working together again in this tourism business teaching non-Indigenous people Anangu inma, dance and song traditions. She has been teaching traditional dance and song to non-Indigenous students at Mimili and Fregon for many years with ethno- musicologists from Adelaide University CASAM, the Centre for Australian Studies in Aboriginal Music.

Inawinytji has welcomed the idea of also working with Desert Tracks tourists. She leads a team of senior dance and song teachers, all highly respected in their communities and in demand to perform nationally and internationally. Inawinytji calls me kangkur.u, ‘older sister’, but she was already the mother of two children when I arrived in Fregon. At the first Women’s Council meeting at Kanypi in 1980, I was pregnant with my first child whom she predicted would be a girl. Sarah was born just five weeks after that historic meeting. So we work together as family, walytjarara walytjarara.
Calling White Guides

The whitefella side of Desert Tracks required business skills. Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari establish joint management with non-Indigenous partners from the start in 1988. All the initial guides and managers, from 1988 to 2000, have been related into the Anangu kinship system and spoke Pitjantjatjara, essential qualifications to start such a joint business venture with Anangu in their country on their terms. Since 2000 change of management has involved new staff without these cross-cultural skills, however younger English speaking Anangu have assisted them to understand protocols and the kinship system.

The two moieties are called wilytja, 'shade side' and tjintulu, 'sun side': two opposites together form a whole, black and white come together to form one business, an effective partnership of Western and Anangu. The stories of the white and black guides weave together in the performance space of the Pitjantjatjara tours as we dance in-between our two worlds. Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari have been two of my closest guides and mentors over the many years of learning and instruction that I have received from Anangu. The importance of these kinship relationships in caring for country and in the business management will become more evident as the journey progresses.

The Interpreter

Interpretation of the Pitjantjatjara language is a key to the success of the tours. My training began before starting work on the AP Lands in 1975 at a three-week course in Pitjantjatjara language and culture at Adelaide University taught by linguists and Anangu elders. It was a fantastic, if somewhat daunting, introduction to the complexities of Aboriginal language and cultural protocol. The anthropology I had studied at university had not prepared me for the reality of a living dynamic Indigenous culture existing inside modern Eurocentric Australia. I met for the first time the proud and dignified people of Australia's remote lands. The so-called 'empty centre' was very much alive in these peoples' eyes as they told stories of their ngura walytja, their homelands.
Early anthropologists had presented Anangu history and culture as a dying tradition. Only a couple of generations before mine anthropologists, like Clelland, in South Australia had seriously been engaged in measuring native heads to prove racial differences in intelligence. The ‘scientific’ evidence of racial difference was part of the justification for the removal of ‘half-caste’ children from their families that began in 1910, a policy that had taken children from Aboriginal families across Australia and even the remote Pitjantjatjara lands. I, as a descendant of Anglo Celtic settlers and trained in the Western anthropological tradition, was humbled and ashamed of the harm of the colonial past and the role of anthropology within it.

Wilfred Douglas, one of the experienced linguists at the Adelaide introductory course in Pitjantjatjara, said to me: ‘You will be useless to Aboriginal people for the first two years, they will be teaching you. If you stay longer perhaps you can become of some use. Know that you know nothing, as a new broom you’ll only create dust. Sit, listen and learn language. That is most important. Learn to listen!’ (Douglas, pers. comm., my diary 1975).

Though I am now considered by Anangu to be a fluent translator of Pitjantjatjara to English, I know the gaps that translation struggles to bridge. Direct word-for-word translation loses much of the contextual cultural meaning that we all assume audiences of our language understand and refer to constantly. Sometimes the translation error is amplified through several languages, the multi-language translation which often occurs from Pitjantjatjara to Australian English, to American English, to French, to German or to Japanese in the translation performance space of tourism.

In translating for Anangu at the interface with tourists, I know we enter a transformative and transforming space of trans-relation. In this space, language is required to hold and convey the cosmology and ontology of Anangu teachers to the visitors sitting around the Angatja campfire. Each person brings a culturally determined mindscape, eye-scape and sense-scape that are unique to
them or her. They will collectively produce divergent multi-faceted story pictures of this experience, pictures thick with smells, tastes and sounds of heat, flies, dust, and cawing crows.

Having personally experienced how strange and confusing the Anangu world can be on first encounter; I have great empathy for new visitors. In a week they will only experience a little of the complexity of Anangu kinship to country. The relationships within the Anangu family and the ‘family’ of the tour group are used to teach relationship to country. All visitors are given a totem, a personal Pitjantjatjara name of a plant or animal in the desert environment. The Tjukurpa stories of these totemic beings are told, sung and danced and people are shown their footprints in the land. This is how Anangu teach visitors to read the land, teaching them the interconnectedness of people and environment, the Anangu law of caring for country through kinship.

**Visitors**

Now it is time for introductions: ‘Who are you?’ ask the people on the bus.

A cross-section of real people who have come on Desert Tracks tours have been grouped together in this section for the purposes of telling the story of the tourists’ journey. This group of individuals has been chosen from the several thousand visitors to Angatja over the last seventeen years, from 1988 to 2005. They are representative of various specialist cultures and languages within the Western knowledge tradition that have been drawn to Nganyinytja’s ‘desert college’. Their comments, made in person, in the visitors’ book, by email or in written articles on their journey into Pitjantjatjara Lands with Desert Tracks, will be quoted in the following chapters. This thesis story is a weaving together of the experiences on tour of the men and women who have reflected upon their journey and entered into dialogue with me about what Anangu caring for country and community meant to them personally.

**Dawn** is the first to respond and is a petite blond-haired woman from Sydney. She works in Myers department store selling cosmetics. Dawn is immaculately dressed in casual chic and her make up is perfect despite the long road trip. She
confides that she and her husband have especially come here to celebrate their thirtieth wedding anniversary. Nganyinytja giggles with pleasure like a girl and says she knows Myers. When she first travelled to Adelaide, aged thirteen, the missionary’s wife, Mrs Duguid, bought her first red coat at Myers. She wore it proudly home on the bus though people stared at her, a little black girl in a neat red coat and white socks and shoes. She held her head up; they were just ignorant people. Nga[tu]tjara tjuta, ‘poor people’; they didn’t know about Aboriginal people. They’d never seen one before. She laughs and smiles at the group who are trying to imagine how it felt for this little desert girl surrounded by staring white faces on a bus in Adelaide in 1943.

Glen, Dawn’s husband, is sitting next to her, looking rather too big for the small camp stool he’s perched on. A tall strongly built man in his mid fifties, his ‘country’ is the plains of western Sydney where he coordinates a special drug and juvenile crime force whose tentacles reach through the police network of the city. Ilyatjarri and Nganyinytja listen with intense interest as he speaks of the sad side of the city he sees, the young people in trouble. Ilyatjarri nods and says: We too know of this sadness; our children in Amata are hooked on drugs, sniffing petrol and stealing. We tried to help them by bringing them out to Angatja to stay, get well and find a reason to live again according to our Law. I took the boys hunting while Nganyinytja worked with the girls. They got well and began to eat properly again then their parents would come out to visit and the kids jumped into the cars and headed back to Amata, into the petrol-sniffing again. Their parents couldn’t stop them; they were sitting around playing cards all day not caring for their kids. What could we do?

Glen shakes his head sadly; the problems are the same. They will talk more of this later, a mutual respect growing between the lawmen.

There is a pause, then I ask why they’ve chosen to come here to celebrate their thirtieth wedding anniversary. Glen laughs and puts his arm around his wife.
‘Dawn chose it; she always chooses our holidays. Last year she took me to the Arctic. She likes going to unusual places and meeting local people of different cultures. I trust her choice.’ The incongruity of this small woman dressed in white taking her big burly husband around the world to remote locations is not lost on Glen or the group. We all laugh and Dawn smiles enigmatically.

This is yet another lesson for me as tour manager not to prejudge or narrowly define the people who choose this tour. People are called by their hearts, rather than by their minds, to Nganyinytja’s country.

**Kathy** is a compact grey haired woman from Adelaide. Her permit application stated that she is seventy-five years old, a Doctor of Botany, in good health and not on any serious medication, sound of mind and body. All this information is necessary to a tour operator taking people into remote locations, travelling over bumpy dirt roads, camping out far from regular health services. Desert Tracks has access to the Flying Doctor Service out of Alice Springs. They can be contacted by two-way radio; the response time is a minimum three-hour flight before arriving at the nearest airstrip an hour’s drive from camp. So it is with great care that potential visitors’ health is vetted. Elizabeth will prove to be excellent at pacing herself to the climatic and physical hardships of the camp. She, like Anangu, gets up early to walk in search of botanical specimens and she rests under shady trees in the heat of midday. Her rhythms are their rhythms, adapted to the land of Central Australia.

**Robbie Bosnak** from America is the next to speak. Robbie introduces himself as a Dutch Jungian psychoanalyst who trained in Zurich, Switzerland. Since then he has been in private practice in the United States, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It is his interest in the dream world as another reality that has brought him to Central Australia to learn from people of ‘the Dreaming’, Robbie says, ‘From the point of view of the dreaming state of mind, dreams are real events in real environments’ (Bosnak 2004 website).
Tjilari Kunmanara nod in agreement. They are all nganakari, ‘medicine men and women’, who travel in the dream world to heal sick souls and keep the balance between the invisible world of the Dreaming, of Tjukurpa and its visible created world. Ilyatjari says, ‘We will talk more of Dreaming world later. First you must walk in country, follow tracks of animals and hunt, learn to read the surface of the land then explore the depth.’ The ngangkari will talk to the group later about their work.

**Felicity Hartigan** is a woman of my generation from Sydney. A mother, a painter and a person passionate about belonging to this country, she is here to learn about Anangu ways of belonging. Felicity has no romantic notions of moving to the country to be close to nature; she is an inner-city dweller and loves it. However, she is one of the many Australians who enjoy living in a city where trees and parks are vital to the urban landscape. She cares deeply about the natural and cultural environment in Sydney. Felicity says, ‘Somehow in my upbringing, which was a white Australian upbringing, there was a disconnection between religion and nature. It is a gap I need to heal’ (see Bradstock 1996). Nganyinytja understands this sentiment: ‘If people lose their land, their law is broken and their spirit dies.’ Her words are as true for the descendants of immigrants who left their ancestral lands as for the Aboriginal people whose land they took.

**David Tacey** is a visitor who has chosen to lead two special interest tour groups to Angatja. He met Nganyinytja and me earlier, at a conference in Adelaide in 1992 where the spiritual rift between Christianity and the land was a core theme. Now he has come to Central Australia, the country of his childhood, to reconnect with the spirit of this place. He has argued that the broader significance of an encounter with the emptiness of the land at the centre, and the peoples who have long survived there, involves the kinds of alchemical processes of individuation articulated by psychoanalysts of Jungian inspiration. ‘In Australia, landscape carries our experience of the sacred other...The landscape in Australia is a mysteriously charged and magnificently alive
archetypal presence' (Tacey 1995: 6). In this he agrees with Anangu conception of landscape alive with the Creation Beings of the Tjukurpa. However, these presences are not mysterious to Anangu but real, and interact with human beings.

Colleen Burke, from America, is sitting next to David. Colleen is a strategic consultant to the CEO’s office of the world’s largest consulting firm on the topics of values, organisational knowledge and virtual learning communities. She is involved in ongoing research into the effect of, ‘our ancestors’ dreams, our contemporary metaphors, and the singing of our creation myths in realising and creating our organisational landscapes’ (Burke, pers.comm., 1997). Colleen disclosed her research interest as ‘What is there in the Dreamtime which can help our organisations find the way across the landscape of virtuality to a new economy?’ (ibid), a different yet similar concern to the cry of the lost spirit. She often feels ungrounded in her world of multi-storeyed offices surrounded by computer screens displaying virtual reality.

Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari, though somewhat bemused when her research request was relayed to them, were happy for her to learn what she could from their teaching. The questions people bring do influence their experience of the embodied landscape of Anangu. The relationship of questions to learning will be questioned itself by the method of Anangu teaching: by listening and watching they discourage questions.

Craig Potter from England is another guest. He has come because he read Mutant Message Down Under and was inspired to meet the wise elders of the Dreaming, the real people. When he sent me this in an email before the trip I was loath to destroy his enthusiasm to bring himself, his wife and young boy from England specifically to come on a Desert Tracks tour. So I cautioned him that the Australian Aboriginal response had been to greatly criticise the book and its author, saying that it was pure fantasy. Then ensued a long exchange of
messages over the worldwide email web in which Craig decided to come and meet the real people for himself.

Nganyinytja again sympathetically responds to people who have lost their spirit and need to heal. Anangu see relationship to land as essential for healing and learning to care for country. However, the modern quest is often for individual healing at the expense of community and common natural resources. Industrial Western culture encourages an ethos of individualism justifying one person’s, one company’s or one nation’s right to excessive use of natural resources. In contrast, Anangu value community above the individual. Caring for country involves caring for the whole community. The health of humanity and the health of the earth are interconnected: they are of one Creation Law, Tjukurpa. All peoples, languages, plants, animals, landforms and waters of the earth are interconnected and have their place in the sacred law of Tjukurpa.

**John Broomfield**, is a retired academic who organises small group educational tours to India, New Zealand and Australia. His passion is learning from other, as in the title of his book *Other Ways of Knowing* (Broomfield, 1997). He is a critic of academics ‘who engage intellectually with indigenous cultures but hold themselves at arms’ length from the spiritual and other teachings’ to avoid ‘going native’ (Broomfield, 1999:18). He questions, ‘How can one comprehend Buddhism without experiencing its core spiritual practice?’ (ibid:19). He is fascinated by the different knowledge languages inter-culturally and cross-culturally ‘the paradox that our way of knowing is the very thing that constrains our knowledge is considered ...’ (Broomfield,1997:15). Ilyatjari affectionately calls John, a man with greying hair and beard, *tjilpi* old man.

**Kyoko**, a beautiful Japanese dancer, has come with other dancers interested in learning to express the desert in their dance. She is a master teacher of *Mobius Kiryuho*, a Japanese martial art. Mobius Kiryuho is a Japanese art of movement that uses the mobius loop form to restore balance and harmony to bodies and minds. Kyoko feels that the dance between humans and nature ‘breathes’ the land; it is the giving and receiving of inspiration, the spiritual sustenance and
life force. She believes, ‘We give breath to the land, recognise its sacred energy places, and it gives breath to us renewing our essential source of being’ (see Sato, pers.comm., June 2003). This was a ‘deep law’ from her land that she brought to share in a dance exchange where embodied knowledge spoke across cultural and linguistic barriers. She wanted to learn from Anangu about their traditional dance to better understand ways of being in the land.

**Tony Judge**, a man fascinated by the interconnectivity of virtual reality, flew from Brussels to join the circle around the campfire at Angatja. In his own words, ‘Having coincidentally just completed a study entitled “From the Information Highway to Songlines of the Noosphere” (1996) that dealt specifically with the relevance of Anangu (and analogous) insights into the organization of knowledge on the Web, the temptation to participate was irresistible’ (Judge 1997). Tony is the research director of the Union of International Associations, involved with non-governmental community organisations worldwide concerned with alternative ways of thinking, planning and practically manifesting sustainable solutions to world problems.

Tony chose to meet Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari at Angatja to exercise personally his ‘imaginative learning from a particular cultural perspective’. He was one of the few who responded to their request for assistance in establishing Angatja as a centre for Indigenous knowledge exchange. Tony sent extensive feedback on the future possibilities generated from the valuable cross-cultural learning experienced on the Desert Tracks tour. His voice is one of those seeking a ‘futures landscape’ where diverse knowledge approaches are brought together to seek sustainable ways of caring for people in caring for country.

**The Journey Begins**

Why then have these travellers joined a Desert Tracks tour? They have all responded to Nganyinytja’s invitation to come and see her country and learn about its sacredness. Their specific interests vary: conservation; to meet and get along with Aboriginal people; to engage in reconciliation and social justice issues; to understand the Dreaming; to learn about traditional medicine; to
reconnect religion and nature; to experience the sacred in the land; to connect with ancestral creation myths; to heal a perceived loss of spirit in their Western tradition; to learn aboriginal dance or to experience other ways of knowing from an Aboriginal cultural perspective.

They are all true travellers seeking a transformation of their consciousness through meeting and sharing with people whose worldview and knowledge is different from their own. The Anangu hosts and guides welcome them into their country and their tradition of story, song and dance of the Tjukurpa. During the tour they work hard to increase their visitors' understanding of the sacred law connecting people to place, nature to culture, and spirit to land. The kinship relationship of Anangu to their country and their communities becomes clear as the cultural landscapes of their country are 'read' aloud to them by the people who know the language of the land.

Act II presents scenes from their journey as they follow the tracks of Wati Ngintaka through the country. Anangu say, 'Inmanguru tjina uti ngarinyi: through telling his story, singing and dancing the songline, his tracks become clear on the surface of the land'. The tourists' stories of their responses to this land and its people, plants, animals, open skies and dry desert surface are also told. It is in the conceptual metaphors of translation that the story of the cross-cultural exchange of idea-seeds is tracked and the story of this thesis emerges on the page.
Chapter 10

NGURA WALYTJA: ECOLOGICAL CARING FOR COUNTRY

After sailing for a few days, Odysseus and his men came to an island of the name of Aeolus. The island was home to the king of the winds. The Aeacians were greeted with hospitality, and when they were ready to depart from the island Aeolus, the king, gave Odysseus a large leather bag which held all the adverse winds which would drive his ships off course.

As is customary some of the younger women, daughters to Wati Ngintaka, took him seedcakes to eat. They said, 'Hello Uncle, where have you come from? When did you get here?' And he told them about his country and how happy he was to be visiting relatives. One girl bought him a special seedcake. He tasted it and it was beautiful and fine, so he swallowed it whole.


Nganyinyija grinding kaltu kaltu seed to make seedcakes for the visitors to her country.

(Photograph: Cousteau, Angatja, 1989)
Introduction

This chapter is an introduction to her country by Nganyinytja, the introduction to Anangu culture and country that tourists experience when they arrive at Angatja. This is their first opportunity to ‘sit down in country’ with their Anangu hosts and learn about the place and people they have travelled so far to meet. This account includes a translation of an introduction to country by the Traditional Owner, Nganyinytja, in 1988. She introduces tourists to the land, its people, their cultural traditions and recent history. The strangeness of the people and place for the tourists is captured in an overview of questions commonly asked from 1988 to 2000. This narrative follows Anangu cultural protocols of welcome and is only an introduction to the issues that arise in this performance space. Nganyinytja’s welcome can be experienced as beautiful and swallowed at once like Wati Ngintaka’s seedcake, or it can be like the bag of adverse winds offered to Odysseus threatening to blow our journey of cultural convergence off course.

The Circle

The small group of travellers have finally arrived at Angatja, their first destination on the AP Lands of South Australia. Yesterday they flew in to Uluru traversing the wide western plains and stoney deserts that stretch from the Australian coastline to the centre of the continent. Some are weary after long flights from overseas the previous day; jet lag and exhaustion show on their faces. Yet they are excited and nervous about doing something that might offend their hosts in this alien place and culture. For most this is their first experience of Central Australian semi-arid desert lands and the Pitjantjatjara people whose homeland they have come to visit.

This morning Desert Tracks collected the guests from their five star accommodations at Sails in the Desert, the most expensive hotel in the Ayers Rock Resort complex within Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park. Leaving excess luggage at the hotel, the small bags containing only bush clothes, as recommended in their pre-trip information, they were loaded into the Desert
Tracks trailer. People were advised to carry a personal bottle of water at all times, a hat, sunglasses and camera, along with personal items they might need for the five hour journey to Angatja. In two 4wd buses we travel the 320 km from Uluru to the small homeland of Angatja in the Mann Ranges of South Australia. This journey is a long loop, firstly travelling 90 km east along the bitumen Lasseter Highway to the Mulga Park dirt and gravel road that winds through sand dune country south past Mt Connor. This mesa is the third monolith of the region, located on the huge Curtin Springs Station 90 km east of Uluru. It is significant to the Anangu of the APY Lands: several Tjukurpa Ancestors travelled through this region in the Creation time, the Seven Sisters of the Pleiades and the Ice Man, Wati Ngintaka.

At this stage of the journey there are non-Indigenous accredited tourist guides with tourist bus and truck licenses required to drive these large 4wd buses with paying passengers. The two camp operations staff, Jim and Laksar, are multi-skilled drivers, cooks and guides knowledgeable in remote safari touring, local ecology, geology and history. Laksar is also an astrologer who manages the night sky star talks at Uluru and has joined us as a specialist for this particular tour. Jim stops the buses at the rise that affords a grand view of Mt Connor. He explains the pre-Cambrian formations and geological history of the mesa. Diana, the cultural guide on tour, refers to the bluff by its Anangu name, Atila, and introduces the Tjukurpa associated with the site, telling guests that they will hear more about these Creation stories from Anangu during the tour. They are informed that soon, about 80 km down the bumpy dusty track, we will be entering Aboriginal Lands.

The communities on the Lands that we will visit include Cave Hill, Amata and Angatja. Amata is a large government settlement of about 300 people. We will stop there for fuel and to visit the art centre but no photographs are permitted and tourists cannot wander around without a guide. Our invitation is from the small homeland families of Cave Hill and Angatja with whom we will be camping, and we will be taken around their traditional clan country with
Anangu guides at all times. The group of tourists is reminded that they are entering Aboriginal land and their permits specify that they are not to take alcohol onto the Lands, not to wander into camps or take photographs uninvited. They are asked to recognise that Aboriginal people have a religious relationship to this Land, to respect their cultural beliefs, to observe all protocols or wishes expressed by their hosts and to behave responsibly towards the natural and cultural environment. The most important principle of respecting Aboriginal culture is ‘Always ask.’ Most Anangu understand English even if they do not speak it, but if people have trouble being understood they should ask the bilingual cultural guide to interpret.

After a cup-a-tea break we all climb back on board the high, stumpy 4wd buses. The tour group has separated into two: the red Mitsubishi bus, being air-conditioned and more comfortable, attracts the American ‘high flyers’, while the white OKA bus is more rugged and has broken air-conditioning so the few hardier and more independent travellers are on board. A distinction becomes obvious between the groups, which fit within different segments identified by research into the Indigenous Tourism markets. The red bus, driven by Jim, attracts those fitting the tourism market segments of ‘Connectors’ and ‘Bonders’, the more extroverted people who like to share experiences with their friends or group; these include Robert Bosnak, Colleen Burke, Dawn, Glen and Craig Potter. The OKA, with drivers Laksar and Diana, attracts passengers who are introverted thinkers, the ‘Learners’ and ‘Reflectors,’ valuing time to learn and to think about what they are learning. Members of this group are Tony Judge, Kyoko, Felicity Hartigan and David Tacey.

Leaving behind the majestic bluff of Mt Connor we travel along an ochre red sandy road between blue-grey mulga trees that seem to stretch to the horizon. There has been a noticeable improvement in the country since leaving the denuded paddocks of Curtin Springs along the highway; once south into Mulga Park Station the native vegetation cover improves under less pressure from excessive cattle numbers. After passing the Mulga Park Station homestead and
store we take a ninety-degree right hand turn and head west towards the
distant blue Musgrave Ranges. The country becomes more diversely vegetated
with stands of quandong trees bobbing with red fruit in season, the delicate
pink trunks of desert poplars waving in between the Spinifex and sand-dunes
topped with tall desert oaks. A high cattle-grid hump in the road marks the
border into Aboriginal Land and we enter another country.

The main road west takes us past Amata. We will call in to the arts centre on
our return journey. Visitors need to be gradually introduced to the impact of
Western colonization on traditional Anangu lifestyle. We avoid Amata on the
first day, as the derelict air of the ex-government settlement would shock our
guests: the rubbish, petrol sniffing kids, mangy dogs and unkempt housing. To
new eyes this seems like a mockery of the Anangu invitation to come and see
their beautiful country. It requires some time living out on these Lands to
understand the contradictions of modern culture clash on Anangu life, the love
of land and sacred significance of country coexisting with the discarded rubbish
of a white colonizing civilization.

The two cultures do not always work together to keep the land; Nganyinytja’s
vision is often more hope than reality. The guides on Desert Tracks must
answer questions from tourists who are shocked by this cross-cultural
dysfunction; it is not easy for Anangu or Westerners to understand. Remote
Aboriginal lands in Australia are described by Elspeth Young as a ‘fourth
world’, that of an Indigenous minority inside a first world nation (Young
1995:1). Young rightly describes the impact as an ‘industrial onslaught on their
homelands’ (ibid:1).

The proponents of government development programs for Indigenous
Australians claim they redress socio-economic disadvantage and raise
education, health and housing standards for Indigenous people. While this may
be true, the Aboriginal people are in these dire straits because of the destruction
of their culture, lifestyle and health through the impact of Western civilization.
The negative results surround settlements like Amata: the environment has been degraded by cattle, horses, donkeys and camels to the point where people cannot live off the land or rely on natural water sources; settlement life and housing has brought disease and destroyed traditional patterns of family lifestyle and governance; the protection of women and children through extended family care of the young and aged has been damaged to the extent that children as young as eight sniff petrol and roam in hungry groups around the streets. Western governance and control over their lives has removed Anangu from their intimate relationship with land and destroyed the vitality of their social and cultural well-being.

The depths of this destruction cannot be understood in a tourist trip to the AP Lands. However, the visitors on Desert tracks tours stay a week and camp in homelands with the community; they listen, learn and are keen to understand the cultural world of these first peoples of Australia. These ‘tourists’ have an opportunity to learn more about Anangu life, culture and relationship to land than many people who work in settlements on the Lands for a couple of years. These tourists certainly understand more about Anangu life than most politicians and government agency advisors who fly in and fly out for meetings of a few hours. Desert Tracks has run three-day cultural orientation courses for new Nganampa health staff; some Amata nurses attended and commented that they learnt more in those three days than in several years working in the community Clinic (R Hecker, pers. comm., 1990).

So back to the buses travelling on to Umułu Umṯunya, the place Nganyinytja calls her ‘front door’. Everyone alights from the buses and climbs up the red-gold hill of granite rock to a small rockhole, which was a vital source of water for families travelling on foot in the early 1900s. These were the years of Nganyinytja’s childhood, living a traditional nomadic lifestyle until her family moved to Ernabella, the first mission station on AP Lands, in 1940. She has stood on this low hill half way between Amata and Angatja with myself and other groups many times before. Nganyinytja introduces guests to her country.
by pointing to the east with her arm in a broad sweep describing the land of her Yankunytjatjara grandmother, and then turning to the north-west we gaze towards the Mann Ranges and follow her hand as she points out the route they used to walk across this sand dune country to Angatja. This expanse is her *ngura walytja*, her 'home country', the land of her father and grandfather.

**Call to the Campfire**

The 4wd bus and OKA finally arrive at Angatja in the Mann Ranges six hours after leaving the hotels of Yulara at Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park. Nganyinytja and her extended family are there to meet the visitors who are quickly surrounded by the delightful, irrepressibly energetic kids and dogs while the old people and teenagers hang back watching from a respectful distance. Greetings exchanged, the trailer is unloaded, people choose personal sites for their tents or swags, and camp is set up. It is suggested that they follow traditional camp layout where sleeping areas are segregated into single men's and single women's areas; married couples pitch their own tents. The 'swag' is a canvas envelope that unrolls to reveal a comfortable mattress and sleeping bag with extra blankets for the chill desert nights. Tents are provided but people are encouraged to sleep outside, as there is little concern about rain. The night skies are usually clear, magnificent domes dotted with the southern stars that can be viewed in comfort from a swag.

When camp is organised visitors are invited to sit around the central campfire. Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari sit close to the fire, which is now burning well and boiling the billy tea. They wait as the circle forms around the campfire. I sit next to Nganyinytja, in my role as the cross-cultural guide translator, listening intently and ready to translate as accurately as possible the Pitjantjatjara stories they will tell. Each time it is slightly different: as with all good storytellers more and more is revealed with each telling. The details fill out the figures in the landscape, the light and shade of history and people is enhanced and the multi-layered map of tracings on the land emerges.
Nganyinytja, her smile broad, welcomes all. She is a small woman of great energy, her eyes aglow with passion beneath a brow lined with care and fringed with soft curling grey hair. The beauty of the young girl smiling out of Mountford's portrait of her in 1940 is changed by the years but not dulled. Even then, aged eleven, she was an enthusiastic go-between among the worlds of her people and the new whitefella world encamped at Ernabella.

Nganyinytja is now in her sixties and a respected Pitjantjatjara elder initiate of Grandmother law. It is her father's land in which we now sit and she, as his only daughter, is the senior traditional owner of Angatja in the Mann Ranges of South Australia. She is a storyteller and natural orator, completely at ease teaching her children in the dry creek beds of her homeland or addressing a parliamentary committee in Canberra about her people's land rights. Her voice is often heard in community meetings, at AP Council, nationally and internationally at conferences concerning Indigenous health, petrol sniffing, land rights, spirituality, women's law and tourism.

Sitting on a rug by the fire, Nganyinytja folds her legs comfortably under her layered skirts as she waits for people to gather and the chatter to quieten before she speaks. In her wonderful storytelling way she will introduce these strangers to her country and take them on a journey through the history of the last hundred years or so of this desert landscape that is her home. This is the recent history, a mere dust speck in the eye of her people who have roamed these sand dunes for thousands of years. She tells of the time her grandparents first saw white men on camels, strange beasts with two heads and four legs, who brought fear and destroyed precious waterholes. It is a many-layered story of conflict over scarce resources, land and water, of killings and kindness, of greed and giving, both black and white moving back and forth across a fragile frontier. Nganyinytja tells this history without bitterness or anger; the wrongs and rights are plain to all. Tjaka, 'people' are like this, she says, good and bad. The story reveals the strength of the people of the Dreaming, the Tjukurpa, to survive, adapt and maintain connection with country, kin and Law. When
everyone is gathered she will tell this story in lyric Pitjantjatjara and I will translate, the emotion already potent in the air from her animated telling.

Nganyinytja’s Opening Welcome to Country

Ngura nyanganka iriti anangu tjuta nyinapai pukulpa. Ka ngura nyangatja tjamuku munu tjamku walytjapitiku, munu mamaku, mama tjutaku munu ngayuku, ngayuku ngura. A long time ago lots of people were living happily in this place. This place is my grandfather’s and my grandfather’s family’s place, and my father’s, all my many fathers, and mine, my place.

Iritinguru tjana pukulpa nyinapai ngura nyanganka. Mamanya tjamunya tjana tatilpai pulingku kaku mantjilpai, kuka mantjintjikitja. Kuka waru, kanyala ngintaka. Paluru tjana tatira uralpai kuka. A long time ago they lived here happily in this country. My father and grandfather used to climb the hills to get meat, in order to spear meat. Black footed rock wallaby, euro and perentie lizard meat. He and the others would climb up to get meat.

Ka minyma tjuta tjitji tjuta nganaanya wantipai kamingka nyinapai, kamingka nyinantjaku. Ngana kamingka nyinapai tjukutjuku kuli pulkangka, kuwaringka. The women used to leave all us children with our grandmothers, to sit with our grandmothers. When we were little we used to stay with our grandmothers in the very hot weather, like now.

Waringka nganaana ankupai tjungu, wari wirungka. Munula kukaku nya? Wayutaku, mitikaku munu tinka munu tjala, munu mai tjuta angurlie, kunakanji, wangu, tjutangku tjana ngurilpai minyma tjutangku mununya mai tjuta uralpai pulkara pitingka, urara, urara, urara. Minyma fourpalaya ankupai munuya uralpai, minyma kutjara kutjara, walytja piti tjungu nyinantja. In the cold time we all travelled together, in the nice cold weather. And we hunted which meats? Brushtail possums, rat kangaroos, and sand goanna, and lots of bush foods; wild plums, grass seed, naked woollybutt grass seed. All together the women went searching and they gathered lots in their large wooden bowls, gathering, gathering, gathering. Four women would go together and gather,
four women, relatives who lived together. Then they would take these back to camp, and come back to camp *kalala*. midday, to all eat together, with our mother, aunty, grandmother, older sister, mother's older brother, our big father, all together we'd eat. The men would bring in the meat. Then we would all sit together and eat the baked seed cakes.

*Nganana tiitji tiitja pukulpa tiitji uwankaranguku kuka nyakupai mamangku katinyangka ka wirtjapakalpa pukulpa mununula tjapilpa, 'Mama yaaltjiinka nyuntu wakami? Ka paluru watjalpa.' 'Ngayulu puli katuna wakamu.' Ka 'Wipu yaaltji?' nganana wipungku mukuringangi. Tjuta pukulpa ngarala uwankara.*

All us kids would be happy when they saw our father returning with meat. We would run to him and ask, 'Father where did you spear the meat?' He'd say, 'I speared it high up in the hills.' Then we'd shout, 'Where's the tail?' We all loved the tail. We all lived happily together.

*Munu ngunytjungku mai mantjinangka nganana uralpai, panya nintiringkupai, tjapilpa nintiringkunytjikitjangku. Alatji nganana nintiringkupai, munu nyakupai ngunyiju tiitja mantjinangka mai mununa nintiringkupai. Mununa pukulpa nintiringkupai.* And we went with our mothers to gather bush foods. Then our parents taught us about this creek-bed and these hills, how to find meat. This is how we learnt about our land, our home country. Other people had areas they hunted for meat and bush foods that was their food. The land around here was ours; this was our meat and our bush foods. Other people's was over there, their food and meat.

Our family lived in this region and drank from this creek-bed and rockhole and at Tjitapiti. We would stay here and then travel to other places, go to this place and another distant place to visit relatives. During the rain times, when there were lots of rockholes full of water, we would travel. When the rain stopped we would travel to another place. We would travel a long way, over to Amata and those places east, then to Mt Davies in the west and Pipalyatjara, to see our other relatives.
Ngayuku manangku ngura ngananguru altingu Tjangilanguru, małutja tjana małuku tjukurpatjara, małutjara Dreamingtjara. Ka nganyuku mama ngura ngangatja ngura muri paluru na-alting, ka mama kutjupapanku Docker Riverla altingu, ka mama kutjupangku Ernabella longaru alting. Alatji tjana nyinapai altingu. My father from this country called a wife from Tjangi, a woman of the mału tjukurpa, ‘kangaroo Dreaming’. This was my father’s country and he married a woman from far away. My other father (my father’s brother) married a woman from Docker River. My other father (another father’s brother) called a woman from Ernabella, a Yankunytjatjara woman. This is how they came to live here, and they all became family. They came from far away but became part of the family by living here. My mother became homesick and asked to go back home, I want to see my relatives, it is my turn, so will you all come with me? They said, ‘Oh yes, OK.’ So we went to Mt Davies and Tjangi and Puta Puta, and we would stay with our relatives, to see my mother’s people.

Before whitefellas came Aboriginal people lived very happily, working and living in their way with their relatives. They were strong and not sick, eating their own food and their own meat, slim and well, not overweight. They walked long distances, carrying their children on their backs, climbed hills to get water; women went to scoop out water and gave their children drinks from their piti, ‘wooden bowl’, and they went for meat. They were always working, always.

The older teenage girls learnt and became strong. They worked well, digging for meat for themselves, building wiltja, ‘shelters’, for themselves, going for water themselves; they didn’t sit around. They would get water and pour it out for their mothers, give it to their mothers, and go hunting by themselves for meat, get meat themselves, dig for honey ants themselves, getting bush foods and meat themselves.

The older boys, the young separate initiates, were taught by the men, they learnt men’s work. To get spear wood, men taught them how to cut the
spears and make the throwing extension, how to go hunting and spear meat for themselves. They went with the men climbing the hills, the men and youth went together to hunt so they would learn. The young initiates grew strong, climbing hills, hunting, the men watched them carefully to see that they were learning properly. Everyone was strong and happy, becoming skilled in their work.

The boys were segregated off with the men from about ten years old, nyitajira, until they were eighteen, nyingka tjuta, then about twenty when they were initiated into manhood, watiringanyi. In the main camp the old men and women, the women and older girls and children lived together. All the kids were good; they listened to their mothers and fathers, their older brothers and sisters, while the nyingka tjuta lived separately, out of sight of their mother and father. People from the main camp sent food, cooked damper and bush foods, over to the separate camp. The young boys and girls could carry it over. They would return with gifts of meat from the young men to their families.

Palanka malangkanka, wati kamilitja tjuta pitjangu. Munu paluru tjana ngintingu maingku, tjukanka, plawangka. Munu tjana rawangku katira unganyi, katira unganyi. Munu tjana maiku plawaku ngintini. Munu tjana kulinu muntawa ngangatja munti mai wirungu. Uwankara ngintingu. After this the white men on camels came. And they taught people about new foods, sugar, white flour. They kept on coming and giving food, coming and giving. Then everyone became used to white flour. Then they thought, oh, maybe this is good food. Everyone became used to it.

Kutjupa tjutangku mai kutjupa tjuta unganyi, kura kura tjuta. Kutjupa, poisson tjara ungu, ka iluntananyi anyangu tjuta, ngaltutjara. Wati Western Australianguru pitjangu munu mai kura kura ungu. Ka kutjupa nganga pitjangu, Mr Waite [White]. Mr White travelled through the country giving good food, flour and sugar. He was kind and came bringing God's story with a bible. He travelled right through the Pitjantjatjara country to Warburton.
where he started a Mission. He gathered up all the children and put the children into a dormitory and taught them at school. He took them away from their mothers. He made them a place and put them there.

Ka kutjupa tjuta camilatjara pitjangu, wati kutjupa tjuta pitjangu, munuya kungka tjuta mukuringanyi. Munuya mantjiningi munuya kanyiningi, munuya kutjupa tjutaya paunyingi. Palawa tjana mukuringanyi munuya palawa mantjingni, ka tjana tjana, paura ngulu wataparangi. Other men came on camels. They saw the young girls and wanted them. They took them and looked after them. Some other Anangu saw the flour and wanted it so took it, and they were shot, shot at and chased away.

Palanga malangka, nganampa pukulpa uwankara kuraringu, katakataingu. Munu kutjupa kutjupa wirkangu ngananalakutungka. After this our happiness, everything, went bad. It was cut up. Lots of different things came into our lives.

Nganana iriti blanketa wiya nyinangi, uwankara pukulpa nikiti uwankara nyinangi. Kututu waru. Nikiti ngarintja palya, ka kurnyapa waru, unytjumpa pulka. Nganana warungka nyinapai itingka, wiltjangka nyinapai, nguntjungku wiltjanyangka Wiru, pukulpa. A long time ago we lived without blankets, we were all happy living naked together with warm hearts. It was fine to be naked when our spirit was warm, living in warmth. We lived close to fire in our wiltja, our mothers made beautiful wiltja, we were happy.

After this came the man who is our relative, Dr Duguid, a really good man. I was a young child growing up, maybe about ten years old. Dr Duguid and others travelled around many places seeking the reasons for Aboriginal people's sickness and break down. Poor things; white people had come and they had pushed Aboriginal people out and put their herds of cattle on the land. There were so many cattle. At Itjintitja, near Indulkana, they put lots of cattle in many different areas, and they dug wells. Many other whitefella came on camels and brought many cattle onto our lands. Everything was destroyed!

Dr Duguid came from a long way away, he came from London, then from Adelaide, and he climbed onto a camel and went looking around. He was searching for Aboriginal people living on their land and he saw everything. To the north in the Petermann Ranges he saw Aboriginal people living in their family groups in the country they were related to. Then he went back to the place where many white people were living at Officer Creek. That's where lots of whitefellas were living; they had dug bores or wells and settled with their sheep. He came and said, when he came to the whitefellas, 'You must all leave and return to your home country.' He told them to go: 'Go back home!' He was a wonderfully strong man. He told them all to go, and they went. After that, after Dr Duguid had gone and all those whitefellas had gone, then others came and took the children away. Welfare people came and took the half-caste children away and put them in school. They took our children away, our black children; we don't call them half-caste because it makes them ashamed.

After this missionaries came. Dr Duguid went and held meetings in Adelaide, with all the bosses: the government, Mr Butler, Mr Miller and those who were elected at that time, a long time ago, the bosses. He went and spoke up for our protection, looking after us. When Mr Taylor was living with us when all the country became dry, a huge drought spread
across the land. Aboriginal people were starving, there was no water for a long time. Before this a lot of rain had fallen and fallen, but then it was dry, a drought.

Other Aboriginal people went to Yallata, others to Warburton; others went north to other places. Others went to Ernabella, everyone from Pipalyatjara and Wingellina. There we joined; everyone went and came together at Ernabella. The missionaries started then, but there was little food at Ernabella so we went hunting for our own meat and the women gathered bush foods. Then after that small loads of food came in, came in, came in, and people became used to this food and whitefella work.

They got work with whitefellas. Because of this lots of Aboriginal got into trouble at Ernabella. They took the sheep for meat, they had learned about eating whitefella sheep meat from whitefellas. The young fellas who looked after the sheep a long way out, killed and ate sheep. Again lots of them killed sheep, so trouble came, the policemen came and took them to jail. This was the beginning of lots of trouble.

We would go hunting for meat and bush foods in neighbouring cattle stations, for a women's hunting trip, a holiday. They had put their cattle there and claimed the land as theirs, so they would get angry and shoot at us with rifles. If Aboriginal people went there they would shoot us to scare us away. Chase us with horses and whips, shooting over our heads. Everything became terrible.

Ka palulanguru, nganayampa tjunguringulta, tjunguring whitefellungka, piranmangka tjutangka nyinarampala tjunguringkulampa, troublitjaraingkulta. Ngaltutjara. Karpintja, kuratjaraingkulta. Because of this, us coming together, coming together with whitefellas, living with lots of whitefellas brought trouble. Sadly, things became tied up and went bad.
We lived with the missionaries and we came back regularly to visit our homelands, on foot, on camels, on donkeys, every springtime we came home. We worked and worked and worked; we little children went to school. The school had started in Ernabella, my school, our school. So we came out of school. We kids, Andy, Ilyatjari and myself, we were all in school. Dr Duguid was the boss. He laid down the plan, he promised to look after us, he protected us, he made sure there was a school and hospital.

Ernabella was the only place, one big camp, lots of Aboriginal people, large numbers, many people came to camp together. They were doing lots of work: looking after sheep, learning to drill bores, learning to put windmills on bores. The men and youngfellas, they built fences. Walter, Charlie, Sandy, lots were learning how to work.

After that they started two other places, Fregon and Amata. At Amata, in a smaller community, it was good and we all worked, we were happy. We looked after our children, took them to school. But then things started to go wrong again. Young men started stealing from the store, drinking and sniffing petrol. Lots of trouble came again. So we thought we would move back to our country, our homeland, to live as we did before, hunting and gathering, more traditionally. Some people moved out to Pipalyatjara and
Wingellina, then others moved out to their homelands. It was so good to be back in the quiet, listening to birds and the wind. We were happy to be away from the trouble of the bigger communities. Now we are happy to be living back here, at Angatja. Sometimes our kids go off to school or football, but they come back. We are happy in our country (Nganyinyin Ça 1988, trans. D James).

**Tourists' Questions**

Nganyinyin Ça’s talk stimulated many questions in the minds of her listeners. These varied according to their country of origin, their age, sex and educational background and what pre-trip reading they had done. Special interest groups tended to display a group mind or culture which determined the subjects explored at greater depth: groups attracted by Community Aid Abroad have a focus on social justice and alleviation of poverty; school and university groups focus on knowledge of the country and the culture; students of Indigenous studies at the University of Western Australia and Curtin University are often stolen-generation adults who are reconnecting with cultural roots and looking for relationship with these desert people; groups booked through the Australian Conservation Foundation are passionate environmentalists interested in plants and animals; groups lead by Jungian dream analysts seek affirmation of the importance of dreams from the Aboriginal people of the Dreaming; and then there are the composite groups made up of individuals who booked directly with Desert Tracks after hearing Nganyinyin Ça and Ilyatjari on the radio or reading of them in newspapers or magazines and who want to be reconciled with the first peoples and land of Australia.

A great diversity of the tourists or ‘students’ have come to Nganyinyin Ça’s Bush College over the years covered by this study from 1988–2005. They have ranged in age from two to seventy-five; men and women, boys and girls, French, Italian, American, German, English, Noumean, Koorie, and Australian. They have been professional doctors, nurses, teachers, lecturers, draughtsman, architects, film makers, photographers, journalists, orchestral composers,
retirees, unemployed, artists, musicians, botanists, geologists, parliamentary press secretaries, shop assistants, the Chief of Police, dream analysts, philosophers, adventurers, primary school children, Japanese teenagers, bush walkers and masseurs, to name a few. Despite their differences in education, age and gender their questions have clustered around the differences and similarities between the two cultures, Western and Indigenous, and the relationship to place, persons and things.

Relationship to place or land moves from a questioning about the physical topography, plants and animals to questions about how people are related to the land. The cliché, 'Aboriginal people don't own the land, they are owned by it', needs to be unpacked and its complexity explored. The Aboriginal relationship to animals and plants is commonly called 'totemic'; is this an obscure or offensive anthropological term or does it hold some meaning for Anangu? Questions concerning people in this desert landscape inevitably lead to questions about traditional Aboriginal kinship: how is this different to Western kinship and how is it changing today after colonization? What about Aboriginal languages? How many were there; what do the children here learn to speak and write; why is English not widely spoken on Anangu Lands?

The relationship to 'things' like cars, houses, radios, clothes and other accoutrements of Western civilization seems different out here. Many things seem to have been discarded: car bodies dismembered along road sides, houses in disrepair, clothes unwashed, rubbish heaps around dwellings and wind-blown refuse caught in fences. How can people who love their land rubbish it? What is the use of the government providing housing, water reticulation, infrastructure and community services if Anangu appear to be disinterested in caring for these things? Why are the kids' noses running with snot and their ears pussy-eaten away by maggots? The contrasts are acute: wild beauty and ragged lifestyle; living off the land and corrugated iron humpies; bright laughing-eyed children playing with mangy dogs; poverty in a rich land.
Conclusion

To Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari these tourists are not, in the tourism industry jargon, just ‘bums on seats’ representing different ‘market segments’. They are all students wanting to learn. Angatja elders regard their students as members of a growing family: the emphasis is on relationship to specific persons and place, the people and place of Angatja. Anangu have opened their ngura walytja, their home country, to those with the open eyes, ears and hearts to listen.

Nganyinytja says, ‘People come to learn and they listen and their hearts begin to open up and they feel strong’ (Nganyinytja, pers. comm., 1990). Anangu are not offering a tourist experience tailored to a specific market segment. They are offering a window into a holistic ontology of being, relating people to plants to animals to earth, air, fire and water; an invitation to all these people and groups to expand their mental, emotional, physical and spiritual boundaries into other ways of knowing.

The tourists who chose to come to Angatja and become students in Nganyinytja’s ‘Bush College’ are seeking other ways of knowing. These people form a growing segment of the population, both domestically and internationally, that is not identified in tourism market research. They are not seeking social versus individual experiences, nor escape versus enhancement. These travellers may be seeking a combination of some or all of these experiences, but they are primarily seeking release from the segmentation of Western life and knowledge; they are seeking individual learning towards participation in a greater social good; they seek to escape ‘back to basics’, to relax the boundaries of their ways of knowing, to be stimulated to change self and society.

These people have in common a belief that Western free-market materialism is not providing equal health and wellbeing to the diverse natural and cultural landscapes of the world. These travellers seek reconciliation between their Western civilization and the peoples and environments of the earth. Anangu offer a holistic ontology that does not segment nature, culture and spirituality.
Like the wide-open desert lands, Anangu philosophy offers wide conceptual spaces. However, the impact of colonization has fractured and distorted the holistic philosophy and practice of Anangu traditional lifestyle, destroying the health and wellbeing of their current generations. Thus, their elders are seeking ways in which the two laws can come together to create and sustain healthy lifestyles and communities for their grandchildren.

Within the paradoxes created by the clash of cultures on Indigenous lands, Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari believe, lie the seeds of new growth towards a convergent culture that respects traditional knowledge and connection to the land while providing economically viable industries for Anangu children and grandchildren. That is Nganyinytja’s and Ilyatjari’s hope and their reason for starting a tourism business. The tourists have to face their own distress and disgust at the obvious negative impacts of Western civilization on Indigenous people, their lifestyle and their country, and come to terms with why they have come to visit and what impact their visit may have. Their conscious intent and that of their hosts is to share cultural understandings of people and place, to enhance the lifestyle of all participants in this performance space.

In the next chapter the visitors to Nganyinytja’s country examine their gift bags. Are they full of juicy seedcakes to be swallowed and more desired, or are they full of adverse winds that blow the mind and body off course from the paths usually travelled, to seek new paths through the cross-cultural maze?
Chapter 11

NGAPARTJI-NGAPARTJI: ECONOMICS OF RECIPROCITY

Odysseus: Supplicants’ Rights

Odysseus is shipwrecked on the island of Phaeacia, blown off course after his men opened the bag of winds. Odysseus alone survived shipwreck and begs hospitality, food, clothes and shelter from King Alcinous.

‘At last the old revered Echeneus broke the spell, the eldest lord in Phaeacia, finest speaker too, a past master at all the island’s ancient ways.

Impelled by kindness now, he rose and said, “This is no way, Alcinous. How indecent, look our guest on the ground, in the ashes by the fire!

Your people are holding back, waiting for your signal. Come, raise him up and seat the stranger now, in a silver-studded chair.

And tell the heralds to mix more wine for all so we can pour out cups to Zeus who loves the lightning.

Champion of supplicants – supplicants rights are sacred, and let the housekeeper give our guest his supper, unstinting with her stores.” ’

(Faales 1996:185)

Wati Ngintaka: Visitors’ Rights – to food, warmth and shelter in another’s country

The next morning Wati Ngintaka’s brothers-in-law came to welcome him and gift him new spears:

‘Marutju pakala! Kukala ananyi malu, kanyalaku pu lingkatjara ma tatini, munula nyaani uwankara – wati uwankara ananyi.

Come! Join us brother! We’re going out hunting for kangaroo, rock wallaby are climbing up the hills – we can see them – all the men are going together.’

So they went off together, as men do, all really happy hunting together. They speared some rock wallaby and kangaroo, brought them back to camp on their heads, cooked them and carved up the meat, sharing the different portions with all the men, women and children in camp. The next day Wati Ngintaka and the men hunted together again. He was happy to be given hunting rights in their country, the rights of marutju, brother-in-law, rights and responsibilities of kinship.

(Noanvintia trans.D James 1994)
Introduction

This chapter examines the economics of the host and guest tourism exchange on the AP Indigenous lands. The performance of Desert Tracks as an eco-cultural tour company is not rated on a stock exchange in terms of its financial profit and loss. Rather it is rated by its investors, both hosts and guests, on its performance as an environmentally and culturally sustainable enterprise. There is a convergence between the best-practice principles of eco-tourism developed both nationally and internationally, with the sustaining principles of the Anangu traditional economy. Both aim to provide income to local people, to maintain their culture and provide employment in a manner that protects the natural biodiversity of their lands. The eco-tourist principle is to ‘take only photos, leave soft footprints’, while Anangu want income from enterprise that sustains them and their country and culture in today’s modern global economy. The exchange in tourism that Indigenous people initiate and manage on their own lands provides the opportunity for a trading exchange between equals, each desiring valued items of trade from the other.

Tourism is one of the few options for Indigenous business on the remote AP Lands. The two other main opportunities for joint business or financial return from exploitation of natural resources are currently cattle adjustment and mining. These two businesses actualise far greater returns to Anangu than do the small tourism businesses of Desert Tracks, Mimili Tours, 4wd tag-a-long groups and university groups studying music or scientists on volunteer Earth Watch tours. However, these ecologically and culturally sensitive types of tourism offer highly enjoyable work for Anangu, employing their traditional knowledge and skills in a modern enterprise on their own country. Whereas cattle and mining are extractive industries, eco-tourism is designed to sustain the ecological and cultural landscapes it exploits. This can be dismissed as an economic necessity: tourism cannot afford to kill the golden goose of exotic natural and cultural landscapes which must continue to lay golden eggs so that business can prosper from the continual return of satisfied customers.
However, I argue, from my experience within the industry both as an owner and manager of a small eco-cultural tour business, research across Australia into similar community based businesses and involvement with both the Australian and International Eco-Tourism Societies, that the motivation of both hosts and guests involved in this type of tourism is not primarily financial return. Their concern for the natural and cultural environments in which they work is genuine and their decision to be involved in tourism is a lifestyle choice rather than for profit. It is a reciprocal economy designed to take from and give back to the cultural and natural environments of people and their places.

**Supplicants Kneeling in the Ashes**

This chapter opened with Odysseus shipwrecked on the Island of Phaeacia, kneeling in the ashes of Alcinous’ fire, begging for hospitality. Odysseus was not reduced to the position of supplicant by accident. Poseidon wrecked his boat because he previously angered the god by killing his son. The person of Odysseus, the archetypal Western traveller, embodies paradox. He is renowned as the conquering hero after the fall of Troy, yet he attacks other settlements, with whom no war has been declared, as a pirate hell-bent on rape and pillage, a bounty hunter. In Homer’s song saga one of the oft-repeated epithets of Odysseus is ‘poliporthos, sacker of cities’. Those whom he visits often ask if he comes as a true guest or is he:

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Out on a trading spree or roving the waves like pirates,
Sea-wolves raiding at will, who risk their lives
To plunder other men?
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(Knox, in Fagles and Knox 1996:28)

Similarly, the Ngintaka song saga recounts the initial wariness of the Nyintjiri people to guests. As discussed earlier, it is Anangu custom that the guest first camps some distance away from the main camp and waits until the locals ascertain his reason for coming and his relationship to them and decide the trust limits of their hospitality. In this case they were beguiled by his expressed innocent intentions and welcomed him into their camp, as did the Trojans.
welcome the wooden horse with Odysseus and warriors hidden in its belly. These two archetypal travellers’ tales hold a moral for both hosts and guests: beware of disguised intentions; the guest may take more than is offered and then the angered host may rise up against their erstwhile guest and wreak destruction. Odysseus emerged from the belly of the Trojan horse to kill its hosts then, when sailing home, killed the son of Poseidon, the Cyclops, who called on his powerful father to wreck Odysseus’ ships and prevent his return home. His curse was fulfilled many times as the seas rose and pounded Odysseus till he was ‘a broken man – all shipmates lost’ (ibid:228).

Similarly, Wati Ngintaka steals the Ngintjiri people’s grindstone and attempts to return home with the plunder, but they pursue and kill him. The lesson for modern tourists is to respect one’s hosts and take responsibility not to plunder their resources, whether natural, cultural or spiritual. Indigenous people are sharing culture and country, not offering it to be bought and taken away in packages. Inawinytji Williamson, a director of Anangku Arts and Culture Corporation, says to students of dance, ‘Our culture and law is strong, we share it with you. Palya, good! But you can’t take it. We can’t give away our culture, give away our Tjukurpa and our land’ (Williamson, pers. comm., June 2003).

The Paradox of Indigenous Tourism
The paradox of Indigenous tourism is that the colonised are being ‘begged for hospitality’ from the colonisers whose industries continue to undermine and destroy their traditional cultural and ecological economic subsistence on their lands. Some Westerners feel that their culture is shipwrecked, foundered on the coast of materialism; they come as beggars to the surviving holders of Indigenous spiritual wisdom (see also Tacey 1995; Read 2000), approaching Indigenous people as supplicants asking to be reconnected with land, people and spirit by those whose lands they have colonised. Rose calls this the ‘paradoxical search for connection’ of non-Indigenous people in post-colonial worlds created through the hope of settlers to make new lives in a new country.
that had been fought and won by violence and dispossession of the original inhabitants (Rose 1999b:185).

Nganyinytja recognised this need in Westerners and Indigenous people alike, who have lost connection with country. She said, 'Now lots of people, black and white, are wanting to learn about the old law, from our grandmothers and grandfathers. People are happy to learn from me and my family; we are happy to share our way and pleased that they are taking back this new knowledge to their homes and teaching others' (Nganyinytja 1993). Nganyinytja and I heard this cry for connection poignantly articulated by a young white Australian male at an Indigenous Healing Conference we attended in Kalgoorlie in 1992. He stood and addressed a healer of the Canadian First Nations, another young man of about his age from Vancouver Island, and asked 'How can you help people like me? We have no spirituality.' Lauren, the young Canadian, answered with a story:

My people have always known about you white people. We had a prophecy from a long time ago that you were the first people of the fourth wind and that you would come from across the sea. That you people have a very powerful spirituality and that you'd be spreading it right across the world. That you are travellers and that you are always seeking. My great grandfathers welcomed you and gave you food and shelter and allowed you to hunt in our hunting grounds. But what we didn't realise is that you would not be content to share. You would want it all and would take it all. You need to take responsibility for your very powerful spirituality and how it has spread over the world, overpowering indigenous peoples and taking their land and spirit.

(Lauren, pers. comm., 1992)

Western travellers from Odysseus onwards, have conquered, pillaged and taken home the spoils. Westerners need to take responsibility for their strong imperialistic spirit that has, and still does, fill the sails of the vanguard of their
troops sent out to bring civilisation to the barbarians. The Crusades, justified in the name of Christianity and civilisation, but really intent on the wealth and bounty of other lands, have never ceased. Today the rhetoric of the President of the United States, currently the most powerful Western coloniser on a global scale, justifies the invasion of Iraq under the benevolent guise of spreading democracy while really intending to control its oil resources. Christianity has long been utilised by the Western state to control the hearts, minds and bodies of those they colonise. Indigenous people ask that Westerners not disguise their strength in weakness, not be ‘wolves of the sea’ visiting in sheep’s clothing.

**Surviving Visitors Who Will Not Go Home**

Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari, like the great grandfathers of the Vancouver Islanders, have welcomed Western travellers as honoured guests to their country, offering them the right to hunt and gather, to hear the stories and songs, and participate in dances of their country. Nganyinytja’s homeland and all her kin clan are there to welcome the visitors and share with them their knowledge of country and kinship with the natural world. This is in accord with Anangu traditional law that governs the rights and obligations of ‘owners’ of country to share food and water with visitors. Like the wise and generous Queen Arete of Phaeacia, Nganyinytja is renowned for her hospitality to guests. The press heralded her as an open-hearted ‘ambassador’ of hope and cross-cultural reconciliation (Richards 1988).

However, unlike the situation of the first Aboriginal peoples who welcomed white man into their lands, Nganyinytja and her family have the advantage of having survived colonisation and retained ownership of their traditional lands. Their hunting grounds and water sources have been depleted by introduced stock, feral animals and plants; their traditional governance and ceremonies have been disrupted and devalued by Western law; their self-sufficient nomadic economy has been destroyed and Christianity has modified their spiritual beliefs, but they have, with remarkable resilience, survived. They have
developed a hybrid economy, culture, law and spirituality, which adapts to the post-colonial state without becoming completely subsumed by it.

Nganyinytja offers the hope of reconciliation for the descendants of these new settlers with the first people of this ancient land. She and her family are aware of the paradoxes involved in their tourism business but they accept that this is tjaka, ‘how it is’; life with whitefellas is a paradox, a continuation of their Tjukurpa, the continuous Dreaming Stories that incorporate paradox as part of existence. Wati Ngintaka is a clever man of deceit and bounty; he steals the grindstone and gives many life-sustaining seeds to grind for bread. Tjukurpa is not a series of simplistic moral tales; it tells the stories of the paradoxes of life.

The development of a tourism enterprise at Angatja by Nganyinytja and her family is an adaptive response to diminishing returns from traditional economic sustaining activities. Tourism is one enterprise that offers an economically viable way to live on traditional country. Developing the tourism product around cultural knowledge provides an economic reason for keeping traditional knowledge alive. The fact that Western visitors will pay to visit remote homelands and learn some traditional knowledge reinforces its importance to the Anangu children and grandchildren who are being seduced by Western goods, television and music.

Traditional Tjukurpa, the Dreaming/Law with its stories and songs, has a hard time competing with ubiquitous modern media: videos, computer games, high tech music and gospel evangelism. Both traditional and Western cultural streams flow side by side and intermingle on the AP Lands. Traditional law is still strong and the ceremonial life is vital to all Anangu. However, the time needed to learn the complex song sagas and wealth of traditional knowledge of land and spirit is no longer available to the youth, who must go through a Western education system and get work valued in the Western economic system. In this cross-cultural economy, tourism offers the possibility of living in homelands and caring for traditional country while receiving an income from
tourist coming to visit the people and place. This enterprise offers a way of using Anangu knowledge to participate in today's global economy. It is not an attempt to go back to traditional ways but rather, to provide jobs for their sons and daughters and grandchildren in an industry that uses their resources of land and heritage. The careers envisaged for local trained people include land and cultural management rangers, interpreters, guides, drivers and cooks. The aim is to keep alive their own history and culture as well as gaining job skills that are transferable to other employment opportunities as rangers or tour guides in the region's national parks.

Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari envisaged the economic exchange of tourism as a way of supporting the continuance of traditional knowledge of their young people in their country, linking traditional knowledge and skills of hunting and gathering to the new economic system, tracking the hybrid resources that now roam their lands.

**Renewal in Disturbed Sites**

Tourism is often blamed for degrading the 'pristine' environments and Indigenous cultures it exploits. While this may be true, few places and people visited today by tourists have not been colonised long ago by other 'tourists': the explorers, anthropologists, missionaries, pastoralists, traders, dingo scalpers, prospectors, and builders of telegraph lines, roads and railways, and other agents of Western government-inspired development. There are no Indigenous people or places in Australia that have not already had their traditional economic base undermined by the effects of colonisation. Modern tourism builds on previously damaged sites. Ironically, building on previously environmentally disturbed sites is one of the tenets of best practice eco-tourism.

While acknowledging that there are no remaining pristine natural environments on earth, the ecological footprint of various peoples differs. Western society has a heavier ecological footprint than that of Indigenous and pre-industrialised societies. Modern eco-tourism recognises and consciously
tries to minimise the heavy print of Western boots on the sensitive ecological and cultural landscapes it visits. One of the ironies of Western colonisation is that the remote Indigenous lands, once deemed barren and useless, are now, comparatively, ‘wilderness’ areas of great beauty desired by over-urbanised Westerners, and thus are a drawcard for tourists. Here, the term ‘wilderness’ is used to describe what the Western gaze perceives when it looks out over the Central Australian desert or the lush green forests of Arnhem Land.

To the local people who live on the ground these landscapes are not wild, but gardened mosaics of vegetation created by thousands of years of patch fire burning and selective hunting and gathering. They are sentient lands in which the bodies of Creation Ancestors inhabit hills, rocks, trees, waterholes and caves, a land that is sung continually into existence by its custodians. Story and *inma*, song and dance, teaches people today of the places where ancestors flesh became rock, water, plant or animal and continually dwells in the ‘speaking land’ (Berndt & Berndt 1988:6). Today some Indigenous people are recognising the value of these landscapes in Western economic terms, as tourists will pay well to come and see these natural and cultural non-industrialised landscapes. These tourists are keen to experience the simple pleasures of clean air and water, starry night skies, wild animals in their natural habitat, and to spend time with people who do not regulate all their waking hours by a watch.

Although the income from eco-tourism may be important to the sustainability of these remote regions, it comes at a cost. The ecological and cultural landscapes have to be packaged to sell in the commercial global market. Tourism is, in bald terms, the sale of product. In this case, the Indigenous cultural and environmental experience must be designed to sell to the market. The challenge for people like the Anangu of Central Australia is to use this market demand to their advantage to sell the ‘packages’ they design, rather than be turned into a product for sale.
Self-reflexive Guests

The performance space of Indigenous tourism in Australia is a space of paradoxes, of which many guests are aware. Many Australians feel great shame regarding our colonial past and are wary of tours offering Aboriginal experiences that might be exploiting Indigenous people, their art and culture. Domestic tour groups organised through the Indigenous Studies lecturers at the Universities of Western Australia and Curtin, and by the Australian Conservation Foundation and Community Aid Abroad, openly express this concern. Desert Tracks, as a company, is scrutinised by these groups for compliance with best practice cultural heritage and Indigenous intellectual property protection. They understand the potential for tourism to be a continuation of colonial objectification of the other and destruction of traditional culture.

Among international guests there is a similar expression of regret over the past and present oppression of Indigenous peoples around the world. However, they can remove themselves from direct responsibility for the Australian situation. They are not embarrassed by the same Australian sense of shame that can result in a paralytic fear of doing the wrong thing (Tacey 1995; Read 2000). International groups generally express their desire to dialogue with Indigenous people as a way to redress the previous devaluing of their cultural estate. Anangu respond to groups as they find them, encouraging the diffident and setting boundaries for the strong. The interpreter must find a balance on the seesawing bridge between; if either side of the cross-cultural exchange feels dissatisfied they are likely to blame the intermediator. My advice to this particular group, including the ‘Thought Leaders of the Western World’, was to try to refrain from energetic Western question and answer techniques with our Aboriginal hosts. This request mostly fell on highly educated deaf ears not attuned to other forms of dialogue.
The Desire for Dialogue

That evening was their first out under the vast night desert sky and the guests eagerly gathered around the fire to discuss their expectations for this cross-cultural exchange. Tinimai, a senior law woman, had offered to come after supper and tell the visitors a story from her country: the Eagle Dreaming of Pirpakalaŋaratingtja, a distinctive sharp-beaked hill that rises from the plain south-west of Uluru. I suggested that we would listen to Tinimai’s storytelling but the group leaders said they would rather use this time to consolidate their group identity and to talk about why they have come, what they expect and how they expect the group to self-organise. So I thanked Tinimai and tjalpawangkanyi, ‘speaking politely’, refused her offer with the excuse that the group were too tired tonight, maybe tomorrow. An opportunity was missed by the group to hear a Tjukurpa about the issue of the power of leaders who take advantage of their rights while forgetting their responsibilities, bringing chaos, death and loss to all.

Instead, the group discussed how keen they were to meet with their Aboriginal hosts and begin the in-depth learning about Aboriginal culture: they wanted to ‘dialogue’. They were all experts in Western dialogue, comfortable in this method of information exchange. Dialogue, as understood in Western culture, is essentially a conversation between at least two different people, imagined or real. It often refers to discussion between different ideologies espoused by groups or individuals. Difference is essential for dialogue. The word comes from the Greek combination of ‘dialogos’, ‘dia’ meaning ‘through, across or apart’ and ‘logos’ meaning ‘the word or reason’. So dialogue aims to talk through, across or take apart the word or reason of the other. This dialogue style is appropriate to the form of critical debate and deconstruction of knowledge favoured by the Western education system. It does not, however, necessarily include the qualities of listening, watching, absorbing and emulating the teaching of elders so highly prized in Aboriginal educational
traditions. Therefore, dialogue that relies on question and answer, discourse and debate across the gap between Indigenous and Western cultures, may not be the most useful way for each to gain understanding of the other’s knowledge, in fact it may be counterproductive.

Some of the most lucid and descriptive writings by a Western academic on Aboriginal connectivity to ecological place are to be found in the writings of Deborah Rose on the thought of her teachers, Jessie Wirrpa and others, in the Victoria River District in the Northern Territory. Rose rests her work on ‘the belief that knowledge unfolds through dialogue’ (Rose1999a:96). In so doing she is working within the Western tradition but expanding the ethical aspects of dialogue to insist that it is always situated and that it is open, the outcome unknown. ‘Openness produces reflexivity, so that one’s own ground becomes destabilized. In open dialogue one holds oneself available to be challenged, and to be changed’ (Rose 1999a:175). Rose further refines her concept of dialogue by saying that her work with Indigenous people has lead her to ‘understand dialogue in the broad sense of intersubjective mutuality, and thus to seek possibilities for mutual care in a system of connections and reciprocities that includes humans, non-humans, living things, and environments’ (ibid) [my italics]. ‘Inter-subjective’ is descriptive of the space on the border between two subjects, giving subjective agency to humans and non-human living things and environments, reinforcing their separateness. An ‘inter’ space exists between two distinct, different subjects and reinforces the space between. Rose is suggesting that ‘situated dialogue, however, is embedded in the histories that scar and divide, and therefore must be based in the kind of action that Frackenheim (1994:310) characterizes as a “turning toward”’ (Rose 1999a:184). However, turning towards the other and engaging in face-to-face intersubjective exchange, listening and learning place based knowledge from local people and their environment, is not sufficient to cross the space in-between. Connectivities can be extended and received but what is understood, how the environment is experienced and interpreted by each group or individual, will
be through the cultural ‘tuning’ of their skin that sees, hears, smells, tastes and touches the other.

The Questions We Do Not Know

I reiterated my suggestion to the group that they try to leave their Western methodologies of learning behind. These ways of understanding were like expensive business suits appropriate to another place and people. I suggested that they would learn more by not asking questions, by trying instead to listen, to observe, to follow and to emulate their Anangu hosts. In my many years of learning from Anangu I have observed how they teach their children and how they teach visitors about their law and country. There is a pattern and purpose in Anangu teaching and exchange that emerges gradually over the few days visitors stay at Angatja. If visitors can restrain themselves from asking incessant questions when they first arrive and wait until they have experienced the place and people, then more significant questions will arise from the experience of being in this place. The Western mind is trained to approach the new with questions. The problem inherent in this methodology is that one can only frame questions in terms of what one already knows, thus limiting the way the new is experienced.

This tendency to incorporate the new into old structures increases as we become more highly trained in a particular field; the edge of the field becomes our horizon. This cultural and disciplinary framework sharpens our awareness of some aspects of experience while excluding our awareness of others. To position ourselves outside our cultural framework and see, hear, feel, taste and touch with fresh senses is difficult, as our idea of self is based on how we have constructed this framework. In intercultural learning it is necessary to allow the deconstruction of our known self to enable us to incorporate the new into our greater self, which recognises commonality with other humans, animals and sentient worlds. The awareness that the questions we already have may not be the questions we need to ask of others or ourselves in a radically new situation is the beginning of being open to learn. Knowing that we do not know, and may
not have the language to express what we need to know, is the beginning of wisdom.

That dialogue could be defined in other than those of the question and answer, debate and dialectic discussion of the Western tradition is foreign to most visitors when they first arrive at Angatja. Lateral modalities of dialogue, non-hierarchical, that require the simple methodologies of watching, listening and repeating, appear primitive to Western thought leaders, whereas this is precisely the methodology recommended as the fastest way to learn a foreign language and culture by the linguists teaching at the Adelaide University Pitjantjatjara language courses (Douglas, pers. comm., 1975). As they suggest, the best way for visitors to converse with Anangu and learn to converse with country, is to position themselves in the landscape in the way Anangu do: sit on the ground, look where they look, listen when they listen and watch what they do with their hands and feet. Then they may enter into intersubjective mutuality with the people, nature and the land. These ways of knowing are not the favoured mode of the Western acquisition of knowledge where spoken dialogue is more direct and can be controlled by question and answer. This group considered the other ways of knowing as intuitive perceptive, the preserve of shamans, artists or children.

However, by the end of the third or fourth day of their immersion in Anangu teaching, visitors are becoming aware of themselves and their environment at many different levels. One amongst the 'thought leaders' later reflected on the group’s dialogical problematic:

The group was most challenged by an assumption that information and insights could be obtained from the ngankari by a Western mode of ‘question and answer’ session. Obtaining ‘access’ and ‘getting’ answers became a major source of stress. The notion that there were other means of learning, many common to interactions in Western society, was not appreciated. Professors do not necessarily respond usefully to question and answer where the subject matter is subtle.
This is certainly the case with people in a leadership role, whether politicians or gurus. Significant new learning, involving a shift of paradigm, may not lend itself to responses in the language in which questions can be asked and in which the answers are expected.

(Judge 1997 website)

Walk Country, then Talk Country
The next morning is the visitors' first full day at Angatja. They have not yet shed their pre-trip expectations for dialogue with ngankari. Robert comes to me during breakfast to ask when the dialogue can begin. I reply that I will ask the Anangu teachers their plans for the day and convey his request to them. Robert is keen to continue his dialogue with Ilyatjari from the previous trip in 1993 (Bosnak 1996). So I take my cup of tea and wander over to Ilyatjari's camp, waiting just outside the perimeter to be invited in, as is customary. When called I then sit down by their fire. Nganyinytja, Ilyatjari, Tjulkiwa and Sandy Mutju are all gathered here sharing breakfast. They consider Robert's request for dialogue, questions and answers about ngankari business, then shake their heads. Ilyatjari as spokesman says, no, they must go out into country first. This is Nganyinytja's and Sandy Mutju's country; they must learn first about this place from the people of this place. Ilyatjari says, 'We can talk later, anytime, after they know country' (Ilyatjari, pers.comm., 1997).

Ilyatjari insists that the visitors not ask their questions until they have experienced the place and people by kulikutinyi, 'listening', nyakukatinyi, 'watching', and palyakatinyi, 'participating', in the daily tasks of life in the desert. He ignores their request to sit around and 'dialogue', insisting instead that men and women split into separate groups and go out hunting and gathering, two or three visitors attaching themselves to an Anangu guide. This grouping allows each person to learn malyarara, 'together with a friend'. Each morning will be spent walking the land seeking food and water then, when everyone comes back to camp, we will watch together traditional food preparation, learning the law of cooking animals and preparing seedcakes. In
the late afternoon the teaching will continue in story, song and dance performance.

Water from the Well

So the day unfolds, following a traditional lifestyle rhythm and purposeful engagement with country, getting to know the place. After sitting by the fire and warming up it is time to seek water. Nganyinytja and Tjulkiwa lead the group around the base of the low hills to the nearest rockhole, a waterhole which is the reason for the location of the tourist bush camp: it is within walking distance of this substantial tjukula, ‘rockhole’, called Atal. Traditionally this was a winter campsite for Nganyinytja and her family when she was a child. It is sheltered from cold south-westerly winds by the hills, it is near water and protected by a mulga grove.

The rockhole is still maintained today, in the traditional manner, by cleaning out silt and dead animals and covering the top with branches. This allows it to fill with clean water after rain. People travelled on foot between these rockholes maintaining them as they went. Nganyinytja explains that today Anangu use shovels and rakes to clean waterholes and sometimes cover them with wire netting, using new implements in the traditional way. The covers are often only partial to allow animals to water there. Although most people now rely on bore water and rainwater tanks on house for their water supply, it is still AP land management practice to keep rockholes clean. Anangu value the inclusion of this traditional practice in modern land management as it maintains water sources in country for travellers, hunters and game (see AGSO 1998).

Anangu are deservedly proud of their ability to find water in this harsh desert landscape; some rockholes are invisible to the novice Western eye, as they are reservoirs inside granite outcrops concealed by rock caps. Knowledge of these was essential to our guides in their youth when they tracked these regions on foot. ‘No bores, no windmills, nothing!’ says Dickie Minyintirri emphatically. ‘Poor buggers! We just drank little bit, like this’ (Minyintirri, pers.comm., 2003;
see also *Ngura Walytja*, DVD, Appendix 2). He carefully sits beside the rockhole and shows visitors how to sip the water through a soft grass strainer. This method cleaned the water of the larger impurities. It is obvious that Anangu did not drink in great gulps; they drank slowly, careful to preserve limited supplies by not wasting by splashing.

We walk back to camp to gather the cup-a-tea, biscuits and fruit provided for us by the camp cook. Our water flows to the campsite through black polythene pipes buried along 5 km of road from the solar powered bore at Angatja. Rainwater is also available for drinking from a tank inside the appropriate technology shower and toilet block (see Appendix 5 for details of Atal Eco-tour Camp). Our group of visitors learn about living off the land, but are not expected to be self-sufficient hunters and gatherers on this trip. There is only sufficient bush tucker in traditional estates of an average 1500 square kilometres, to support a population of thirty Anangu (see Layton 1986:43). So the tours bring all the food necessary for the tour group and four Anangu guides per ten passengers. The practice is to allow visitors to taste a sample of local bush foods, thus minimising the impact of hundreds of tourists each year on the ecology of this country.

**Women’s Business: The Bread of Life**

Food gathering in the desert formed a major part of daily activity for Anangu. Nganyinytja tells us she rose early, before dawn, with her mother, collected water from the nearest rockhole in a *piti*, ‘wooden carved dish’, and took it back to camp for all to sip before going out hunting. The men would head off together with spear and spear throwers seeking *kanyala*, ‘euro’, in the hills or *malu*, ‘red kangaroo’, on the plains. The women would leave the youngest children in camp with grandparents while they went hunting lizards, witchetty grubs, honey ants and gathering the seeds, grasses or bushes to grind into flour to make bread. This work takes hours of careful collection of the seed in deep sided piti, bowls carved from eucalyptus trees, either bloodwood or red river gum. These *piti*, when full, are covered with grass to stop seeds blowing away
or water evaporating, then balanced on the head to walk back to camp. Often a
women would carry several piti stacked one on top of another on her head and
support a child clinging to her back with her left arm, leaving her right arm free
to carry her sharpened digging stick ready to hunt or dig for game.

After cup-a-tea we all climb aboard the buses and head out in the south-west
direction to a well known witchetty grub site. One participant reflected on this
later: ‘How to deal with travelling 50 km across the bush with a group of
Anangu women to a favoured site for witchetty grubs – only to be told that
they only have the opportunity to do so when whitefellas drive them? An
important source of bush tucker, the digging experience was genuine to all –
whether or not one appreciated the taste’ (Judge 1997 website). The men assess
the rocky outcrops as we drive by for euro but decide against hunting at this
time of day. Instead, a large goanna crossing the road is quickly shot and
thrown in the back of Ilyatjari’s truck.

Men’s Business: Killing to Live
Back at camp in the afternoon the demand for dialogue is reiterated more than
once, but a call comes from Ilyatjari to load up the Toyotas to head out for
hunting. The camp is now a flurry of activity. Questions fly from all sides: how
far are we going, do we need to take lunch, do we take water? Meanwhile guns
are shoved under seats and boys pile into the backs of Toyotas.

To get a tourist response to men’s hunting of kangaroo it is necessary to quote
from an article by an Australian writer who came on another trip. Barry Hill
described it as men’s business ‘time for the killing’ in which he reluctantly
participated. The white man agonises over the slow death of a roo shot then
bludgeoned to death by boys with sticks.

He cried out, ‘Shoot the bloody thing. Put a bullet in its head will
yuh?’ He (the guide) yelled back ‘This is their way. They’re learning
things by doing it this way.’ At last the animal lay still...Ilyatjari, who
had seen the white man’s consternation and tendency to interfere - a
familiar tendency among white men! – was kneeling over the animal about to knick the belly. As he cut into the intestine to see how fat it was for eating, he said in his own language: you might not like it, but this is the way we do things here.

(Hill 1991:30)

Hill acknowledges that, on reflection, the killing was necessary to sustain life and ‘in the larger scheme of things Ngintaka country held existence in balance’ (Hill 1991:30). However, this death-in-life reality was generally too raw for most of the conservation-minded Westerners coming on tour so the kangaroo hunting was gradually phased out of the tourist trips. This is an arena of cross-cultural understanding that cannot be moved over, through, or taken apart by intellectual dialogue in order to transform the perspective of non-hunting white man to see, through Aboriginal eyes, the glory of the hunt. The hunter’s heart that Laurens van der Post so vividly describes can only be known directly from hand to eye, the neural synapses at the centre of sensate knowledge (see Van der Post 1961).

Sharing Bread and Meat

While the men are gone the women take the opportunity to instruct their female guests in ‘women’s business’ which cannot be openly discussed with men and children present. In fact, only women who have had children can be taught sacred women’s law, ceremony, song and dance. Women progress through years of training in this knowledge and eventually, when all their children have gone through initiation into adulthood, they become ritual bosses like Nganyinytja. I am bound by their secrecy laws not to discuss women’s business in public, and the tourists are asked not to even share with their husbands the little they are shown.

Later in the afternoon the men return to camp. The women and children joyfully welcome the hunters’ return. Just as it has been for generations, fresh meat is a cause for celebration in this harsh desert. Nganyinytja remembers as a
child camping with her parents, aunty and Sandy’s family near the Atal waterhole:

Later in the day we’d see the men returning with meat, a wallaby curled up and tied on my father’s head. Seeing him we’d happily cry out, ‘Ay, father is coming home with meat. Father, father is bringing meat!’ They would walk back close to camp, then throw the meat onto the ground, have a drink and eat a little food. After satisfying their hunger the men would cook the euro.
(Nganyinytja 1990)

A pit is dug and filled with fast burning, dry kindling and spinifex; this flares up and the animal’s fur is singed off, then the blackened carcass is dragged off while heavy mulga logs are added to the fire to burn to coals. The euro or kangaroo’s tail is cut off, its back legs broken and the pullyku, ‘muscle tendon’, pulled out to be used later in spear making. Then the body is buried in the pit of coals so that only the torn legs protrude; the tail is buried separately. The women sit some distance away around their fires watching; the killing, cooking and sharing of big game meat is men’s work.

The hunter does not cook the meat; his brother or uncle does. When cooked, but still juicy with blood, the body is pulled out of the fire and laid on fresh green foliage. It is carved up into portions according to Tjukurpa Law: the tail goes to the cook, the choice back fillet to the hunter or, if he is a visitor, he’ll give the largest portion to his host whose land he is visiting. Everybody in camp is given meat: nobody goes hungry; the innards are reserved for the elders. All foods are prepared according to Tjukurpa Law: the kangaroo and euro are Creation Ancestors of great importance throughout the Western Desert lands; no salt must be added to cooking or eating these meats, nor can the preparation vary from that prescribed by law.

Andy Tjilari is a great hunter; his totem is mału, ‘red kangaroo’, but despite this association he hunts, eats and shares its meat with his kin clan and offers some
to the visiting tourists. Unlike other regions of Australia, the Western Desert people do not refrain from eating their totemic animals and plants; there is too little food in this sparse land to restrict access to any source.

The women reciprocate by sharing the bush fruits, water and small game they have gathered and the seedcakes they have laboriously prepared from winnowed grain. Seedcakes from grasses and acacia bushes formed the staple of Anangu diet. It is estimated that traditionally women gathered and prepared the majority of the food supply (see Hamilton 1981). Tjukurpa Law prescribes how these plant foods may be prepared; for example, ili, ‘wild figs’, may not be boiled into jam, but can be pounded together into a ball and carried as dried fruit to be reconstituted in water.

Women and men within the group of elders at Angatja have plant totemic ancestors. Sandy Mutju, although born at Tjanmatapiti and therefore a senior owner of the Ngintaka Songline at Angatja, is of the ili, ‘wild fig’ Tjukurpa of Kunamata, while Nganyinytja, born at Piltarti on Wananbi Tjukurpa, is a senior traditional owner of Angatja and custodian of the Ngintaka Songline through her country, as well as holding the sacred objects and being ritual leader of her grandmother’s Tjukurpa, tjuratja, ‘sweet nectar of desert flowers’. Nganyinytja lives at Angatja; it is her homeland but she is responsible for calling the ceremonial gatherings for tjuratja Tjukurpa at a sacred site south of Wingellina. Tjukurpa Law covers all foods: their hunting, gathering, preparation and distribution. Wati Ngintaka himself created many of these valuable seed plants.

**Business Lines and Circles**

‘Can a linear framework ensure sustainability that is dependent on cyclical behaviour?’ (Judge pers.comm., 2002). Tony asked this question about the imposition of a Western business framework, like tourism, onto the hunting and gathering nomadic lifestyle and economy of Anangu. My reply was that this cyclical pattern of the Indigenous economy is not necessarily antithetical to the straight line accounting of commercial business. Tourism itself is a cyclical
economy in many situations where seasonal variations in climate determine accessibility of the attraction, such as snowfields for skiing, wildlife migrations and cool times in hot deserts. Domestically, it varies in accord with school holidays; internationally, people travel south to escape the cold northern winters; festivals draw big crowds annually for short periods; and war or terrorist attacks dramatically affect tourist flows around the world. The global tourism industry has to adapt to these cyclical and sometimes sudden changes in tourist flows.

The challenge of tourism to Indigenous traditional lands is to adapt the tourism cycles to the Anangu traditional business cycles on the AP Lands. As the Anangu elders have been explaining, their nomadic economic activity was cyclical, moving through country in response to seasonal patterns of water, plant growth and ripening, and the movement of the big game, especially kangaroo.

The social aspects of Anangu business included meeting for ceremonies, to arranging marriages and initiating their young men and women in the management of land and water, game and seed harvest, through performance of the rites, songs and dances of Tjukurpa. The Creation Law sustained country and community by prescribing practices that managed the environmental resources of this marginal desert country. These practices were encoded in the songs of the Creation Ancestors learnt from early childhood and enforced in customary law, reciprocity ethics, ceremony, and restricted access to water and sanctuaries of biodiversity, often ‘sacred sites’. These rules and practices that governed social behaviour towards self, community and environment were reinforced by cyclic performance of ritual along songlines.

Nganyinytja and Peter Nyaningu describe a traditional pattern of autonomous groups of varying sized kin clans from groups of five to thirty members who pursued independent economic activity, sustaining the livelihood of each group and producing excess to share when meeting for ceremonies. Though travelling
independently, each group was constrained in their exploitation of natural resources by their rights and responsibilities to country, defined by regional Tjukurpa Law. The songlines linked clans across the borders of their country to sites in other clan estates and to totemic ancestor species of animal and plant that all Anangu depended upon to survive. These patterns of connection that sustained Anangu traditional economy can be usefully envisaged as songlines, winding and criss-crossing travelling lines of the Ancestors that connect circles of family groups gathered around campfires and waterholes.

**Traditional and Modern Business**

Ilyatjari says:

> I’m teaching my grandchildren the inma and how to survive in this land. The culture may be lost if they don’t have a reason to learn it. The business brings in money for people to live in their own country and keep their culture strong. This is our business, Desert Tracks. We started it for our grandsons and granddaughters to carry it on and grow this business. I am now working and planning for this future.  

(Ilyatjari 1996 film transcript)

Ilyatjari lists, in order of importance, the role he sees tourism fulfilling in their community. Firstly, the knowledge of inma, the song and dance of Tjukurpa; in the performance of inma the country and community are sustained. This is of such great importance to Anangu that the following chapter is devoted to what Ilyatjari calls the ‘InmaWay’. Ilyatjari says the knowledge of inma is essential to survival in this land; knowledge of country, water sources, food and game sources is carried in the verses of the song-cycles which are place specific, a topographical map of country in song. Tourism is a business that he hopes can sustain Anangu living in their homelands, looking after country and keeping their cultural connections strong. He recognises that survival today includes the money economy: Anangu traditional economy must interface and successfully converge with this global economy. The business must be owned and directed by Anangu; it must be theirs for it to be sustainable in their cultural context. It is
a business with a long-term future plan, to sustain their grandchildren and be a base upon which they can grow it.

**Customary Economy**

The experience of Anangu traditional life that has been offered to the guests at Angatja, teachings about responsibilities to country and community, can be usefully summarised as aspects of Anangu customary economy. These must be sustained by the modern hybrid economy on Aboriginal Lands, and particularly by businesses like Desert Tracks that are designed to ensure cultural and environmental sustainability.

The results of my research into the components of Anangu customary economy, which are maintained today through a combination of traditional practice and the modern hybrid economy, are summarised in Figure 29. Some of these traditional practices have become institutionalised in Anangu organizations operating on the AP Lands.

In the field of spiritual health and wellbeing the traditional role of ngangkari, 'medicine men and women', is recognised by Nganampa Health and the NYP Women's Council who employ two ngangkari, Andy Tjilari and Rupert Peter, to work in Anangu communities. In the ecological field AP Land Management employs regional and local Anangu experts in the traditional skills of patch-burning, rockhole clearing and tracking animal endangered species. Strong traditional law and obligation between kin enforce the ngapartji-ngapartji sharing system. Multi-generational care of the young, the sick, the disabled and the aged come under the organisational overview of the NYP Women's Council who employ Anangu workers as specialised care providers in all communities.

Cultural traditional governance is changing as young men and women are elected to councils. However, most defer to their elders in regard to decisions affecting land and law. The traditional law governing men-making and land ownership is still strong on the AP Lands though change is occurring in the
system. Young men and women now have to learn the law and practices of two cultures, so the complete oral knowledge of their elders is not all passed on. Traditional ontology, the laws and beliefs of Tjukurpa, are maintained strongly by all Anangu but these beliefs are now held alongside Christian or Western beliefs about the origins of the universe and the laws that govern right behaviour. The Anangu world today is a complex response to a rapidly changing environment (see Figure 29).

**Figure 29: Anangu Customary Economy Sustaining CNRM (D James 2004)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANANGU CUSTOMARY ECONOMY SUSTAINING CULTURAL NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spiritual:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Health &amp; Wellbeing</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ecological:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land Management</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Economic:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food &amp; shelter</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Governance &amp; Education</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ontology:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Law &amp; beliefs</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Desert Tracks Business Plan, 1994**

Ilyatjari's aspirations and the priorities of the customary economy are reflected in the aims and objectives of the Angatja community tourism business plan drawn up in 1994. This business plan supports various aspects of the customary economy, as the traditional obligations to share resources mean that guide payments and company profits are quickly dispersed amongst a large number
of kin. Claims by relatives for a share of others’ hard-earned wages is sometimes cited as a disincentive for individual Aboriginal people to get ahead in Western terms. However, the ability to produce excess income that can be shared amongst kin is highly respected by Anangu for whom it is the sign of a good hunter. Traditionally the best hunters could support the largest families that, in turn, were survival insurance in a harsh land. The more wives a man had the wealthier he was as women were the economic backbone of the communities. They gathered the grain and fruits that supplied most of the food; they built shelters, collected firewood, looked after the young and the aged and provided all the food during men’s initiation ceremonies.

The Hybrid Economy
Tourism is just one of the elements of the ‘hybrid economy’ made up of market, state and customary components that exists on Indigenous Lands in Australia today (Altman 2001). Desert Tracks brings in to the small homeland of Angatja, a cyclical income with the average ten tours contributing about $35,000 a year in guide wages and between $20,000 and $50,000 in art and artefact sales. This
income provides bonuses that supplement the regular incomes from the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) that was voluntarily adopted by communities on the AP Lands in the 1980s. It replaced access to the national parental support and unemployment pensions; entitlements per community are calculated on numbers of people of working age and numbers of dependent children. This is then administered by the community council as a ‘work for the dole’ scheme. Income from CDEP sustains most remote communities, as full time jobs are scarce and new enterprises or industries being developed to provide jobs, even scarcer. Average incomes barely cover the high cost of food from local stores and the cost of fuel necessary to travel to visit country and kin (Rainow [Nganampa Health Officer], pers. comm. 2000). Obligations to share income with extended kin relations further restrict opportunities to save. Most Anangu continue to live below the poverty level on remote communities on Indigenous Lands in Australia today.

Communal ownership of property is a strength in the customary economy but a disadvantage in the Western economic system because land cannot be traded or mortgaged to raise finance to develop private enterprise that would allow Anangu to participate in the wider market economy. The community at Angatja had no power to borrow money to purchase the Desert Tracks tourism business when it was for sale in 1993. Therefore, they were dependent on attracting a government grant to purchase and expand the business, which they did in 1994. This heavy dependence on CDEP schemes and government finance by Indigenous people is often derided by the wider Australian public as ‘welfare dependency’, but the ‘important Indigenous economic contributions remain unquantified in mainstream calculations’ (Altman 2001,226:1). Creative intercultural economic strategies are needed to build the capacity of local communities to develop enterprises that successfully interface the customary economy with the market economy. Desert Tracks is one such attempt which has fulfilled many of its obligations and expectations under the customary economy, while not being able to move into the economies of high profit valued by the Western economic system. The maintenance of cultural heritage and
ensuring employment of all traditional custodians who wish to be involved in the business was a higher priority than generating large profits.

To achieve these goals the two economies, Western and Anangu customary economy, had to be integrated to some extent or, at least, facilitated to co-exist. Basically this was achieved by considering the requirements that needed to be satisfied for the business to operate successfully in both the Western and customary economic spheres. Under Western law the tourism business had legal and economic accountability to Australian State and Federal statutes and international laws regarding customer rights; there were annual budget requirements for tax returns, auditing, insurance; advertising itineraries and timetables; duty of care to customers; award rates for staff; licensing and tour operator accreditation and distribution of profits to shareholders. Under Anangu Law there were responsibilities to traditional owners of the lands visited; other traditional owners of the songlines and totemic ancestors that traversed that country and whose stories might be told to tourists; the obligation to feed all guides and elders; for everyone who turned up and participated in dance, storytelling or teaching to be paid; and for permits and anthropological clearances with the regional Land Councils of AP and Central Land Council to be negotiated, and permits paid per tourist. Fulfilling obligations to the two economic systems was complex (see Figure 31).

Regional Planning
Desert Tracks Directors met with Anangu from other homelands at Kanypi in 1992 to discuss the development of tourism at other destinations across the AP Lands. Anangu came from Kanypi, Angatja, Umpukulu, Iwarawara, Ulkiya and Cave Hill. The AP land management coordinator convened the meeting, the anthropologists and lawyers came from the Pitjantjatjara Council and representatives of the Northern Territory Tourist Commission and ATSIC and TAFE. It was at this meeting that Stanley Douglas spoke of starting tours at Cave Hill, on the Desert Tracks model. Desert Tracks talked about their Northern Territory Brolga Award and the National Tourism Award for Cultural Tourism, which they won in 1992. This national recognition of the first
### Figure 31: Desert Tracks Economic Support of Customary Economy 1988-2000
(D James 2004)

#### DESERT TRACKS ECONOMIC SUPPORT OF CUSTOMARY ECONOMY 1988-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customary Economy</th>
<th>Western Economy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural:</strong> Ontology &amp; Law</td>
<td>Elders paid as senior guides &amp; trainers of younger guides in traditional cultural knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustaining Tjukurpa Law, knowledge and practice.</td>
<td>Dancers and singers paid well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance of Inma. Sacred site visits along Songlines.</td>
<td>Traditional owners of Songline recognised and paid if present but not necessarily guiding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anangu control of intellectual traditional cultural knowledge.</td>
<td>All brochures, advertising, photos or media film or articles subject to approval by the elders.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2a. **Social:** Governance

| Authority of elders and landowners, Ritual bosses and song men & women. | Desert Tracks Board of Directors was not elected but appointed by each family group of the land involved. Traditional authority basis to business management. |

b. **Education & Training**

| Training the young in traditional cultural and ecological knowledge | Young children from primary school age to teenagers are involved in the tours, receiving on the job training with elders. |

3. **Ecological:** Relationship & Management

| Totemic kinship to animals, plants & country. | Important part of teaching tourists about country. |
| Rockhole maintenance. | Tourists are given the name of an animal or plant as their 'totem' – to know and relate to nature differently. |
| Cyclical hunting and gathering. | Local purchase of bush food by tourists, gathering and hunting restricted. |
| Patch burning. | Use of tour vehicles when appropriate. |
| Limited impact camping. | Eco-tour camp designed at Atal. |

4. **Economic:** Food & Shelter

| Ngapartji-ngapartji economics of reciprocity. Sharing of all food among kin. | Each tour group shares food with Anangu. |
| Shelter | Helps build shelters or put up tents for elders. |
| Warmth | Firewood is collected by tour participants for everyone. |

6. **Spiritual:** Health & Wellbeing

| Being in one’s country is healthy. | Tourism provides employment for Anangu in their country. |
| Anangu working in homelands sustains health. | First aid provided for Anangu and guests on tours. |

- Visit to remote sacred sites on tour buses improves elders’ health.
Unfortunately, Jim Miller from ATSIC Enterprises told them that there was no money to help start businesses for the next year. It was proposed by the meeting, ‘that AP should find money to contract Desert Tracks and Angatja to go around and teach Anangu about getting ready for tourists’ (AP Tourism Meeting minutes, Kanypi 1992).

This was the beginning of regional thinking and planning for tourism on the AP Lands. At a subsequent meeting held at Umpukulu in 1994, Ilyatjadi proposed the development of a regional tourism company under a traditional governance law, the law of *Tjukurpa*:

*ILYATJARI*: We could call it the ‘Ngintaka Company’. Ngintaka is a big story right through this land from Yami’s place to here. We want Yami to be included and take tourists to his place, Wallatina.

*DIANA JAMES*: Can the ngintaka be used as the logo, the sign, for the whole business?

*NGANYINTJA*: The ngintaka is good, it is clear for everyone to use.

*MEETING*: General agreement with use of the ngintaka logo.

(AP Tourism Meeting Minutes, Umpukulu, 1994).

The 1994 regional tourism meeting decided not only could tourist routes follow the Dreaming tracks, but also the tourist enterprises at each homeland or art centre could be linked by the Dreaming track of the Ngintaka *Tjukurpa*. Each homeland enterprise could be part of an AP Lands tourism company operating under traditional Law of *Tjukurpa* connections between people and places. The Law of *Tjukurpa* would govern the AP tourism company.

**Conclusion: Law of Reciprocity**

Desert Tracks, the tourism business, now firmly under Anangu *Tjukurpa* Law, was specifically related into the kinship system through the Ngintaka. The story and song cycle of Wati Ngintaka that is told, sung and danced for tourists, is
one that embodies strong teachings on reciprocity: the rights and obligations of host to guests, the extension of hospitality to provide food, shelter, warmth, entertainment and sharing of story, song and dance with visitors. However, it also clearly states there are limits to sharing. Visitors have the right to ask for the finest seed cakes ground by the women but they do not have the right to steal the grindstone. The act of stealing what is not given is punishable by death under Anangu Tjukurpa.

Nganyinytja’s welcome included a subtle call to awareness for Western visitors. The ‘sample bag’ of the history of her people included the contrary winds that colonisation brought with its tall ships. The destructive effects of colonisation were told without malice or demands of those present to ‘pay the rent’. Rather, it was a story of the inevitable destruction caused by the Western land hungry gods of capitalism: settlement, pastoralism and mining. These industries devoured Indigenous land and waters, depriving Anangu traditional livelihoods on their own lands. If her guests, kulini, hear with understanding, they will of necessity question their own role now as tourists. Is the money they have paid for this tour of benefit to Anangu? Does it bring much needed economic security to people living in remote homeland communities where few other work opportunities exist, or is it a destructive injection of cash for commoditised culture? Is cultural tourism empowering and sustaining Anangu or does it further corrupt their sharing subsistence economy and reduce culture to a commodity on the global market?

The next chapter examines the good and bad seeds vomited by Wati Ngintaka as he rides through AP Lands now as a tourist bus.
Odyssey Book 8: A Day for Songs and Contests

Demodocus, the blind bard

Odysseus, seated in King Alcinous court, carved strip of loin, rich and crisp with fat, from the white tusked boar, and gave it to the famous blind bard Demodocus. Odysseus, master of many exploits, praised the singer: 'I respect you, Demodocus, more than any man alive – surely the muse has taught you, Zeus's daughter, or god Apollo himself. How true to life, all too true ... you sing the Archaean's fate, all they did and suffered, all they soldiered through, as if you were there yourself or heard from one who was' (Fagles 1996; 8:545-551).

INMA NGINTAKA: PERENTIE LIZARD SONG

Women's verse: Mistletoe Seed Sowing

Ngantja kuru kuru nyinara wananu
Ngantja kuru kuru nyinara wananu;
Ngayuluna winyinyipungu
Ngayuluna winyinyipungu.

Following the ripe mistletoe berries
Following the ripe mistletoe berries;
I am spitting out the seeds
I am spitting out the seeds.

Men's verse: Mistletoe Berry Seeds Vomiting

Manta kanturana ka patapatanu
Manta kanturana ka patapatanu;
Tjaangkuni karur-karumanu
Tjaangkuni karur-karumanu.

Stamping the ground the fruit falls off
Stamping the ground the fruit falls off;
My stomach churning from what I ate
My stomach churning from what I ate.

(Ngayinyitja trans. D James 1994)
Introduction

Anangu regard the singing and dancing of Tjukurpa, inma, to be the most important thing they share with visitors to their country.

Ilyatjari says, 'Inma Way ngunti wiya, ngananya inmakula mula-mula ngintiringanyi! The teaching of song and dance of our ancestors is not just for fun, we are truly teaching important knowledge!'

(Ilyatjari, pers.comm., 1990)

Is knowledge of inma, the song and dance performance of the Creation Ancestor epic song sagas, the thing most sought by tourists on Desert Tracks? What do both sides of this exchange believe they are giving and receiving and does the exchange fulfill the expectations of both in terms of understanding the cultural, environmental economic, and spiritual sharing? Dr Ian Player, of the World Wilderness Society, said in Adelaide in 1994 that eco-tourists seek much more than superficial look-see experiences: they are on a 'spiritual odyssey' (Player, pers. comm., 11 February). If this is true, then the desire by Anangu to teach through 'Inma Way', the spiritual practice of sustaining the environment through cultural performance of inma, is exactly what the eco-traveller is looking for.

It is a perfect fit of the willingness of both travellers and hosts to share not just the hospitality of hearth and home land but also deep stories of being that keep culture and country alive. However, the desire to share cultural knowledge at this level is not true of all Anangu on the AP Lands, and because the inma of each Creation Ancestor is not owned just by one person or family but is the property of all who were born along this ancestor’s songline, then all must be consulted before information can be shared with visitors. The process of negotiating the ethics of this intercultural knowledge trading is complex as the two laws are based on a different ontology of ownership: one of sharing but not giving away and the other of purchase by power or money and rights to resale on open market. Colonisation has changed the geographical extent of the influence of Indigenous law in Australia; information shared in an appropriate context of persons and place in

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Central Australia can be taken out of context in Melbourne and Sydney and used or performed inappropriately. Anangu Law is not recognised on the city streets.

The expressed intent of Western eco-tourists visiting Indigenous lands is to honour the traditional ecological and cultural knowledge of the people indigenous to the place. These travellers are often conscious of damaging the ecosystems they visit by bringing in foreign seeds on their boots, but are less conscious of the damage their foreign ideas and goods may bring. All visitors from one culture to another bring seeds of change, the process of trade that has transformed cultures around the world for thousands of years. However, the excess wealth that enables modern tourism emphasises the imbalance in this trade; the designer-backpack and runners carry the seeds of desire for Western goods and affluence that grow up along the roadsides they travel. Local Indigenous populations may expect a prolific flowering of Western money and goods if they water these feral plants, expectations not necessarily fulfilled.

This chapter examines the strengths and weaknesses of the Desert Tracks business plan regarding the knowledge exchange through *inma*. Anangu plan the tours to become a vehicle for sustaining traditional knowledge and teaching it to their children and grandchildren who are looking for cross-cultural value. Anangu also teach *inma* because they want Westerners to respect and value it, to redress the imbalance created by the hegemony of Western values and economy in their society. They hope that including Westerners in the performance of *inma* will transform their understanding of Anangu ontology and law. It is evident that tourists value this exchange, but in what way? Is it just another exotic dish to consume or an experience that truly transforms their perception of Indigenous people and place?

**Singing Land the Inma Way**

Ilyatjari has always been an intercultural teacher. As a young boy he briefly attended school at Warburton, then ran away and learned ‘bush way’ until he participated in the bilingual creekbed school at Ernabella with Nganyinytja in 1940. He left to go through initiation for several years and then worked on cattle
stations, including Curtin Springs, where he became an expert stockman. Ilyatjari, after marriage and with a young family, worked as a teacher at Amata School for many years. Both taught traditional alongside Western knowledge, understanding that both were essential for their people’s future. Ilyatjari maintained a distinctive traditional teaching style and technique, which he has adapted to teaching their new students, the tourists. As a renowned songman, dancer and ngankari medicine man he is an adept of the Inma Way, the Anangu law and practice of caring for country through song and dance. This teaching method is in direct contrast to Western education in which song, dance and story are peripheral. These are usually considered entertainment rather than core to the process and practice of memorising the vast amounts of knowledge necessary in an oral tradition.

The method of Pitjantjatjara traditional teaching through music is analysed by Catherine Ellis in her excellent book, *Aboriginal Music: Education for Living* (Ellis 1985). Her experience of how both Indigenous and white people learn when being taught inma by traditional teachers in bush camps and in city classrooms, is similar to my findings on the inma teaching in the intercultural performance space of tourism at Angatja. As Ellis found: ‘This process of indelible implantation of the features of the totemic songline, with its implications for every facet of living, is of great significance to each individual’ (ibid:123). Though the performance space of the tour is short, only 4–5 days intensively with Anangu, the teaching of inma is maintained throughout and students are gradually led into an understanding of how the Ngintaka Songline has implications for all facets of Anangu life.

The song of country is the ontological ground of being for Anangu. Each totemic songline holds information regarding creation and sustenance of particular places and people; these songlines converge at nodes then travel on linking difference of specificity through commonality. The whole continent is patterned by the tracks of these totemic ancestors who met and traded objects, stories, song, dance, and shared food in each other’s country. The patterns of
modern tourist travellers and their trading business have been incorporated into these traditional patterns of travel and trade across the continent and beyond its shores with those who came in boats.

The ontological basis of Western and traditional Anangu business would appear at first glance to be antithetical. Western business claims sustainability can be measured by the 'triple bottom line' of environmental, social and economic accountability. However, this does not ensure a balanced equation, as in practice the economic values outweigh the other concerns. The ontological ground of Western economic rationalism is the belief that the free market works for the higher good of all. The sacred mantra repeated daily in all business houses is 'profit is good'. The Money Story is the core Tjukurpa of Western Dreaming; its prophets chant profit and its laws are encoded in the sacred balance sheet which governments, society and companies constantly monitor.

The daily news reports on the state of the nation by the government television station, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, include a special report on the health of financial markets, stocks and bonds after the news and before the weather. In contrast Anangu 'daily news', given by elders orating to the camp in the early pre-dawn light, prioritises the health of the people in their country and reports on individual and community responsibilities to kin and country. Anangu continually reinforce their Tjukurpa, the belief that the good of all depends on reciprocity of kin to country.

This is the uncommon ground of profound ontological difference between Western and Indigenous cultures, the performance space of cross-cultural tourism. Some travellers scorn the divide as an anachronism that will vanish as the global economy subsumes regional and cultural differences into the hegemony of the Western world. Other travellers try to 'think themselves into country', following the advice of Aboriginal leader Patrick Dodson (Westheimer 2005:12). Some are swallowed by the Dreaming of the place, as a few travellers to Angatja recount, before resurfacing with greater wisdom to continue their journey. However they respond, it becomes obvious to all that
there is a profound difference between Western and Anangu knowledge of persons and place, of how humans perform their culture nature relationship.

It is certainly very difficult for Westerners crossing the ontological divide to understand that inma performance by Anangu is more than a staged 'performance' for the tourist dollar. It is not until the visitors have been in the country for three days of intensive enculturation that the way they see song and dance performance changes. Only after they have repeatedly heard the stories of a few ancestral beings, seen their creations in the landscape and their journeys in the night skies, participated in hunting or gathering their descendants and eaten of them in plant or animal flesh, are they invited by Anangu to learn the dances of these ancestors. When they are painted with ochre and participate in dance their perception on all sensual levels changes and they glimpse a little, through Indigenous eyes and ears, the interconnectivity of people, plants, animals and land. Ilyatjari keeps reiterating that when they dance it is not just for fun; they are participating in the continuance of plant and animal species essential to the health and wellbeing of the land and her people. To enter the performance space of the Ngintaka inma, learn to listen and understand, to dance the song, is to be given the opportunity to open to a new knowing of the land and self. One thing is certain: the Inma Way is a process to be experienced, not a product to be sold.

**Listening to the Land**

Dawn in camp opens the tourists' eyes to a world far away from their houses or comfortable apartments in urban landscapes. They are sleeping on the ground in a 'swag': a camping bedroll consisting of a high density thin foam mattres with pillow and sleeping bag, inside a canvas envelope with a flap that can be used to cover the head. Tourists learn to roll and unroll the swags and toss them onto the back of a truck when it time to pack up camp. Some are sleeping out under the stars but others have put their swags inside insect proof tents.

A dawn chorus of harsh notes from the ubiquitous crows greets the early risers as they perform their black-feathered dance in the pre-dawn chill. Lilting notes
come from further up the hills where butcherbirds gather on bare branches of
death trees. A few hardy souls climb out of bed and wrap beanies and scarfs
around cold ears, stuff hands into coat pockets and venture up the rocky slope
behind camp in the first rosy blush of dawn's promise. They are rewarded by
the blue-black rim of the Musgrave Ranges back-lit by golden fire spreading
rapidly across the sand dune plains igniting the spinifex. These needle nests of
grass begin to dance like spiky-haired children roused out of bed in the chill
dawn. Anangu call the first light katjarungkunytja, when the spark ignites from
the sun rubbing his spear thrower to make fire. We, like old stiff grandparent
trees too cold to move, watch with delight the child’s play of the ‘Piccaninny
Dawn’ before the harsh light of day brings responsibilities and daily toil. The
pure notes of bellbirds chime in our listening ears.

The watchers on the hill look down to see small fires spark around the camp.
Anangu fires flare up beside mounds of blankets and sleeping body forms; the
people of the earth have kept their fires glowing all night to keep off the cold.
But the visitors, fearing sparks igniting their swags, have let their fires burn out
to cold ash. Many won’t emerge until Jim has the billy boiling on the camp
hearth fire. Fire is a familiar friend to Anangu: it provides warmth, cooks food
and is a major land management aide. Even bushfire is not feared as it is by
most Westerners. Like the spiky-haired children of the dawn their Anangu kids
grow up around fires and dance among dry spinifex lighting it with joy. If the
wind and temperature conditions are right the tourists will be shown, by the
elders, the traditional patch-burning of areas of country to promote the growth
of fresh grass, essential feed for kangaroos and other marsupials. Back at the
fire, eating breakfast, the visitors complain about the harsh cawing of the crows.
Nganyinytja tells them a story:

In the beginning, the crow women were living without fire. All over
the land then there was no fire, so it is said: Mungarulngu – total
darkness. There was no real firewood like this (mulga); there was
only other wood, black wood, burnt wood. No light or heat came
from this wood. There were many different kinds of bird people
living then, many crows. The crow people and the eagle people lived
then. In many different camps, this place and that place and many different places were all without fire, except one man, the bush turkey, who was carrying the good firewood on his head. The men were following him trying to grab the wood off his head, but they couldn’t. Then after they had tried to get this burning stick from the bush turkey, from the kipara, and they couldn’t get it, they came back and they just forgot about it. But it was really dark and they were cold still – one man was thinking, thinking, ‘Who took that fire, the really good fire?’ and then he said, ‘I remember, it was that kipara and he’s gone west; I’m going to follow him.’

And he was like an eagle this one, but not an eagle, smaller, but like that. He flew really high and really fast and he saw the bush turkey by this stage was heading into the sea. And he watched from a distance as the fire stick got further and further under the water but it was still alight and he came down and went whoosh, just before it went out, and flew back with it, all the way back to Mt. Lindsay down here. He threw sparks into the country so that the whole country became alight and he threw bits of this good wood across with it. The Crow people were sitting there in the dark and it was really cold and then they saw the fire coming towards them like a bush fire and they jumped up really happy and started dancing and singing that song, saying, ‘Look here comes the fire towards us – we’ve been sitting without fire but here comes the fire, here comes the fire,’ and they were jumping up and down really happy. All the different places where the fire was coming everybody was dancing and jumping for joy for this big bush fire coming towards them – good wood, So now we all have good wood to live next to and are very happy. That’s the story of wood.

(Nganyinytja1990, trans. by D James)

To dance this dance covered in black gritty charcoal is to enter into the power, force and joy of fire. Fire is strong, cheeky and goes where it pleases, as do women of the crow; it is a transformative performance for Westerners who
usually fear fire and often dislike crows. The visitors have heard the story but the experiences of transformation through dance are still in the future for our group of tourists. They are experiencing their first days in the desert and, for many, their first experience of camping out, some inside tents which protect them from the immense desert night while a few sleep out in swags and watch the transit of the stars. Not many sleep well; the strangeness keeps them awake.

**Listening and Learning While Travelling Along Together**

The second day unfolds in a similar pattern to the first. The priority for the morning is hunting and gathering, walking, listening and being in country. When visitors ask what Anangu expect them to learn from walking the land, Nganyinytja explains:

> We have no books; our history was not written by people with pen and paper. It is in the land; the footprints of our Creation Ancestors are on the rocks. The hills and creek beds they created as they dwelled through this land surround us. We learned from our grandmothers and grandfathers as they showed us these sacred sites, told us the stories, sang and danced with us the *Tjukurpa* (Dreaming). We remember it all, in our minds, our bodies and feet as we dance the stories. We continually recreate the *Tjukurpa*.

(Nganyinytja 1988, audio trans. D James)

She and Ilyatjari, teach that the connectivity between people and the land needs to be experienced through walking the country, listening to the wind, watching for signs of the seasonal cycles of the life and death of animals, plants, water and shade. These signs and voices of the earth are seen and heard by those who know their country; the knowledge is embodied in the people who sing and dance the songlines. The songlines are maps of knowledge laid down in the tracks of ancestral Creation Beings of the Dreaming, the animals and plants who are the totemic ancestors of people today. Excited by these concepts, visitors ask if the interpreters and white guides can recommend any books on the subject. Although we encourage pre-tour reading, while on tour the white
guides reinforce aural methods by encouraging visitors to open their eyes and ears, now in this place, to directly experience the land being read and sung aloud by those who hear its song.

**Where is it Written?**
Knowing the Western preference for learning from the written word, a pre-trip reading list is recommended to travellers and Desert Tracks provides some reference books on local animals, plants, Anangu language and traditional land use and management of these physical resources. Books on the non-physical cultural and spiritual relationship of Anangu to the living and non-living things in their environment are more difficult to recommend. There have been many books that attempt to define or explain this inter-subjective connectivity of Aboriginal people with their country. These are variously praised or disparaged by Indigenous people, their white advisors and academics engaged in the field of Indigenous studies. The fact that there is a range of characters interpreting this borderlands performance space is neither surprising nor a disadvantage: it increases the perspectives from which the space can be viewed. It is an evolving performance within a space of indistinct and changing boundaries, an ecotone where hybrid varieties are adapting to the changing soil composition.

The characters who interpret this post-colonial space were initially anthropologists, linguists, early missionaries and government officials involved with Aboriginal people; their voices have been critiqued to some extent but also continue into the present with powerful authority sanctioned by their institutions. The translated voice of Indigenous traditional language oration now forms a genre of written English literature. This includes collations of myths such as *The Speaking Land* (Berndt & Berndt 1988; Harney & Elkin 1949). Another genre includes playwright Jack Davis, the voice of Indigenous people writing in English, often as their second language. The voice of the dispossessed Australian Indigenous people who have lost land and language is loudest in the coastal regions of the continent, and because it is largely an urban voice needs the least translation to the wider community. The poetry of Kevin Gilbert and
Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker) is representative of this voice. Last, but not least in influence, is the 'new age' interpretation of Indigenous spirituality which blossomed in the form of interpretations of Native American teachings for the Western world and, as a popular written genre, has since colonised international Indigenous cultural and spiritual knowledge.

Some serious non-Indigenous writers are accused of being 'new age' when they genuinely attempt to enter the Indigenous space and let it transform their writing. David Abram (1996) has written such a book in *The Spell of the Sensuous*, an account of Western disconnection from the natural world based on his research with Balinese shamans. Unfortunately, less erudite and more popular writings on encounters with Indigenous peoples and their philosophies abound, catering to the Western enduring enthralment with the 'exotic' and quest for the back-to-nature holy grail of Indigenous people living in harmony with their natural surroundings. Marlo Morgan’s book *Mutant Message Down Under*, as previously discussed, is an example of this genre. Her story barely disguises the Western ethnologists' or explorers' myth of being the last person alive to witness true Aboriginal culture in a pristine state prior to desecration by Western society. Despite her warning that Aboriginal culture is now dead, many people are inspired to visit Indigenous Australia because of her book.

One such visitor was Craig Potter, an environmental engineer from England. He was inspired by *Mutant Message Down Under* to come to Australia and join a Desert Tracks tour in October 1999. His reflections on his experience are valuable; they recount the process of moving from stereotypical expectations of Indigenous people and culture to real face-to-face meetings that can change intercultural relationships. Craig wrote an article after the tour in which he tells his journey:

I came to learn about initiation and the aboriginal way of manhood. Sadly it is no longer part of my culture (or more accurately my homogenised/ hybridised, westernised amalgamation of people and I think we are worse off for it...I was told certain generalised things about the initiation process…but I was left wanting. My curious,
insatiable western mind wanted to know more. I wanted to research, analyse and interpret! But wait a minute. Is this really the only way to learn? What did I experience out there in the desert and what did I learn? To my surprise I realise I did learn about initiation and about living in the moment.

(Potter 2000:4)

His transformation from observer and analyst came unexpectedly:

On the third day after a witchetty grub hunt we were driving back to the camp at Angatja when a ngintaka (a two metre long perentie lizard) crossed our path... I was excited and drawn to the hunting of this animal. It seemed a natural part of life- the death of an animal to provide sustenance.

(ibid)

On the fourth day he travelled the Ngintaka Songline through country:

We were driven to specific features in the landscape, for example a rock feature or a cave and shown the dance and told the story associated with that place. It was wonderful to see all the aboriginal elders dancing and singing and telling the story. I felt extremely honoured to be there listening, looking and feeling the land as a living entity.

(ibid)

Craig, along with the other white men folk on the tour, was later taught parts of the Ngintaka dance. This was the initiatory experience that transformed Craig from a watcher and listener to a participant in an Anangu songline, he says, ‘I loved being part of it. It felt wonderful to be telling part of a story about a creature of the earth, and imparting a cultural message, which has been passed on for many thousands of years, from generation top generation’ (Potter 2000:4).

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Writings on Song

*Songlines* by Bruce Chatwin is the second most widely read book by tourists to Indigenous Australia. The value of this book to the traveller is it presents the importance of song traditions in Aboriginal Australia, it is easy to read and well researched. He does not claim to be writing an anthropological text; rather as a travel writer he tells the story as he sees it, through his traveller’s gaze. While he visited only for only a few weeks, he had researched his area of interest beforehand, read widely and made contact with respected Aboriginal elders and their trusted non-Indigenous co-workers from the Central Lands Council in Alice Springs. His journey, though names of places and people are changed, can be plotted in time and space, to real places and people. The conversations he reports actually happened; how he interpreted what he was told is clearly differentiated from what the elders said.

One elder with whom he engages intensively is Patrick Dobson, barely disguised as Father Flynn, ex-Benedictine from Fitzroy Crossing. Chatwin tells Flynn directly why he has come on this journey: ‘I’m interested in the Songlines’ (Chatwin 1987:55). Flynn decides Chatwin is not ‘a nutter’ so discusses the concept of ‘songlines’ with him seriously. Flynn relates songlines to land tenure; he explains that Aboriginal people ‘could not imagine territory as a block of land hemmed in by frontiers’ but rather as an ‘interlocking network of “lines” or “ways through”’ (ibid:56). Layton agrees, citing anthropologists Berndt (1959) and O’Connell (1976) who have studied the land tenure of Western Desert peoples in central Australia: ‘an estate is a cluster of sites rather than a bounded block of land’ (Layton 1986:40). Flynn said his ‘own country’ was ‘the place in which I do not have to ask’ (Chatwin 1987:56). This was another way of saying what Peter Nyaningu said: that he has the right to refuse others entry to his country (Nyaningu, pers. comm., April 2005).

With the empathy of a good travel writer, Chatwin entered the country through the eyes and ears of his hosts; he heard the importance of keeping alive the Creation ancestral links across, through and under the land of Australia and her
people. He popularised the term ‘songline’, giving it a certain international currency as a descriptor of Aboriginal Dreaming tracks. Now it is widely used by Aboriginal people across Australia, and evokes the primacy and power of the song in the cultural traditions of this land.

Anthropologists Catherine and Ronald Berndt recognised the importance of the aural literature of Australian Aborigines in their book, *The Speaking Land*. Although this was designed specifically for general readership it is nevertheless not generally one which people pick off the bookstore shelves before visiting Indigenous Australia. This was published in 1988, the year Desert Tracks tours started to Angatja. The Berndts claim that until then, few non-Indigenous people took Aboriginal oral literature seriously (Berndt & Berndt 1988:xxv). They argue passionately for the relevance of Aboriginal story and myth today: ‘the mythology is a vibrant and ready source of messages about a past-in the present – messages that are for the most part as significant as they ever were to Aboriginal contemporary socio-cultural situations’ (ibid:xxvi). An advantage of the Berndts’ work is that they recognise Aboriginal oral storytelling and mythology as a valuable body of ‘literature’ rather than oral history or oral traditions. This approach focuses on the importance of words in Aboriginal oral literature: like Shakespeare or Homer, these words are intended to be performed, spoken or sung on a stage to an aural audience. The words in both narrative and song form are cleverly chosen by the bard, the storyteller or singer.

Homer is credited with creating a written version of oral epics. Bernard Knox comments on Homer’s ‘creation of epic verse’ in *The Odyssey*: ‘it is created, adapted and shaped to fit the epic meter, the hexameter’ (Fagles and Knox 1996:12). The language of Homer was an artificial, poetic language, not the familiar language of the fifth century Greeks; a language that had to be learned and ‘the meter is based on pronunciation time, not as in our language stress’ (ibid.). Similarly, the language of Western Desert song cycles is peculiar to their epic song style. While some song cycles involve archaic and restricted language
accessible only to elders of considerable knowledge and senior ceremonial status, some of the simpler versions of song cycles, like that of the Ngintaka performed for the whole community, use simpler everyday language. However, the translation of the text makes little sense outside knowledge of the whole saga and the importance of repeated lines in emphasising the character of the particular ancestor being sung.

Ellis talks of the difficulties Western students have in learning Anangu song cycles: 'The text and its associated rhythm are always presented together. They are not easily isolated and when a student asks for the text to be spoken it is usually presented in its metric form, with no clear starting point or word division' (Ellis 1985:115). Traditionally it was expected that the student would learn the song and myth behind it through repetition of verses, performing the songs and dances and finally putting the stanzas together in an understanding of the whole. Due to the limited time visitors have on tour, Anangu have developed the method of telling the whole story beforehand, then an elder calling out the story before each stanza is sung and danced during performance (listen to Inma Ngintaka, CD recording, Appendix 1). However, as Ellis notes and visitors on Desert Tracks tours realise, it is only by performing inma, Anangu song and dance that a deeper level of understanding can be reached; not by analysis alone (Ellis 1985:116).

Archetypal Dialogue of Myth

Anangu Tjukurpa acknowledges the coexistence of complementary opposites. Theirs is an ontology that recognises and respects oppositional forces, difference, duality and complementarity at the heart of all existence. This tjaka, 'how it is', shows that good and bad coexist in individual Creation Ancestors, in individual people, in the elements of climate, country and availability of food and water. There is generosity and greed; there is bounty and drought; there is life and death. The dualities must be acknowledged and the powers of opposition within nature and humans continually worked with to restore balance. The Creation Ancestors embody these archetypal forces of nature and humanity. Their mythic world, as is the social world of their descendants, is
divided into men’s and women’s work and knowledge, rights and responsibilities towards the family and country. Ceremonial knowledge and responsibilities are, likewise, divided between men’s and women’s business in which both the sun and shade skin groups must perform different roles together: the ontological system is performed to continually recreate unity, a holistic system. One’s skin name situates one within the kinship system of animals, plants, people and place. Within this, the elemental forces of fire, water, earth and sky are celebrated and performed in inma and in daily life.

Anangu emphasise the ethic of mutual exchange in their law of ngapartji-ngapartji, the ‘law of reciprocity’. Human and nature give to one another and for everything given there is a return, the obligations of mutuality are defined in the kinship system which includes all living things and those considered inanimate in the Western classification system: the rocks, earth, water, sunlight, shade, wind and rain. In the Anangu world all things have kurunpa, ‘spirit’; thus all are animate and the one spirit energises all. At the level of sub-atomic physics this is recognised in the Western world. All matter is made up of the same energetic particles in constant motion. One of the basic tenets of Western physics, Newton’s third law of motion, states that for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. These two laws are not the same but there is an overlap of the Anangu and Western concepts, a trans-cultural space where the laws of energy are the same in the different languages of physics or Tjukurpa.

Both believe in a universe where action creates reaction; where impulse towards another demands a response; all things change and are in constant motion; bodies exert force on each other; and for every force on another there is an equal and opposite force. One culture might label this a ‘reaction’ while the other calls it a ‘response’, but in both cultures reactions and responses are recognised. The law of ngapartji-ngapartji expresses the ethic that humans must honour this law in all their engagements with each other and their environments. The moral necessity of reciprocal obligation is continually performed in telling the stories, singing the songs and dancing the dances of Creators. Cultural performance
maintains the spiritual energy of country and is complementary to the physical caring for country by patch burning, rockhole cleaning, and selective hunting and harvesting of the seeds and fruits of the land. Anangu believe spirit energises the laws of physics through cultural performance.

**Skins of Land and People**

*Inma* performs the archetypal faces of the Creators who suffered the ethical consequences of contravening the laws of reciprocity and hospitality. Ilyatjari insists that the group participate in a *maku*, ‘witchetty grub hunt’, before they learn about its *Tjukurpa* through *inma* song and dance. This is his way of teaching visitors the Anangu knowledge of the interconnectivity between all living things. People must physically be in country, follow hunters through country looking for the signs of animal or plant presence, learn to live off and with the land, get their hands dirty digging up roots and cleaning out rockholes, and physically engage in the reciprocity of action that is caring for family and caring for country. This is Anangu way of teaching novices how to hear the voices of the land, how to engage in the dialogue with these voices by listening, watching and learning how to feel their bodies speak through language that mirrors the movements of their teachers.

It is my experience that only by becoming osmotic learners – by having skin that is permeable to the sensate knowledge of the land, feels the breath of the land in the changes of wind direction and force, responds to temperature by moving from sun to shade, monitors water moisture levels of the earth and atmosphere, sees and hears the signs of seasonal change in the landscape, walks on the ground with bare feet that feel the impact they make on plant, animal and soil – only then can we be part of the land and respond with biological knowing to our biologically diverse environments.

Returning to the subject of Anangu kinship and ‘skin’ groups, as previously stated Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people recognise two skin classifications, *tjintulu*, ‘sun’, and *wiltjalyuru*, ‘shade’. While position and role in
ceremony is divided between these two groups, ownership of land is not. Country itself is part of this kinship system and has a skin group: country can either be sun or shade country. Bill Harney erroneously believed 'that the south side of the Rock belonged to the 'Shade Side' people, the north side to the 'Sun Side' people (Harney 1963:75-77). Mountford recognised these as generational divisions but still thought that Uluru was divided between the generational groups. Layton's research did not confirm this. His informants, Paddy Uluru and Nipper Winmati, both considered the Uluru estate as a unity (Layton 1986:42). Layton did not further investigate the confusion of earlier anthropologists of generational divisions with land ownership.

However, if one listens to how Anangu refer to country, the source of the confusion becomes obvious. Anangu refer to areas of country in the same terms they use for the generational divisions: people and country belong to the sun side or the shade side. Peter Nyaningu explained this to me in reference to his country on the north side of Mt Woodroffe; his country is ngura tjintulu wakalpa, 'sun side country' (Nyaningu, pers. comm, 2005.). This northern face of Mt Woodroffe is called Ngintaka Pirlpirra, the 'chest bone of the Perentie Lizard Man'. Nyaningu describes his walytja, 'family clan' as belonging to this country; therefore his clan is tjintulu, 'sun side'. This does not preclude wiltjayluru, 'shade side', clan members from ownership rights. Nyaningu and the other senior owners of his generation are tjintulu, their children are wiltjayluru and also owners of tjintulu country.

In ceremony both sides are necessary for performance of song, dance and ritual; both sun and shade sides are necessary for the whole, a kinship system that divides people and country into a duality, which is complementary rather than oppositional. The two skin groups, 'our' side referred to as nganamiri 'our skin', and 'their' side or tjaniamityljampa 'their flesh', are complementary opposites. These groups are endogamous; people of one skin must marry one another because marriage or sexual relations with the other skin are forbidden. Caring for country involves both skin groups in complementary
responsibilities. The country itself is divided into these skin groups, sun and shade country. As at Uluru and Mt Woodroffe, one side of the mountain cannot stand without the other.

Dialogue of Dance
Day is drawing to a close. The buses and trucks have returned to camp and people; the quiet of the later afternoon glow infuses all. Ilyatjari and Nganyinytja are sitting with their guests around the main campfire sipping mugs of tea. Robert is keen to ask questions about ngankari business but Ilyatjari sidesteps the question and tells everyone why he teaches the inma. Ilyatjari recounts the history of tourists at Angatja from his perspective:

I worked with the children in school, we taught and taught them. I was a schoolteacher then. We used to teach the children inma and take them to town, Darwin, where they would perform dancing. They learned well and became very good dancers. I told them the Tjukurpa, and they listened to all the Creation stories, the Seven Sisters and others. Like the Seven Sisters inma, that we danced recently at Umuwa. The story of the two men following their wives, seeking them, they followed them a long way. The children line up and follow the wives; they dance this inma well. They dance other Tjukurpa, the dance of Nyii-Nyii, ‘the zebra finch’ story, Ngiyari, ‘the thorny devil’, many stories, lots and lots.

But then later, many of the next generation of children turned to petrol sniffing and we took them out to Angatja to teach them the old ways. When the white people started coming as tourists they also learnt the inma. Jeremiah and our other grandchildren and the whitfellas all danced together, big inma. They danced the dances of Tjukurpa, Creation stories. The men danced in men’s style with stamping step strongly and the women learnt to do the jumping step.

The women did the Crow dance; that’s your dance, you and all the women. A long time ago the Crow women were living in the cold
and dark without fire. When they saw the fire they stood up and joyfully danced in a jumping step towards the fire. This makes the women happy, the fire is thrown out across the land. This dance and the fire dance spread out over the land making everyone happy.

Then all the kalaya, 'emu' men decided to teach the young people their dance. So they taught the boys the emu dance and the girls the parka-parka, 'mistletoe' dance. So our grandchildren and everybody, whitefellas included all became very clever at dancing. That is how the inma at Angatja became bigger and stronger. They danced the ngintaka, 'perentie lizard', the wanampi, 'rainbow serpent' and lots of different, different!; it became very big. My grandchildren, my grandsons and my grand-daughters, learnt in our bush school and they didn't sniff petrol, because they went to the school of inma.
This work I've done for a long time, teaching inma. It is important.

(Ilyatjari 1999 trans. D James)

His story is cut short by a call, 'Inma, pitjalaya! Dancing, come on you lot!' Tjulkiwa, hidden behind some acacia bushes, has been painting up the children. The fire is lit at the dancing ground and a semicircle of bodies is rapidly forming. As each woman joins the women's side she drops to the ground in a kneeling position and starts pounding her thighs creating a deep thudding sound in time with the men beating sticks into the ground. Older women who can't kneel sit cross-legged clapping their hands to the syncopated rhythm and the song gains force. The tourists take across their little campstools and sit in a ring behind the singers. A few sit on the ground and try to emulate their hosts. Some others remain standing till I point out it is rude to stand at inma. Anangu encourage them to clap or beat in time to the music.

All eyes are on the bushes on the far side of the cleared ground. Tjulkiwa and a line of girls emerge with their backs towards the audience. They wait for the singing to start again and on a signal from Tjulkiwa all turn around and dance in a line, kept in time by peripheral vision trained laterally, particularly noting Tjulkiwa's steps, her pauses and changes of hand movement. Some are shy and
uncertain but all strive to get it right and are constantly encouraged by calls from their watching relatives. Clapping and calls of praise erupt as they finish in front of the singers. Then it is the boys’ turn led by Sandy Mutju, their chests painted in the distinctive emu foot markings. The song changes, a different beat and higher pitched song. The rhythm radically changes between the song stanza for walking and pecking seeking food, to a rapid running beat as they scatter from predators. My two sons, Linda’s boy Pip, and the boys on tour enjoy joining in dance. Like Anangu boys, they are praised and corrected.

Then adult visitors are encouraged to try. They are not expected to strip off tops and be painted at this stage but just to join Tjulkiwa or Sandy in the women and men’s dances that the children have just performed. Ilyatjari calls out instructions to the tourists: ‘Kulila! Nyangatja ngunti wiya! Nyangatja Tjukurpa mulapa. Listen! This is not just pretend! This true Tjukurpa! You are the Ngintaka Man vomiting up the mistletoe seeds. Pay attention!’ The visitors are being taught one of the simpler dances of the Ngintaka Tjukurpa song-cycle.

The women learn their dance of careful side-step-side with hips-controlled swing, to the beat of the first two line stanza often repeated, then they change to a jumping forward with accompanying dramatic hand flicking motions as the key changes for the second stanza. These steps seemed simple when watched but prove hard to replicate to the satisfaction of the leading Anangu women dancers. They are told to watch more carefully, move their hips and watch the dancers’ feet. The women dancers’ feet are always in contact with the ground, making tracks; the jump is only a lifting of the heels while the balls of the feet stay connected leaving a clear furrow in the sand. Easier said than done and much more complex than the ‘women’s shuffle’ described in terms of the Western male anthropological gaze (see Elkin 1977).

The white male visitors are struggling to turn their gaze inward and be in their bodies as a lizard. They must find their inner warrior stance to perfect the strong stamping dance of Wati Ngintaka as he pounds the ground shaking the
berries from the trees and vomiting up the seeds. Ilyatjari tells them 'Nyangatja ngunti wiya! This is not make-believe!' This is not a game for giggling self-conscious white bodies on a black stage; this is not a 'performance' in the sense of a polished set of ballet moves; rather, it is an embodiment of Tjukurpa, performance of Dreaming Law. When visitors are taught to dance they enter the Dreaming; their dancing is part of the performance of the law that brings the spirit of the land alive. The singers en-tone the dancers and the dancing ground becomes a numinous liminal space where the Dreaming comes up out of the ground and takes over the bodies of the dancers.

The singers and the elder song men and women carefully monitor the extent to which dancers enter and exit this performance space. They know the danger of being taken over by the spirit of the Dreaming and not fully coming back into the world of the everyday. Physical acts are performed to cut the connection with the numinous awe-inspiring power of the Tjukurpa evoked in inma performance. The singers throw dust as the dancers finish, or singers may stand up to embrace the dancers, releasing them from the power of the song. Always there is sexual joking and fun poked at the physical characteristics of the dancers, light relief from the intensity of Inma (see Rose 2000).

Anangu are skilled shape shifters, moving in and out of the bodies of their Creation Ancestors, in and out of the numinous world of the Dreaming that coexists with the prosaic world only a song beat away. The danger for visitors who try enter into this world, even for a short time, or for those non-Indigenous people who become part of the Anangu kinship family of community and land, is that they may become sick or cause sickness in others through not being able to move back fully into their everyday world.

The Land is Sung

The surprising response from Diana, to appreciation of the Musgrave Ranges and the formations near the camp, was simply that the special beauty experienced was due to the fact that 'the land was sung' and 'cared for' through Anangu ceremonies. It is one thing to remember
that Anangu attach special importance to the land. It is quite another to be confronted so early in the visit with the sense that there might be some detectable response from the land itself. Can rocks feel 'alive' and 'happy'? Certainly the contrast to the earlier part of the journey through lands which were 'not sung' and 'cared for' was quite striking. But again this could merely be subjective illusion – although much of what the group came to learn [as discussed below] revolved around the erosion and reframing of the subjective/objective interface so important to westerners

(Judge 1997:4)

Storyline is a familiar concept in the West; the visitors to Angatja can grasp the importance of the storyline or plot holding the various diverse elements of the story together. The concept that Anangu Ancestral storylines map the landscape and the landscape becomes the story is also understandable. Visitors spent a day following the Ngintaka storyline along 40 km of its track around the north-east edge of the Mann Ranges through Nganyinytja's country. The concept of a creation story of the landscape could be appreciated and Nganyinytja's injunction to them to learn to 'read the land' in which her ancestors' history was written became a physical possibility. Some responded as sightseers to this story landscape; they found it 'easy to disassociate from the songline because of the manner in which the parts were unfolded' (Judge 1997:7). They saw but did not kulini, know with understanding.

Judge suggests it was because the method of unfolding the story was unfamiliar to Westerners. The bus travel along the songline, stopping at each site, piling out and standing looking at non-dramatic aspects of landscape, hearing parts of the story then the song verses all sounding the same to the untuned ear, could be experienced as fragmented and lacking coherent meaning. In contrast to being invited to 'a full-blown ceremony' with 'multi-media effects', the visitors had experienced Anangu method of teaching the Ngintaka story. The story had been told briefly one night, then parts were seen in evening dance performance, then visitors are taken along part of it in the country and taught a single stanza

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dance associated with the vomit site, *ulkapatjunkunytja*, of mistletoe berries, *ngantja ngantja*. Judge noted that most participants found this performance lacking coherent meaning 'just as experiencing sections of the storyboard of any production would lack the meaning and effect they would have when integrated into the full production' (Judge 1997:7).

The full production for *Anangu* is not just at major ceremonial gatherings; it is performed every time people of the country gather to sing and dance sections of their songlines. Each performance, however small, is a performance of recreative power if the song is correctly intoned with *Tjukurpa*.

Several times the American women on the tour, who were used to commanding board rooms rather than sitting on the ground and listening, missed the opportunity to join in women's dance. They cocooned themselves in dialogue and did not hear or perceive signals that other ways were being offered to them. Only a few took up the offer to be painted up for the honey ant dance. Colleen and Nancy joined myself, Tjulkiwa and Rosemary in this dance. It was a truly transforming performance for those women who participated although the main group was still engaged in active dialogue with each other and only saw it as a show. One viewer made the comment later that we were 'brave', presumably referring to bare breasts covered in ochre, missing the point that these were not for show but were painted honey ants.

Interestingly it was Colleen, the principal architect of the 'Thought Leaders of the Western World' tour, who was most affected by the *Tjukurpa* and *inma* performance. She was the one who suffered physical effects consistent with the story, particularly vomiting, a sure sign to Ilyatjari that she had gone too far into the Ngintaka Dreaming. She had entered into dialogue with the sentient landscape that embodies the ancestral beings and doings. *Anangu* claim the land was sung into being, and from then has been continuously sung by *Anangu* through many generations to sustain its aliveness.
Conclusion

Anangu have expressed their desire to teach all non-Indigenous visitors to Anangu land about the importance of their Law and inma. All are considered 'tourists' whether they come as government officials, researchers, consultants, academics, specialists or visitors on a tour bus; they are all travelling through Indigenous lands, their homes are elsewhere and they are on a journey of return to their own lands. Anangu ask them to honour the Inma Way, listen to the storyteller and singer, and heed the bard, as did Odysseus.

This may be dismissed as interesting but irrelevant traditional culture by Western experts involved in development projects on Anangu lands: advisors on governance, housing, water, power, education, health, employment, stores, cattle, mining, other industries and land management. However, the evidence of the failure of most Western development projects to be effectively taken up by Anangu contradicts this view. The AP Lands have been declared a national disaster area after a coroner found that youth suicides and petrol sniffing were out of control in the communities. The South Australian Government took away local governance from the Land Council and appointed an administrator. Anangu, who have tried for many years to stem the tide of petrol sniffing, suicide and despair in their communities were stunned by this loss of self governance. Gary Lewis expressed their sense of betrayal, 'We thought you were going to work with us' (Lewis, pers. comm., 2004).

The interface of Western and Anangu culture has not taken seriously the integration of joint projects into their Law and Tjukurpa, into their stories and song, integration into an ontological present that sustains and empowers Anangu. The strength of their traditional ceremonial life and the increased resources of money, cars, people and time being put into initiation ceremonies across the Western Desert is an indication of where Anangu priorities lie. They are trying to maintain their core cultural structure to strengthen their youth during this destructive transition from traditional life to modern Western society. Anangu are developing a hybrid culture to sustain their people on their
land. Judge commented on the integration of the Desert Tracks tourism business under the Law of the Ngintaka Tjukurpa as a vital element of its success, 'for any project to be meaningful to Anangu, and to "take", it has to be integrated or expressed in terms of the stories through which their lives are ordered' (Judge 1997:7). The Desert Tracks Board expressed the role of Wati Ngintaka as the one who watches over the business from the highest mountain of the region and the state, Mt Woodroffe, Ngintaka's raised head.

The ethical principles embodied in the song saga of Wati Ngintaka pervade the reciprocal economics, cultural and environmental practice of the business. Anangu law of sustainable development arises from their ontological beliefs that all life is sustained through a balance of rights and responsibilities to use and replenish resources. Their world is divided into a duality of sun and shade; all things, people, animals, plants and places, belong to either one of these moieties that refer to the two generational divisions of parents and children. The daily and seasonal cycles of nature are reflected in the cycles of generations, which do not follow a linear descent line but return every four generations, the great-grandchild becoming the father or mother of their own great-grandparent. This pattern that connects all life on earth will be explored more fully in my concluding chapter, as it forms the basis of the model I suggest for sustainable cultural and natural resource management on Indigenous land.

In the next chapter we are sung the stanzas of the Ngintaka Song Cycle in which he steals the fine grindstone of his hosts and attempts to take it back to his home. Those who visit with Anangu, as Wati Ngintaka did with the Nyintjiri people, may taste the sweet seedcakes and desire the fine grindstone for themselves. They then may steal it to grind fine, sweet-tasting bread of the spirit for themselves or they may take information, song, story or dance to sell in another place without permission of the owners and thus bring sickness on themselves or others. We must listen to the stories of those who have foundered on these rocks and of those who, like Odysseus, have sailed through, following the advice of the God of the Underworld.
Chapter 13

TJUKURPA: ONTOLOGY AND LAW:
STEALING THE GRINDSTONE

The Price of Plunder

Poseidon Pursues Odysseus

Odysseus consults the Blind Seer Tiresias in Hades:
'A sweet smooth journey home, renowned Odysseus, that is what you seek but a god will make it hard for you - I know you will never escape the one who shakes the earth, quaking with anger at you still, still enraged because you blinded the Cyclops, his dear son. Even so, you and your crew may still reach home. Suffering all the way, if you only have the power to curb their wild desire and curb your own, what's more, from the day your good trim vessel first puts in at Thrinacia Island, flees the cruel blue sea.

There you will find then grazing, Herds and fat flocks, the cattle of Helios, God of the sun who sees all, hears all things. Leave the beasts unharmed, your mind set on home,

And you may still reach Ithaca - bent with hardship, True - but harm them in any way, and I can see it now. Your ship destroyed, your men destroyed as well.

And even if you escape, you'll come home late And come a broken man - all shipmates lost, Alone in a stranger's ship - And you will find a world of pain at home;'

(Fagles 1996:253)

Wati Ngintaka Steals the Grindstone...

Nganyinytja tells us:
'Wati Ngintaka stayed with the Ninytjirri people for days hunting, eating, singing and dancing...then one day -
Wati Ngintaka waited till everyone was gone, So then he saw where the tjiwa- the grinding stone – had been left; he went straight over and took it!
He hid it in his tail, right at the end. Then he left camp, and lots of little lizards poured out of his skin, running around camp, covering his footprints.
When the Ninytjirri people returned, their grindstone was gone!
One small boy, he'd seen old Ngintaka take it, he'd seen which way he went, he pointed "That way!"
So they followed him, men, women and children. The men raced ahead with their spears and caught him, but he'd hidden it and they couldn't find it.
Many times they caught him, searched him, but couldn't find it.
Wati Ngintaka came near to his home, he put down the grindstone and went hunting. The Ngintjirri men found it, they angry! Whump! Whump! Whump! Smashed it!
Then they circled old Wati Ngintaka spearing him, from all sides, till a left-handed spear thrower got him in the back. The men cut his body, they cut off his head. '

Introduction
In this chapter we enter the heart of the paradox of tourism by asking: is the traveller’s search for wider cross-cultural horizons an act of plunder and appropriation of that which rightly belongs to another, or is it a genuine attempt at translation across linguistic and cultural boundaries, an attempt to reconcile differences?

Australia remains a nation divided at its core; justice, equity and reconciliation with the first peoples of this land has not occurred; it is a journey still in progress. The nation swings between expressions of apology, in which hundreds of thousands of people joined in Reconciliation Bridge Walks in all capital cities in 2000, to the other extreme of political parties like One Nation rallying the voices of angry white Australia.

Indigenous tourism may offer both practical and symbolic reconciliation on a local and national level. It is an industry in which Anangu traditional knowledge is respected and rewarded financially by non-Indigenous people wanting to learn from Anangu about this land, a reversal of the colonial hierarchy of knowledge and authority. There is an opportunity for Anangu on the remote Indigenous Lands of Central Australia to manage the tourism exchange to their advantage. However, there is also the potential for tourism to be the final rip-off of Indigenous knowledge and spirituality in the modern global knowledge in which ‘new age’ spirituality is a valuable product. Indigenous people selling their souls to buy bread for their children is the equivalent of the Nyintjiri people having to pay Wati Ngintaka for seedcakes he has made on their grindstone.

This chapter views the dark and light sides of the tourism exchange through the eyes of academics, Indigenous hosts, tourists and journalists. The complexity of these aspects of performance space renders a simple ethical proscription of cultural appropriation difficult. Both protocol is too benign, relying on
friendships and extended kinship relationships, or copyright and permit laws become so restrictive that genuine cross-cultural exchange is thwarted and controlled by political correctness as defined by those in power at the time.

Dancing the uneven ground of this cultural exchange is difficult; the pitfalls are many. The archetypal heroes of the two cultures, Odysseus and Wati Ngintaka, lead us on a circuitous dance, visiting foreign lands disguised as friendly tourists who then steal from their hosts, but also leave gifts in their wake. En route, Odysseus steals the Sun god’s cattle and Wati Ngintaka steals the fine grinding stone of the Nyintjiri people. They are both pursued on their homeward journey by the angry people they have robbed and have to face a reckoning for their greed. On their way they also perform noble acts and bring new life and joy to the lands they travel through: Odysseus, the brave and clever warrior, shares his plunder fairly and tells fabulous tales, while Wati Ngintaka, another clever man, tricks and beguiles his pursuers while creating new edible seed grasses they can grind into bread. His song saga is a fine example of Anangu conceptualization of paradox: Ngintaka is both a thief and a creator of sustenance.

These two song sagas celebrate the heroes’ weaknesses and strengths; they take and give, deceive and befriend, fight and love. These complex archetypal creators reflect on a grand scale the universal qualities of being human. They record the relationship of shadow and light in people and in the landscapes they travel. Places are imbued with the fear or love our heroes experience there: Odysseus feared the cave of the Cyclops while his love enchants the forest glades of Circe’s Aegae. In the place where Wati Ngintaka’s head and shoulders face the sun on Mt Woodroffe’s peak, the land remembers the happy people dancing into forgetfulness here while the stolen grindstone is hidden in the dark side of the hill. In the Anangu kinship system these physical sites belong to either the shade or sun sides, land has moiety relationship and is part of the kinship duality found in all existence. These dualities of sun and shadow continue to dance today in the performance space of cross-cultural tourism.
The Western Cultural Cocoon

Westerners are cocooned by the global hegemony of their own cultural laws and protocols. They may be visitors in another country but they bring their ontology with them, a strong thread into which new experiences are woven. Indigenous people see this ontological cloud around Western heads. Joan Rophia says:

I am interested to know more precisely what it is that Westerners have about wanting to be one with Indigenous peoples’ ‘laws’ or ‘science’ etc. My feeling is that Westerners want a place in the Indigenous landscape, but it scares them to be absorbed into Indigenous ways, such that they want their own...that they can remain within, and look to Indigenous peoples’ ways (rather than the people themselves) to build up their cultural cocoon, so they can continue to be ‘Western’.

(Rophia, pers. comm., 3 June 1998)

Figure 32: Uluru from the Air: the first view for many tourists. The land embodies the two moieties of its people, Anangu Sun and Shade sides, the north and south sides of Uluru (Photo. D James 2003)
This is the heart of the paradox: how to engage ethically in cross-cultural exchange. As one visitor, John Broomfield, expressed it, ‘Some of us would like to learn from the earth wisdom of indigenous peoples, but we hear warnings we may not always be welcome in this pursuit. We even hear accusations of cultural theft. What are we to make of this?’ (Broomfield 1999:17). Joan Rophia suggests Westerners emerge from their cultural cocoons carefully as respectful learners in a new cultural milieu.

Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari intentionally teach visitors the Inma Way of song and dance to bring people out of their cultural cocoon and involve them in dancing the country alive.

**A Cautionary Tale**

Ilyatjari is circumspect when tourists ask to learn about traditional healing. He tells the story of young ngangkari, traditional medicine trainees, who must fly slowly to carry the souls of the sick to the place of healing.

Ilyatjari said that when one is learning to be a ngangkari, one can sometimes drop a patient, because one is inexperienced or over confident. The ngangkari learns a lot from this experience. ‘He must start again from the beginning and learn to fly safely’, Diana explains. ...Often the sick person after such a ride wants to become a ngangkari, a medicine man, but Ilyatjari will say that he can’t. Only after many flights is that possible.

(Bosnak 1996:6-7)

He warns seekers of greater ‘connection with Indigenous knowledge’ of the dangers of using new knowledge wings to fly too fast and too high (see full story later in this chapter). They hear Anangu Law of the Land that knowledge is bestowed by elders on those who earn it, but some choose to adhere to the Western credo that knowledge can be traded and should be open to all in the global market.
Anangu generously include visitors, teaching them knowledge of their connectivity to country through *inma*, teaching their songs and dances of *Tjukurpa*, and ask in return that the knowledge be respected and held in the hearts and minds of their guests. Anangu expect visitors to hear their teachings and respect this kinship of song to country. But those of the written word, the people of the West, need to see the written law to understand the consequences of crossing the line between private and public, sacred and profane use of Anangu knowledge. Desert Tracks had to institute legal protections for Anangu intellectual property: oral story and song, visual arts and dance performance.

**Communal Intellectual, Cultural and Spiritual Property**

Translating Anangu traditional law regarding knowledge of site, songs and dances into a system of protocols and permits for a modern tourism business on Indigenous lands is complex. The elders and Board of Directors of Desert Tracks business must defer to the consensus view of Anangu of the region represented by the APY Land Council. Therefore the regional Land Council must vet the cultural and physical content of tours. As previously discussed, Anangu *Tjukurpa* is the law and culture of the Lands; it is memorized in song and embodied in dance, performance of which sustains the universe. *Tjukurpa* is above, below and within everything, it is ‘owned’ by no one yet owned by everyone; all Anangu are custodians responsible for continuance of this Law.

The Angatja *ngurpiritja*, ‘those belonging to this place’, are born of one ancestor of one specific place within that country, perhaps of the *ngintaka*, ‘perentie lizard’, or the *wanampi*, ‘rainbow serpent’; each person is responsible for the song, dance and country of that place. They are also related to other places and other ancestors of their parents or grandparent’s country through ceremony, responsibilities for ritual objects and knowledge of songlines. Senior song men and women have the right to teach their *Tjukurpa*, the songs and dances of their country, to those they choose. However, only the *tjitji inma*, or children’s version of the *Tjukurpa* stories, songs and dances, can be taught to tourists. The
extent of what can be taught and to whom it is taught is under the governance of the group of elders and owners of that songline and country, the nguraritja tjuta, ‘many owners’, under traditional Law. Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council is responsible for enforcing Tjukurpa law using Western by-laws under the Pitjantjatjara Act, transgressors can be fined or lose their permits.

The Anangu regional laws have restricted Desert Tracks’ access to a couple of sites on Nganyinytja’s estate. In 1987 Nganyinytja took the second ACF trip to her father’s Wanampi rainbow serpent Dreaming site, the Piltarti rockhole west of Angatja. This is country for which Nganyinytja is a senior traditional owner and has the right to grant access to strangers. Her older brother Lionel, from neighbouring Kanypi agreed to the visit, but another nguraritja or owner, Robert Stevens, living in Fregon 300 km away, objected. Traditionally he may have speared trespassers at sacred water holes, but now Robert objected trough the legal arm of the AP Council and future tourist access to Piltarti by Desert Tracks was prevented. These limits of tourist access to country have to be determined by group consensus so all tourist itineraries are cleared by Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council before being advertised.

Inma Festivals of Dance and Song
The Inma Festivals were designed by the Ilyatjari to combine the cross-cultural tourist exchange with Anangu inter-cultural exchange. They provided a significant opportunity for the elders of neighbouring estates and those on the Ngintaka Songline to gather and perform their songs and dances for each other and for visitors. Desert Tracks sought special permission from the AP Council to have the festivals declared ‘open permit’ events for visitors to self-drive or come in private tour groups.

The first Inma Festival was held in 1993 and over sixty tourists, including children, attended. This was composed of a Desert Tracks group of twenty, a group from the Centre for Human Transformation from Melbourne, a large Maori clan and a few self-drive families. Over one hundred Anangu from many
communities came and performed. Ilyatjari invited the Maoris to dance and the one American First Nations elder to perform his ceremonies. This was so successful, in terms of cross-cultural goodwill, if not financially for the company, that it was decided to hold the Festival annually. The elders involved in Desert Tracks considered that these Inma Festivals were their reciprocal gift to other Anangu who allowed teaching of their songs and dances on the tours. This inclusive performance ensured regional support for Desert Tracks and kept the business embedded in Anangu communal traditional law and country.

**Conflict of Interest**
The only private commercial tour group to attend the festival was organised by the Centre for Human Transformation, an alternative therapy centre at Yarra Glen outside Melbourne. This organization had previously brought a men’s group to Angatja in November 1993. This had been organized directly with Ilyatjari who had requested that Desert Tracks facilitate permits for the group. This presented a business risk obtaining permits for another tour group not operating under the Desert Tracks protocols and contract. To protect business exposure the AP Permits Officer was informed that this was not a usual Desert Tracks tour, with different itinerary and purpose (see Figure 33).

![Figure 33: Itinerary of Men's Group, November 1993 (Snowdon, pers. comm., 1993).](image)
Despite the warning, AP Council gave permission for this tour to go ahead. After it finished, complaints came from Anangu expressing concern that the group had danced on dangerous sacred ground near Aparatjara. The ATSIC regional officer, John Robinson, was also concerned: ‘I witnessed white men dancing naked in the creek bed and performing strange healing ceremonies in a structure like an Indian sweat lodge. Is this the type of tourism Desert Tracks is promoting?’ (Robinson, pers. comm., November 1993). These reports did not help the Angatja Community application to ATISIC for business funding. Then a Melbourne Aboriginal dancer, Murrindindi, also complained.

**News of Dancing in a Strange Land**

In May 1994 Murrindindi rang Desert Tracks and queried an advertisement placed by Daricha in the May-June 1994 issue of *The Whole Person* magazine offering ‘Initiation into the new Wanampi Dreaming’ (see Figure 34). He asked if the Anangu elders knew what Daricha was doing with their traditional knowledge and ceremony learnt on Desert Tracks tours.

Murrindindi said he had rung the Center for Human Transformation and asked a number of questions.

He asked, ‘Is Daricha initiated?’
And received the answer, ‘yes’.
He asked, ‘Is Daricha an elder?’
And received the answer, ‘yes’.
He also asked why white men were dancing Central Australian dances at Yarra Glen?
Daricha did not return his call.

(Murrindindi, pers. comm., May 1994)
Meetings on Cultural Misappropriation

This communication from Murrindindi and a copy of the advertisement in *The Whole Person* (see Figure 33) necessitated a full Desert Tracks Board Meeting on 27 May 1994 at Amata. The AP lawyer, Ken Grime, informed the Directors that they were legally responsible to Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council for the conduct of their business within the terms of their contract. The first item on the agenda was the issue of cultural appropriation. Two separate cases were to be considered: firstly, the advertised claims and courses of Deva Daricha; secondly, chapters of a book written by Robert Bosnak about his visit to Angatja in 1993 on a Desert Tracks tour.

Case One: Deva Daricha.

Daricha’s advertisement claiming he was ‘a custodian of the ceremonial objects of the Wanampi Water Serpent Dreaming’ (Figure 33) dismayed the elders. However, they chose to see his claims as mistakes of ignorance. A few of the key statements made by the elders follow:

ILYATJARI: There is no Wanampi Dreaming in Melbourne. He is wrongly making Wanampi in Melbourne. We did massage with him when he was sick the first time he came here. The second time we talked about Wanampi. But he has taken that away and made it into something different.

TJAMUMALYI: You cannot take away Wanampi and dance it somewhere else like that, in those hills on the coast where there are fish.

ILYATJARI: He is not to use the word ‘initiation’. He just can’t say that. Tell him this, but tell him he can still come to our Inma Festival. It is fine for him to teach his way, but he cannot teach others our way.

ILYATJARI: He is not a bad man, he has just misunderstood.

(Desert Tracks minutes, 27 May 1994).
Despite the lawyer's advice, Anangu decided not to take legal action but to send a warning letter to Daricha. They thought he had misunderstood the protocols of shared Anangu inma.

The Desert Tracks Board of Directors letter to Deva Daricha read:

Ilyatjari, the principal songman, mayatja, for this new Wanampi Tjukurpa expressed deep concern that this inma is being taught and danced without the direction and participation of the Pitjantjatjara owners/custodians of the song. He is glad that you and your group were part of this dance whilst at Angatja, but he hoped you would take the knowledge back in your head and heart and not teach it as part of your courses.

We, Ilyatjari and the Board of Directors:

i. ask you not to refer to 'initiation into the Wanampi Dreaming' or to publicly refer to yourself as the 'custodian of ceremonial objects of the Wanampi Water Serpent Dreaming', in any of your advertising, publications or teaching;

ii. remind you that you have not been given permission to 'initiate' other people into this Dreaming;

iii. are advising you that the new Wanampi Dreaming is not to be danced on land other than Angatja, especially land that is the traditional land of other aboriginal people who have not been ceremonially approached and their permission sought;

iv. ask you to withdraw the forthcoming article to be published in Whole Person magazine under the title of 'A New Dreaming for Australia', an interview with yourself and Soni Stecker. If this article is not withdrawn within seven days and a copy sent to the Directors of Desert Tracks for our appraisal, we will approach the magazine directly.

(Desert Tracks Board of Directors, letter, 27 May 1994)

The letter was softened by an invitation for Daricha's group to attend the next Inma Festival to be held later that year in November. The elders wanted to talk
face-to-face about the issues rather than take legal action: 'We can all sit down
together then and clear up any misunderstandings about use of our teachings
away from Angatja' (Desert Tracks Board of Directors, letter, 27 May 1994).

Case Two: Robert Bosnak
The meeting then considered a second possible instance of cultural
appropriation in Robert Bosnak's book Tracks Into the Wilderness of Dreaming.
The first few chapters of his book recorded his meeting with Nganyinytja and
Ilyatjari in August 1993 on a Desert Tracks tour. He had included Ilyatjari's
story of the ngankari traditional healers' flight of the eagle. The story had been
told at Angatja in a situation of trust similar to the teaching of Wanampi inma;
the possibility of it being published later had not been discussed. So when
Bosnak said he was writing this book it was requested that sections mentioning
Angatja be sent to the elders for clearance. These sections were read and
translated at the meeting.

A quote from the book is included to allow the reader to compare it with
Daricha's use of Ilyatjari's teaching about ngangkari business. Bosnak included
Ilyatjari's story of how he works as a ngangkari verbatim as it had been
translated it to him at the Angatja camp in August 1993:

'At night he becomes an eagle,' Diana translates... 'He swoops down
from above to grab the sleeping person whose illness he is to treat'...
'He takes the sick person on his back and holds him carefully'...
'Then he flies in a straight line to the Milky Way'... 'Then he reaches
the place in the Milky Way that is like a hand. There the dead
ngangkari are'...
'Those are the sticks. They fall into the sticks, he and the sick man he
carries. The sticks pierce them'... 'Then he flies back in a zigzag way,
very rough, while at the same time trying not to lose the sick person.
If the sick person falls off, he will get sick again'...
The next morning he sucks out the sticks from the sick person. That's
it. Cured. Who's next!

(Bosnak 1996:6-7)
The Anangu elders listened intently to Bosnak’s story as it was read in the Board Meeting at Amata. Ilyatjari smiled after it was finished and said, ‘Yes. That’s what I said. Yes he can write that in his book. OK!’ (Ilyatjari, Desert Tracks Board of Directors Meeting, 27 May 1994).

Winnowing the Seeds from the Chaff

The Directors made a clear distinction between the use of their teachings by Deva Daricha and Robert Bosnak. The book chapter provided much more information about Anangu ngangkari business than did Daricha’s advertisement; however, the advertisement was banned and the book cleared.

Ilyatjari explained the distinction: Daricha claimed to be a ngangkari initiate of Wanjampi Tjukurpa while Bosnak only wrote down what he had learned about ngangkari business from Ilyatjari. Bosnak did not claim to be able to initiate others into ngangkari business, or to perform healing like a ngangkari, nor was he performing Anangu Tjukurpa in another land without permission. His story was honest; he described what had happened and he credited Ilyatjari with the traditional knowledge rather than claiming it as his. Although he acknowledged he was envious of Ilyatjari’s skills as a healer, he did not attempt to steal them but rather translated Ilyatjari’s teaching into his own experience, his life and practice as a Western psychologist.

Daricha, on the other hand, claimed he was an ‘initiate’ of the new Wanjampi Dreaming. Daricha continued to offer ‘Advanced Shamanic Training – Initiation into the new Wanjampi Dreaming’, which he said he had the right to teach being a ‘custodian of the ceremonial objects of the Wanjampi Water Serpent Dreaming’ and calling himself ‘Warramur, “The Eagle”’ (Daricha 1994:5-9). Ilyatjari was clear that no ‘initiation’ had taken place nor had permission been given for Daricha to teach the Wanjampi Inma. The teachings had been shared to be ‘kept in their heads and hearts not to sell to others’ (Ilyatjari, Desert Tracks Board of Directors Meeting, 27 May 1994).
Search Me, I Haven’t Got It!

There is a song stanza in the Ngintaka inma that relates the story of the Ngintaka Man being searched for the grindstone by his pursuers, the Nyintjiri people. This dance depicts a lead male dancer, Wati Ngintaka, being followed by men, women and children who pretend to search his body all over when he stops and stands with arms spread, challenging them to find the stone he has hidden in faeces at the end of his tail (see performance on Ngura Walytja, DVD, Appendix 2). This performance always causes much ribald joking by the audience who goad the Nyintjiri people to search everywhere, under arms, between legs and in his tail. It is a fun performance in which Ngintaka outwits his pursuers; they cannot find the grindstone so believe they are mistaken: he did not take it; he has behaved properly as a guest and relative, so they forgive him and return home.

The misappropriation saga between the Anangu elders and the leaders of the group from the Centre for Human Transformation was a similar performance of repeated pursuit. They cleverly claimed innocent intent whilst their use of Anangu intellectual property was hidden in the hills of Melbourne. The elders wanted to believe that Daricha had misunderstood their law and that if asked to stop he would. They were welcome to dance with Anangu again if they came under Anangu Law. However, the Centre proceeded to design their own brochure, Desert Dreaming, for the October 1994 Inma Festival. Despite the earlier warning, references to ‘Wanampi Dreaming’ and ‘Ngangkari’ were central to the brochure and the final published article in Whole Person magazine.

Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council after receiving copies of the brochure and article convened a meeting with Desert Tracks on 14 October 1994 to discuss the continuing problems with the Centre for Human Transformation (CHT) advertising and promotions. The key issues explicitly stated by the AP lawyer included:
‘Desert Dreaming’ was a private tour organized by CHT without AP permission; the Angatja Inma Festival permit did not cover special purpose private tours.

Desert Tracks images and names of Directors were used in CHT brochure in contravention of copyright law and threatened the good reputation of Desert Tracks by association with the CHT and could possibly destroy Desert Tracks goodwill with AP.

The brochure created a false perception in the market place of CHT approval by Desert Tracks and AP because it relied on the connection of Greg Snowdon and Suzy Bryce with Desert Tracks and AP to substantiate its claims of credibility and special access to ngankari.

(Desert Tracks Meeting Minutes, 14 October 1994)

The information that Desert Tracks was contravening its AP permit by allowing CHT to operate a special-purpose private tour under the umbrella of the Inma Festival was made clear to the Anangu Directors. The Directors considered this advice and decided that the Desert Dreaming brochure from CHT contravened the agreed AP licence under which Desert Tracks had permission to operate a public Inma Festival. It was decided to refuse permits to anyone associated with the Centre for Human Transformation who had booked to come to the Angatja Inma Festival of 14–20 November 1994.

Desert Tracks Business Under Threat

Public confusion of the tours organised by the Centre for Human Transformation with Desert Tracks tours had become a problem. Aboriginal Studies groups from universities were questioning Desert Tracks ethics in regard to ‘new age’ spiritual tourists after reading Daricha’s article in The Whole Person. Increasingly this confusion was threatening Desert Tracks’ reputation and permit to operate on the AP Lands. The Board decided to take the extraordinary step of publishing an advertisement in several major newspapers, including the Melbourne Age and the Weekend Australian on 12 November, and
the *Centralian Advocate* on 18 November 1994, disassociating Desert Tracks from the Centre for Human Transformation (see Figure 35).

**Figure 35:** Cultural Misappropriation (Advertisement in the Melbourne Age, 18 November 1994).

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**ADVERTISEMENT**

While with those who own and direct Desert Tracks, a cultural tour company, wish to publicly declare that they have no spiritual, financial or legal connection with the Centre for Human Transformation in Yarra Glen, Victoria. The Director for the Centre for Human Transformation, Mr Deva Daricha, is not a Pitjantjatjara Elder.

The Pitjantjatjara Elders are the only custodians of all ceremonial objects in relation to Pitjantjatjara culture including the Wanampi Water Serpent Dreaming.

The Pitjantjatjara Elders are the only people authorised to perform initiation ceremonies into any aspect of Pitjantjatjara culture.

The Pitjantjatjara Elders reserve their rights to permit or refuse entry to any person to land owned by them through Anangu Pitjantjatjara. The Centre for Human Transformation in Yarra Glen, Victoria, has requested the issue of a permit to attend an Inma Festival promoted by Desert Tracks on the land owned by the Pitjantjatjara Elders in November 1994, and that request has been denied. Placed by: Ilyatji, Director of Angatja Pty Ltd, trading as Desert Tracks.

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**Whitefella Dreaming**

This controversy became public property after the advertisement in national newspapers that, as Alice Springs based journalist, Dave Richards, said, 'constituted a ground breaking declaration of spiritual copyright' (Richards 1995:62). Richards canvassed the issues of cultural and spiritual misappropriation fairly widely in his article, which appeared in the May/June, 1995, issues of *HQ* national glossy magazine. He quoted Australian anthropologist, Diane Bell, on her recent visit to Alice Springs: 'spiritually starved Westerners are trying to blend the world’s indigenous cultures into a tasty, easily digested spiritual smoothie' (ibid:61). However, as Richards points out, some say that this is just part of the never-ending process of cultural exchange engaged in by all peoples of all cultures throughout the history of humanity. When does trade become cultural plunder? In the case of Desert...
Tracks versus Daricha the AP legal verdict was plunder, but the Anangu believed it was ignorance; public shaming was considered to be enough.

**Stealing the Research Agenda**

Tourists are not the only visitors to AP Lands who can disregard Anangu Law to their peril. Government agencies often encounter problems through lack of understanding Anangu law and culture. These misunderstandings can result in serious delays or derailment of funded development projects. The history of a recent Feasibility Study into the Ngintaka Heritage Trail through the AP Lands provides an instructive example of the persistence of the separation of nature and culture in Western theory and practice.

The Department of Industry Tourism and Resources (DITR) approved a proposal by Desert Tracks, in August 2004, for a feasibility study on the Ngintaka Heritage Trail. The manager of Discovery Ecotours, who had recently contracted to manage Desert Tracks and who initiated the application, was inexperienced at co-management of a business with Indigenous people on their lands. He did not consult with the Anangu Board of Directors when he found, in the Desert Tracks files, my own research proposal to AP Land Council regarding the Ngintaka Trail, and copied and pasted it into an application form for a Tourism and Conservation Initiative Grant. He had assumed that because there was approval for my research from AP Council, there was general approval for research into the Ngintaka Heritage Trail on AP Lands.

The DITR were impressed by the Discovery Ecotours submission and accepted it at face value, not requiring any verification of AP Land Council approval. The manager of the Sustainable and Indigenous Team Business Development Group Tourism Division wrote: ‘It was approved for funding because it had the potential to illustrate a business case study of a natural and cultural tourism venture owned and managed by Traditional Owners in a remote area of Australia’ (Tranter, pers. comm., 25 May 2005). However, by not consulting directly with AP Council the Department did not realise that a full
anthropological cultural study had to be undertaken prior to or concurrently with any economic and ecological study. When the AP Council was made aware, they refused permission for the study to proceed until the Executive meeting considered it fully on 1 June 2005. This Anangu timetable did not fit in with the Department's dates requiring a final report by 4 June 2005. The delay frustrated the department and Anangu 'cultural sensitivities' were dismissed:

The Government's interest is on delivering biodiversity outcomes through tourism. Hence detailed information relating to cultural sensitivities along the proposed Songlines Trail may not be essential for the purpose of the feasibility study, which should analyse the financial/business case for the trail and the potential for it to enhance the endemic flora and fauna of the area it passes through.

(Tranter, pers.comm., 25 May 2005)

The Department was non-comprehending of the importance of AP Council's requirement for full cultural consultation over a longer time frame than that of the grant period. This resulted in an incomplete feasibility study in both the terms of reference of the Department and the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council. This lack of appropriate cross-cultural knowledge of the relationship of Indigenous people to their country, and the lack of respect for differences in protocols and laws, contributed to the breakdown of the project.

Conclusion

The value of these instances of misunderstanding and misappropriation of knowledge across cultural borders lies in the opportunities they present for new learning. Visitors to other lands, whether tourists or government representatives, need to abide by the rules of hospitality; they are guests in the country of their hosts. On AP Lands Tjukurpa is the law. Anangu have the right to share or secrete their traditional knowledge, inma and sacred sites. The group of nguraritja, traditional owners and custodians of country and songlines, govern this Law. The Land Council ensures that consensus decisions of the group are achieved through extensive consultations. The Land Council Executive then decides to support or overrule the decisions of individual
Anangu guides or non-Indigenous advisors regarding government or private enterprise development proposals.

Despite much research and publication regarding the importance of Indigenous natural resource management, the problems associated with lack of cross-cultural understanding persists in this arena. Indigenous people around Australia have long been proactive in promoting respect for their traditional knowledge and the recognition of it as a vibrant intellectual tradition specifically adapted to this continent's natural landscapes.

Scientists and park managers in the co-managed National Parks of Uluru and Kakadu have incorporated Indigenous knowledge into land management plans since the 1980s. The Centre for Indigenous Natural and Cultural Resource Management was established in February 1997 at the Northern Territory University in Darwin. This centre, under the Foundation Directorship of Professor Marcia Langton, produced research that firmly established the Indigenous knowledge perspective that natural and cultural resource management are intrinsically linked. This has been incorporated widely into land management research and practice on Indigenous lands documented by many researchers (see ANCA 1995; Baker et al. 2001; Walsh & Mitchell 2002; Langton 1998, 2002). Yet the dualistic thinking that separates nature and culture still pervades institutions of Western knowledge and governance. Government agencies and funding bodies persist in knowledge frameworks that deny the holistic perceptions and values of Indigenous knowledge.

This problem of cross-cultural understanding can be alleviated by recognising the importance of translation between the protocols and practices of different cultures. The language and concepts of natural resource management need to include cross-cultural considerations in the arenas of government policy and administration of funding for projects involving Indigenous people. Holistic conceptualisation of the natural cultural environment can be facilitated by convergence of Western and Indigenous perceptions and values of community in country.
ACT III

CONVERGENCE OF THE TWO LAWS IN THE PERFORMANCE SPACE

Prologue: The pattern that connects.

Anangu say Ngura walytja, 'kinship with country', is the relationship pattern that connects people to the country, sustaining both community and country.

Figure 36: Kinship with Country: the patterns that sustain cultural and natural landscapes (Diagramatic schema D James, 2003, Artwork Minyma Kutjara Tjukurpa by Uta Uta Tjangala 1998)

Act III is the finale of the acts of translation in the performance space. The performance space is the Indigenous and Western engagement in the culturally based natural resource management of Desert Tracks tourism on AP Lands. The acts of translation in Act II were considerations of particular parts of the whole performance space in which clusters of concepts were translated into the language and cultural metaphors of the other culture. Different inscriptions of tangible and intangible culture pattern the shared performance space; built,
sung, danced, and encoded into the landscape in spoken and written forms, in European and Indigenous laws, and in official reports. The patterns map the cultural landscape, the "combined works of nature and of man" (UNESCO World Heritage Committee, website 2005).

In Anangu terms, this performance space is the Inma Ground, where the dances, songs and stories of both cultures are performed as we dance the land and waters of Australia alive again. In Western terms this performance space is one of dialogue where people of different cultures, languages, technologies, knowledge disciplines, spiritual beliefs and values, meet and share ideas (Figure 39). The intent of both is to facilitate the integration of different knowledge and practice of relationship to and management of our shared cultural natural landscapes.

Just as biodiversity provides a gene pool for adaptation of species to environmental change, cultural diversity provides a gene pool of knowledge from which new adaptive ideas can emerge. Catherine Bateson commented in 1972 that one of the difficulties inherent in our attempts to stem the tide of ecological destruction is the limited conceptual pool of knowledge from which solutions are usually sought:

...the difficulty of suggesting corrective measures, since, if these were devised with the same conceptual limitation as the original interventions, they would probably produce the same pathologies. (Bateson 1972:278)

As discussed in Chapter 1, attempts to rectify the ecological destruction caused by Western land use have predominantly been sought in Western technological solutions. Indigenous people of Australia have been offering to share their knowledge of environmental management for many years, but as Marcia Langton said, they have largely been ignored. Her comments are repeated here for emphasis:
I suggest that Aboriginal people and their land management traditions have also been rendered invisible in Australian landscapes, not only by legal but also by ‘science fictions’ that arise from the assumption of superiority of Western knowledge over Indigenous knowledge systems, the result of which is, often, a failure to recognise the critical relevance of these latter to sustainable environmental management.

(Langton 1998:9)

Translation between knowledge systems needs to incorporate many forms of dialogue: political, academic, practical and artistic. In the performance space of Desert Tracks tourism co-management it was found that the languages of poetry, images and symbols contributed greatly to cross-cultural translation. Figures 37 and 38, in conjunction with Poem 4, are examples of the uses of the metaphoric language of image, symbol and poetry used in translation in the performance space. The photograph in Figure 37 appeared in an article by David Leser on his Desert Tracks journey; the image encapsulated his learning: ‘we all understood...how the concept of ngapartji – what you give, you get back in kind – brought people together’ (Leser 1988:35).

Figure 37: Sharing Country, Sharing Resources (in Leser 1988; Photo: C Murty, 24 September 1988:30)
Figure 38, *Pukulpa Tjunguringkunytja - Happily Working Together*, is a sketch of the collaborative design of five artists, three Anangu and two Western, who brought together their different perceptions of caring for country in the performance space of Uluru. This design as a large glass artwork toured the United Kingdom as part of an Australian art exhibition in 1996-67. It was purchased by a Scottish person who felt the design symbolised reconciliation in her homeland as well as Australia. Symbols can transcend barriers of language and culture, moving beyond the cross-cultural into the trans-cultural performance space. This is the language in which hands and feet metaphorically represent Western and Indigenous knowledges, as in the Translation Schema (see Figure 41). In Figure 38 bare black feet and shod white feet walk together and their hands reach up to the waterhole or meeting place (see Key in Figure 39). The associated poem translates the symbols into words.

**Figure 38**: Transcultural symbolic design for *Happily Working Together*: collaborative artwork for glass panel: by Anangu artists Rene Kalitja, Jennifer Taylor and Joyce Tjaliri, with Laksar Burra and Diana James, Uluru 1995 (sketch D James, 1995).
Poem 4: 'Pukulpa Tjunguringkunytja: Happily Working Together'
(Poem by Diana James 1995)

PUKULPA TJUNGURINGKUNYTJA
HAPPILY WORKING TOGETHER

We walk together on sacred ground,
Black feet, white feet,
Foot prints soft upon the land,
The Tjukurpa moves beneath our feet,
The landscape is alive.

Anangu maru and anangu piranpa,
Blackfella, whitefella, working together.
We stand firm in our laws of the two cultures,
Keeping the culture and natural heritage strong.

Our feet on sacred ground,
Our hands reach up to hold the new circle of life;
The campfire, the waterhole,
Where people of all cultures can meet and share.

Diana James
Chapter 14

CULTURAL NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF ACTS 2 AND 3

Indigenous tourism in Australia is a performance space in which Aboriginal and Western knowledge is being shared today. Relationship, respect and responsibility are the three protocols of cross-cultural sharing emphasised in the Welcome to Country extended to all travellers by Aboriginal Tourism Australia (ATA & DEH 2000a, website). This thesis has been an exploration of the knowledge being shared in the specific case study of Desert Tracks tours on Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. However, the conclusions that arise from examination of this data provide a translation schema that can be used in other cross-cultural performance spaces, in all situations where peoples of different cultures and languages meet with the intent to share knowledge.

The Translation Schema seeks cross-cultural conceptual metaphors that trans-relate the perceptions and values of different peoples. In this Act III of the thesis, the translation schema of the five-toed eco-cultural footprint is explained. In the study each toe of the footprint left a story in the sand within the performance space of Desert Tracks Indigenous tourism enterprise. The five toes of the footprint are:

- **Kurunpa**: Spiritual connection to country
- **Ngura Walytja**: Ecological caring for country
- **Ngapartji-ngapartji**: Economic reciprocity with country
- **Inma Way**: Cultural connectivity to country through songlines
- **Tjukurpa**: Ontological belief, law and governance of country

Envisioning Future Convergent Cultures

To fulfil Nganyinytja’s vision of ‘the two laws becoming one to keep the land’ (Nganyinytja 1993:23) the sharing of knowledge must be paralleled by the
sharing of the wealth derived from use of the cultural and natural resources. As discussed in the Prologue, the Aboriginal peoples of this land do not enjoy the level of wealth, health and wellbeing currently enjoyed by the majority of Australians. There can be no expectation of sharing knowledge without sharing wealth and power. Indigenous tourism, like other Indigenous enterprises, needs to secure Australia’s Indigenous people an equitable proportion of the wealth and wellbeing enjoyed by the majority of the population.

This inquiry has examined ways in which mainstream Western thinking on natural resource management (NRM) is able to join with Indigenous concepts of caring for country in a shared holistic conception and practice of cultural natural resource management (CNRM), bridging both Indigenous and Western concepts.

**Bi-cultural methodology**

The research methodology employed was the self-reflective ontological and phenomenological approach derived from cross-cultural research practice suggested by Indigenous academics. This included the decolonizing methodologies of the Maori academic Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), the NYP Women’s Council Action Research model and the instructions of my Anangu teachers to listen, learn, translate and review, in discussion with them, my research findings. They emphasised the need to form kinship relationships between researchers and researched, to respect the knowledge and teachings of the elders, to always operate within Indigenous protocols governing access to and use of knowledge and, finally, to take responsibility for the use to which the research will be put. Indigenous people reject research for the sake of the researcher’s goals: it must have relevance to those being researched and provide empowering outcomes for them and their communities.
Figure 39: Two-Way Research Translation Methodology (D James 2005)

**TWO-WAY RESEARCH METHOD**
Sharing Cultural Natural Landscape
Re-sourcing and Caring Management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Western</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anangu beliefs, ontology and law: interconnected culture and country</td>
<td>Western ontology in science and humanities: necessity of biological and cultural diversity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**RELATIONSHIP**
Walytjanka

| Ongoing relationship of Indigenous people to their land: Anangu four generational cycle of kinship | Relationship of non-Indigenous to the land and water: to protect resources for future generations |

**RESPONSIBILITY**
Kulilkatinyi munu Nyakunkatinyi

| Ongoing Indigenous responsibility for the lands and waters of their ancestors' country: preserving the cultural natural landscapes in accord with traditional law | Ongoing Western responsibility to preserve the cultural natural landscapes and resources of the lands they live in |

**KEY: TRANSLATION OF SYMBOLS**
- 3 Rs: Respect, Relationship, and Responsibility.
- Two people: black and white working together.
- Common meeting ground: waterhole, campfire or boardroom.
The Anangu methodologies that were used to analyse the acts of translation of the Desert Tracks performance space reflected the two cultural languages in which the research was carried out: oral and written, Indigenous and Western. Act I took a Western approach to collecting and analysing data while Act II followed a traditional storytelling method of analysing the Desert Tracks experience. Figure 39, ‘Two-Way Research Method’, presents a summary of my two-way translation methodology that recognises and respects both Western and Indigenous knowledge and ethics.

**Anangu Approval of Cultural Data**

All interview translations were checked with the participants for correctness of content and purpose of their statements. To fulfil the obligation to engage in research that is meaningful and empowering to those studied, the AP Land Council has been provided with two written reports on tourism and conservation issues at Walinynga and the cultural heritage aspects of the Ngintaka Trail (see Appendices 6 and 8). Desert Tracks and Ananguku Arts and Culture Corporation have received copies of all material filmed during the research and a copy of the final thesis DVD, *Ngura Walytja: Kinship With Country* (Appendix 2). The content of these reports and films has been approved.

**Difficulties of the Method**

The promise and problem inherent in this model for bi-cultural research is its reliance on the third space: the person and process of reciprocal translation between the different languages and cultures involved in the dialogue. Skilled translators and interpreters agree that translation does not achieve equivalence of meaning; it is approximate and relies heavily on the translator’s knowledge of meaningful conceptual metaphors of each culture to trans-relate meaning (Fagles & Knox 1996, Lakoff & Johnston1980, Le Guin 1989). The problems of translation experienced between Anangu and Western concepts of appropriate use of knowledge shared and knowledge dependent on place and people being performed elsewhere, were explored in Chapter 13.
However, the translation schema applied in the process of resolving such cultural conflicts in the performance space of Desert Tracks was found to greatly assist cross-cultural understanding. The key was identification of the cultural conceptual metaphors that could be used in translation to achieve understanding of complex divergent and convergent ideas and practices.

Due to changes in the political governance of the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands over the research period between 2000 and 2005, the funding for a full cultural feasibility study of the proposed Ngintaka Trail was lost and the study was not completed. Therefore, the two-way methodology and translation schema developed in the performance space of Desert Tracks tourism could not be applied and tested in the wider arena of tourism development on AP Lands. The AP Council is now considering applying the recommendations of the first stage feasibility study report to researching the whole Ngintaka Heritage Songline Trail.

**Bi-cultural Theory**

My research is theoretically situated within the international recognition of the importance of cultural diversity to maintaining biodiversity:

> Respect for biological diversity implies respect for human diversity. The key to creating forms of development that are sustainable and in harmony with the needs and aspirations of each culture implies breaking out of patterns that render invisible the lives and perspectives of those cultures.

(Klaus Topfer, in Posey 1999:xi)

Recognition of cultural diversity necessitates recognition of ontological diversity, which entails respect for diverse metaphysical theories on the nature of being. This thesis discusses both Anangu and Western ontologies of land and water, and examines the differences and similarities between the two cultural metaphysics of the lands and waters of Australia. Both cultures agree that language is the key repository of cultural ontology, of the knowledge,
perceptions and values, and relationship to land and water. Thus, the meaningful exchange of ideas between peoples of different languages relies on translation; it is key to cross-cultural ontological understanding.

Paul Carter’s theory of the ‘performance space’ was defined in Chapters 1 and 2 and has been expanded to incorporate the ‘third space of translation’. The evidence presented in Acts II and III confirms my proposition that to gain effective understanding between cultures there must be a ‘space of translation’ within the performance space Carter identified. It is within the acts of translation that cross-cultural concepts can be transformed into trans-cultural concepts. The performance space of translation is symbolically represented in Figure 40.

The theoretical basis for my discussion of the formation of ‘trans-cultural concepts’ is the work of Bob Hodge, who claims that trans-disciplinary concepts are not just intercultural or cross-cultural linkages ‘but are new potentially explosive density near some arbitrary margin that destabilizes the basic core-plus-periphery structure of the prior culture’ (Hodge 1995:37). These potentially explosive densities have been termed ‘idea-seeds’ in my thesis, drawing on the poet Shelly’s conceptual metaphor of translation as idea-seeds (Le Guin 1989:110). Idea-seeds can be blown or carried across cultural boundaries to take root and grow into convergent trans-cultural concepts in shared ground.

The shared ground of this performance space is the land of Australia on which the different laws, cultures and languages co-exist. The land itself influences the trans-relation of idea-seeds that occurs on its surface. The theory of land as a sentient being is the basis of a strand of Western philosophy that converges with Indigenous ontology. The philosophy of Merleau-Ponty as discussed by David (1996:69) and evident in the work of Ronald and Catherine Berndt (1988:6) was presented as being in tune with Anangu ontology which ascribes living ancestral spirits to the rocks, trees, waterholes and saltpans of their cultural natural landscapes.
People who journeyed on Desert Tracks tours said that they were taught to listen to this language and it transformed their relationship to the natural landscape. David Leser, a journalist who came on a week-long trip to Angatja in 1988, wrote of his transformed perceptions after being with Andy Tjilari:

I went into the mountains with this preacher and warrior because he was a man who carried the land in his mind like a geographical and
cultural map and because, in him, one could detect, perhaps, a universal message for modern man.

What did we learn...that a mountain was not just there to be conquered. It was there in all its Dreaming, waiting to be understood.

(Leser 1988:30-35)

Recognition of the role of the land in the transformation of the perceptions and values of people who live on it is a key trans-cultural concept. If Westerners learn to listen to the land then the Anangu reference to 'this rock is my ancestor' can be heard and understood. This requires a 'metaphorical imagination' that can be encouraged by translation through conceptual metaphors. The evidence of the processes and success of the third space of translation in the performance space of Desert Tracks supports the theory of George Lakoff and Mark Johnston: that the way we think and act everyday is 'fundamentally metaphorical in nature' (Lakoff & Johnston 1980:3).

The possibility of preserving cultural diversity within a shared ethic of caring for our cultural natural landscapes draws on the theory of diversity within unity proposed by Teilhard de Chardin:

...a state of unanimity; such a state, however, that in each grain of thought, now taken to the extreme limit of its individual consciousness, will simply be the incommunicable, partial, elementary expression of a total consciousness which is common to the whole earth; a spirit of the earth.

(De Chardin 1963:40)

The conclusion that follows identifies the trans-cultural perceptions and values of caring for cultural natural resources of land and water that have been developed in the performance space of Desert Tracks tourism on AP Lands. The wider application of these trans-cultural concepts and the implications for future research is then considered.
CHAPTER 15

DISCUSSION OF THE ACTS OF TRANSLATION:
REVIEW OF ACT 1: THE WESTERN PERFORMANCE SPACE

Anangu Country, Place and People

The development of tourism on these remote traditional Indigenous communities on the AP Lands arose from the elders’ desire to establish an economically viable business that would sustain their children and grandchildren on their homelands while maintaining their cultural and natural heritage landscapes. It has evolved into a part-time business for a few small homeland communities on the AP Lands.

Tourism has been supported by government agencies as a potential growth industry in the Pitjantjatjara Lands. Hence the DITR interest in funding a feasibility study of the proposed Ngintaka Songline Heritage Trail in 2004-05. This study established that there is potential to link tourism to individual family clan estates and significant sites along a totemic Ancestor track under the governance of regional tourism associations. However, the regional AP Land Council has to agree before it can proceed (see Appendix 9).

National and International Ethics of Indigenous Tourism

Indigenous culture is a unique point of difference of the Australian experience that has long been used to promote Australia internationally (see Chapter 5). The Mataatua Declaration on the Cultural, Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1993) was referred to as the basis for the development of an Indigenous Tourism code of ethics:

Indigenous people are the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge. They also have the right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions. (Mataatua 1993)
However, adoption of this ethic is voluntary, with the result that most of the profit from marketing Australia using Aboriginal cultural imagery goes to the mainstream tourism industry, not Indigenous people themselves. The 1998 report, Our Culture: Our Future identified two of the greatest difficulties Indigenous Australians have in protecting their cultural property: the Western 'commercial interests are protected under copyright law rather than interests of cultural integrity'; and 'individual notions of ownership are recognised, rather than the Indigenous concept of communal ownership' (Janke 1998:xxiii).

Aboriginal Tourism Australia, one of the peak national Indigenous tourism associations, is proactively approaching key industry and government agencies to recognise Aboriginal rights to control and protect their cultural heritage. Their brochure, Welcome to Country, states ‘Remember the Three Rs: Relationship, Respect and Responsibility’ (ATA & DEH 2004, website). To act ethically the wider Australian tourism industry must support the sustainability and integrity of Indigenous culture by promoting authentic Indigenous product, building Indigenous capacity to be directly involved in the tourism industry and remunerating Indigenous people for use of their cultural heritage in marketing Australia.

**Indigenous Tourism Demand**

Australian government tourism ministers continue to claim that there is a high international demand for Indigenous experience (see Chapter 6). While the statistics reveal that over 70% and up to 85% of travellers to Australia from North America and Europe express a high level of interest, only 10–15% actually experience Indigenous product. Visiting art galleries and shops, theme parks or dance performances in the major cities is the extent of their experience. Domestic tourists are more likely to travel outside urban centres; therefore, they represent the market with the greatest unrealised potential demand for Indigenous tourism in Australia. Currently, DITR researches over the period from 1999 to 2004 shows that Australian domestic interest in nature-based tourism is almost double the interest in Indigenous tourism. Domestic tourists mostly visit art galleries and shops, theme parks and dance performances, with
less than 16% interested in the full-immersion experience of tours like Desert Tracks. In fact, all types of Indigenous tourism product only attracted 6% of ‘extremely interested’ domestic travellers, those likely to book a tour.

These statistics indicate that the Federal and State government promotion of Indigenous tourism, as the way forward for Indigenous people and communities seeking viable enterprises, is greatly overstated. In the opinion of researchers Chris Ryan and Jeremy Huyton, this is yet another scheme set up to fail for Aboriginal communities (Ryan & Huyton 2000:54). More sound research into demand for Indigenous tourism product, both domestically and internationally, is necessary before it is so widely promoted as a sustainable business option for remote Indigenous communities.

Desert Tracks has continued to attract sufficient numbers of tourists over the years to sustain a small eco-tourism business at a level that initially suited the elders and their communities. Anangu were cautious about starting tourism: from 1988 to 1994 the tour numbers and frequency were kept low to reduce the impacts of tourism on traditional lifestyle. When the business management moved to Uluru and one-day tours to Cave Hill began operating, visitor numbers greatly increased. However, this decreased the authenticity value of the cultural exchange for some elders (listen to Dickie Minyintirri’s comments on the DVD). Other Anangu have enjoyed the increased income from tourism.

Desert Tracks continues to attract the segment of the domestic and international market interested in the full-immersion ‘Bush College’. It is a niche ‘special interest’ type of tourism that is changing in response to generational change of the guides and managers as this recent email from John Broomfield indicates:

We saw none of the Anangu from our 1999 or 2001 adventures. Even Lee and Leah did not join us, even though expected. A young male relative had died the week before in Port Augusta, and many of the people were just arriving home. We were led on the walk by Sammy and wife Reenie; an older woman, whose name I did not master; and
Michelle, a teenage niece of Lee. Also in camp with us were Sammy’s and Reenie’s mischievous two sons of kindergarten age, who were constant fun. On the final evening, we were joined for inna by two pick-up loads of other adults and children. It was again a truly precious experience.

(Broomfield, pers. comm., 27 September 2005)

Review of the Cultural Natural Resource Management of Desert Tracks

The practice of Indigenous NRM as applied to Desert Tracks (see chapter 8) incorporated the two-way theories and practice of natural resource management in Central Australia (Walsh & Mitchell 2002; Baker et al. 2001). Some of these are evident in the conservation measures suggested in the Ngintaka Tjina, part two of the Ngintaka Heritage Songline Trail report attached as appendix 10. However, as Desert Tracks is primarily engaged in tourism, the most immediately relevant model of Indigenous and Western co-management of NRM was the Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park. The World Heritage Natural and Cultural Landscapes recognised within the Park do not end at its boundaries but continue on into the Anangu Lands of South Australia. Anangu perceive and value these lands as having equal cultural significance to those within the Park. Therefore, they required Desert Tracks tourism business to operate with similar respect and responsibility towards both the cultural and natural landscapes of the AP Lands.

The Anangu elders envisaged a proactive role for Desert Tracks tourism in assisting to preserve traditional cultural knowledge by ascribing it a high value in the Western economic system. Within the Western system ecological knowledge and conservation holds a high value in gaining eco-tourism accreditation for Desert Tracks. Thus, it was ethically and commercially important that the company integrate the best principles of Indigenous and Western cultural and natural resource into its co-management plan.

One result has been that traditional cultural and ecological knowledge has provided a skill base for involvement in a modern tourism enterprise. This
adaptation to a new business has been assisted conceptually by the Anangu tradition of *Inma*, the song and dance performance of traditional knowledge, which has within it an adaptive mechanism for change. The elders, Ilyatjari and Andy Tjilari, incorporated new song and dance performances into the traditional *Ngintaka* song saga to communicate cross-culturally and involve tourists in the performance (see tourist performance of *Ngintaka* on DVD). This also provided cultural continuity for Anangu as their tourism business was incorporated under the law and governance of the *Ngintaka Tjukurpa*. This Law provided the ontology and the epistemology, the theory and the practice, of Anangu cultural natural resource management that was incorporated into the co-management of their tourism enterprise.

Figure 41: The Eco-Cultural Translation Schema (D James 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ECO-CULTURAL TRANSLATION SCHEMA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Natural Resource Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Five Fingers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPIRITUAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Dualistic/ separated nature/culture divide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECOLOGICAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Property Ownership private/state resource</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Capitalist competitive rationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CULTURAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Individual borders and fences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ONTOLOGICAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Western Law civil/religious split</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Translation Schema
In the Translation Schema (Figure 41) the ‘five fingers’ and ‘five toes’ are conceptual metaphors for human impact on the environment; the fingers represent cultural manipulation of the environment and the toes are the impact of our cultural tread, known as our ecological footprint, on the land. In Western culture we tell a lot about peoples’ characters from their hands: we read a person’s hands to reveal their occupation, class, status and age. Alternatively, Anangu tell much more about a person from their footprint: if they walk fast or slowly and are aware or unaware of the ground beneath their feet. Thus the fingers of manipulation seem an appropriate metaphor for the impact of Western technological society on the earth, and the toes of the bare footprint seem an appropriate metaphor for Indigenous peoples’ imprint on the earth.

The Convergent Western-Indigenous Performance Space
The case study of Desert Tracks in terms of this Translation Schema was considered in Act II: in translation of the spiritual, ecological, economic, cultural and ontological bi-cultural perceptions and values operating in that performance space. These translation spaces are reviewed in this discussion.

Kurunpa: Spiritual Connection to Country
The spiritual relationship between people and country is explored in the context of Nganyinytja’s welcome of visitors to her country (see Chapter 9). Tourists who choose Desert Tracks leave the comforts of five-star luxury hotels and opt to sleep on the ground seeking another kind of comfort: spiritual wellbeing. They take the role of ‘true travellers’ seeking a transformation of their consciousness through meeting and sharing with people whose worldview and knowledge is different from their own. The Anangu offer them an understanding of their sacred law connecting people to place, nature to culture, and spirit to land. The hosts and guests on Desert Tracks tours are meeting in the performance space, as Dessaix says, ‘for wisdom’s sake’ (Dessaix 1998:197).
Nganyinytja says her health revives when she is back in her country out at her homeland Angatja, where her spirit can be free. Anangu health is a complex pattern of spiritual and practical relationships to country of birth, totemic ancestors and their descendant animals or plants, performance of Inma song and dance and the reciprocal care of extended family (see also Reid 1982:ix-xvi). Health is related to meaningful cultural, social and spiritual continuity. Since colonisation and the movement to sedentary community living, Anangu control over these areas of their lives has weakened. The political rhetoric of Indigenous self-determination is not matched by the increasing employment of non-Indigenous staff to manage the complex technology and external agencies that ‘fund and fix’ communities.

Sustainable healthy living on Anangu Lands is not a ‘pipeline problem’, one that can be simply fixed by the ‘delivery of money or equipment’ (De Laet 2000). Health involves the body, mind and spirit of people. The Western standard public health provision of clean water, waste and sewerage disposal, nutritious food and suitable housing is acknowledged as essential but not sufficient conditions for health. Health is defined by the World Health organisation as a state of optimum physical, social, mental and spiritual well being (WHO 1948). Anangu traditional healers, ngankari, regard sickness and wellbeing as matters of spirit. Sickness is a sign of broken connections with self, family, community, country and sacred Law.

Nganyinytja speaks of the essential interrelationship of water, land and spirit with the health of all people. She believes that if this connection is broken it causes sickness for non-Indigenous and Indigenous people alike. Anangu kinship to land and water offers a model for healing the disassociation with place so often felt by new settlers and their descendants. People need to ‘belong’ to country to become responsible custodians of ecological, cultural and spiritual resources of place. If generations of non-Indigenous Australians feel that they do not belong, then they can continue to take more than they give to the land because ‘home’ is elsewhere. This is very important to people with the
immigrant ancestral heritage of many Australians. Barbara Huble commented in the visitors' book about her 'gratitude for the spirit of homeland from a first generation Australian with several continental roots' (Huble pers. comm., 1991). Nganyinytja calls to us to learn how to belong to the land by listening to its Indigenous people and remembering our traditions of connectivity to place:

I'm holding the story and the Law for this land and water inviting others to come and learn. So they can remember that maybe this is the way their mothers and grandmothers taught them. They can learn from me and become connected again to the way of understanding this Land.

(Nganyinytja 1993:23)

**Ngura Walytja: Ecological Caring for Country**

The concept of *ngura walytja*, kinship to country, is central to Indigenous caring for ecological landscapes (explored in Chapter 10). The responsibility to 'manage' the land and waters of clan estates is usually transferred to the eldest child of the senior traditional owner. In Nganyinytja's case she is an only child and has become recognized as the senior owner of her father's estate through her birth near the significant site of Piltarti waterhole and her choice to move back to live and care for her country in 1980. She is *nguraritja* 'traditional owner' of Piltarti, the major permanent waterhole in the Mann Ranges and thus a critical source of water for her clan estate. Her kinship to this place and this law makes her a custodian of its water and she has a responsibility to teach visitors that this waterhole is sacred. All water in the desert is a scarce and sacred source of life.

Piltarti is guarded by *waŋampi*, the rainbow serpent. Radcliffe-Brown found evidence of the Rainbow Serpent Dreaming all over Australia (Radcliffe-Brown 1930:342, see also Chapter 2). This Creation Ancestor was the bringer of an environmental law of great importance to all the first peoples of this dry continent: the law that water is sacred and must be respected not wasted.
‘The rainbow-serpent may be said to be the most important representation of the creative and destructive power of nature, principally in connection with rain and water’.

(Radcliffe-Brown 1930:347)

The Rainbow Serpent protects sources of fresh water in Australia. Strangers who approach without the proper respect will be devoured. If respectful, people can approach and sip the water (see Figure 42; also DVD, Appendix 2).

Figure 42: Water, a sacred resource under Wagampi Tjukurpa: Dickie Minyintirri being careful not to pollute the water in a tjukula, ‘rockhole’ (photo S James, 2005).

Traditionally, no one was allowed to swim or wash in the rockhole. The Law of the Rainbow Serpent protected fresh water supplies from being depleted by the greed or pollution of humans (Nganyinytja, pers.comm.1988).

In Australia today, we have inherited a degraded landscape in which the water supplies are running down. The current water crisis of the city of Sydney has brought to the fore those who seek ‘pipeline solutions’ of more dams and desalination plants as opposed to conservationists who argue for greater recycling of waste and storm water (Frew and Moore 2005:34).

Listening to and observing Indigenous peoples’ ecological management practices give us alternative models to consider. The idea-seed of perceiving and valuing water as a sacred source of life can transform our use and re-sourcing of water in our local communities and our shared natural
environment. To develop an appropriate sense of place involves listening to this land, learning to read it and to respect its scarce water.

Ngapartji-ngapartji: Economics of Reciprocity

The Anangu law of ngapartji-ngapartji, 'giving and receiving', instructs people to give back to the land and water that which is taken and consumed. This was the general principle under which the Anangu elders of Desert Tracks decided to operate the tourism business, specifically under the law of Ngintaka Tjukurpa. Every aspect of the modern Western business was translated into the framework of Anangu traditional law. The Ngintaka watched over the tour routes from his vantage point on Mt Woodroffe, the highest mountain in South Australia. He travelled with the bus and rode as a logo on the shoulder of every guide, black and white (Figure 43 and 44). The moral of his story was incorporated into the ethics of the business. As the Ngintaka was punished for stealing the grindstone, so were those who stole Indigenous knowledge shared on tour. Reciprocally, Wati Ngintaka brought many new edible seeds to the lands for Anangu to harvest and grind into bread. Similarly, as guardian of the tours, he ensured that tourism brought in money to feed the people in their homelands.

The Ngintaka model as a regional tourism organization for AP Lands would incorporate reciprocal economics of scale. The benefits of regional governance of standards of ecological and cultural best practice, intellectual property protection, visitor protocols and permits would accrue to all members, as would membership of the regional Ngintaka Tourism Association, entitling each small business to benefit from the region’s marketing, advertising, tourist information, booking, permit issue, guide training, route maintenance and interpretive signage along the connecting route.

This regional business structure would incorporate traditional obligations to share economic returns. When the estates, songs and ceremonies of specific clans are used in tourism enterprises then a payment to traditional owners is
appropriate. This business model combines traditional local clan independence within the traditional interconnectivity of Anangu law and culture. These concepts have been presented in the report to AP Council on the Ngintaka Heritage Songline Trail Proposal (see Appendix 9).

Figure 43: Ngintaka logo (D James 1989).

Figure 44: Tour bus operating under Ngintaka law (photo B Skipsey 1995)

The idea –seed being transplanted here is that Indigenous economics of reciprocity can be integrated successfully into a Western business. The discussion in Act II has described ways in which Indigenous people can transform Western business models to suit their economic aims.
Inma Way: Cultural Connectivity to Country

Anangu regard the singing and dancing of Tjukurpa, inma, to be the most important thing they share with visitors to their country. Knowledge in Anangu culture is held in the songlines of Tjukurpa that connect people to place and to food and water sources in their country (see Chapter 12).

Knowledge of Tjukurpa and the songlines links people to their environment in very practical ways. Permanent waterholes that support the greatest biodiversity are often the geographic nodes where songlines intersect. The songlines are sung by elders who know the multi-dimensional maps of country that their ancestors continually recreated in time and space through performance of dance and song. Andy Tjilari, as an elder songman, has been handed on the responsibility for many sections of Tjukurpa and songlines that traverse the tri-state border region by his uncles and fathers. He can travel in
through country that he has never seen before and find water by knowing the song for that country (Tjilari, pers. comm., 1975). Songlines, like water sources, link people, animals and place across central Australia.

Tourists who are taught a little Anangu Inma while visiting the AP Lands will never know the complex maps of country encoded in the songlines. However, they are encouraged by Ilyatjari to perform the dances believing they are contributing to the renewal of food and water sources of the land. This act of performance of the ontology of the ‘Other’ has a profound transformative effect on the visitors’ perceptions and values of land and water. This is an embodied act of translation in which the Indigenous concept of ‘singing the land alive’ is transplanted into the Western consciousness by bodily performance of the idea.

I agree with Ursula le Guin, who says of the transformative power of trans-relation of idea-seeds, ‘I believe because I have seen it happen’ (Le Guin1989: 112). Tourist comments recorded in visitor books and later articles confirm that many non-Indigenous visitors to Anangu lands are transformed by their experience of being taught to sing and dance the songlines of the Tjukurpa Creation Ancestors. Craig Potter, introduced in Chapter 9, wrote of his transformation through the embodied experience of dancing a songline:

> We were driven to specific features in the landscape, for example, a rock feature or a cave, and shown the dance, and told the story associated with that place. Later, in the afternoon, the white men folk were given the opportunity to dance individual parts of the Ngintaka story. I danced the part where the Ngintaka started by resting in a rock crevice. I felt extremely honoured to be there, listening, looking and feeling the land as a living entity.

(Potter 2000:4)

Visitors enter the translation space of the performance and describe themselves as emerging with new perceptions and understanding of themselves, their environment and community.
Tjukurpa: Ontology of the Two Laws of the Land

There remains a profound difference between the ontological foundations of Indigenous and Western knowledge in Australia today (explored in Chapter 13). Cases where the ethics and protocols of engagement between the cultures have clashed are many and varied. The question then, for those seeking reconciliation between Aboriginal and Western peoples, law and culture in Australia today, must be how to respect difference within collaborative efforts in the cross-cultural performance space. The specifics of the appropriate protocols and ethics will be different in each place with different peoples, just as Anangu inma is specific to the people of each ngura walytja, each 'home country'. Similarly, Western law consists of national laws that can be interpreted differently in each state and territory of Australia. Within Western culture there are also inter-culturally different languages, protocols and ethics for each academic discipline, government agency and private enterprise company. Considering this cross-cultural and inter-cultural diversity of knowledge languages it is not surprising that communication is so fraught with translation difficulties.

The key protocols suggested by Indigenous Australians to assist in understanding across this ontological divide are the '3Rs' of relationship, respect and responsibility. They can be applied to all inter- or cross-disciplinary and inter- or cross-cultural exchanges of knowledge in the performance space that allows for translation.

Anangu Cultural Continuity and Change

A continuing theme throughout this thesis has been the acceptance and adaptation to change, which is inherent in Anangu ontology. Tjukurpa is a verb, a continually renewing process of creation, in which human ancestors of plant and animal form left their footprints as the formations of the land and waters of Australia (explored in Chapter 2). Cultural natural landscapes are the co-creations of humans and nature. Through singing and dancing the songlines of
Tjukurpa Anangu sustain their relationship with the natural world, respect their ancestors and laws, and take responsibility for caring for their country.

To explain this notion of continual change and adaptation with their cultural natural landscapes the Western Desert people of Hermannsburg tell a Creation story of the Desert Oak. This proud tree, with thick bark which is resistant to bushfires and termites, is only found in the sand-dune country of Central Australia (Urban1990:17). The adult tree has a luxuriant canopy of drooping branches adorned with needle leaves that whisper desert music in the wind. To walk under these trees on a carpet of thick, soft, dry needles; is to be silenced and dwarfed by the presence of the ancient sentinels.

Figure 46: Desert Oak Story: Elders Training the Young to Survive in a Dry land. (Photo. S James 2003)

The younger trees are spiky spindles of twig branches, like a bottlebrush, grouped in stands on the dunes (Figure 46). Anangu say they are young uninitiated men protected by, and learning from, the older men. It is not until their taproot reaches the water table that they too can become men and rear their own children. After many years of growth, when the trees are quite tall,
their canopy spreads and they seed and bear fruit, their shade protecting the young saplings.

The cycles of birth, growth, bearing children, and death, are the same in *Tjukurpa*, in human life and in nature. Time is a continuous recycling through four generations: seeds and youth; saplings tapping into water, the source of life and maturation; adults birthing and training their young; eldership and wisdom. These cycles are turned by birth and death; the spiritual life force continues in the next generation.
CHAPTER 16

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF TRANSLATION IN THE PERFORMANCE SPACE

Introduction

For true travellers the quest is to return to their beginnings and see them again with new eyes. At the conclusion of the journey described in the previous fifteen chapters, the oppositional position of Indigenous and Western perceptions and values of land in Australia is not resolved. This is a country in which the differences between the Native and the Stranger are not just of our past: they are the politics of our present. The performance space of Desert Tracks tours is not a romanticised version of reality; tourists like Craig Potter come face to face with the good and the bad aspects of life for Anangu on their lands today:

This was no package tourism perspective of Aboriginal culture. To me, I saw a people struggling between an Aboriginal past and an Australian Western culture, which is still largely discriminatory against its indigenous co-habitants and intolerant (like much of the modern world) to other ways of being. \( \text{(Potter 2000:4)} \)

Though many have attempted to meet in the performance space of the beaches that surround these two cultures, no mediation has successfully removed the inequalities of power and privilege enjoyed by one culture over the other. That misunderstandings persist is a condition of the uneven ground of the performance space.

The third space of translation is a difficult one to inhabit. As Dening recognised, the mediator or translator is not protected from the oppositional power within this performance space:
No one can hope to be mediator or interlocutor in that opposition of Native and Stranger, because no one is gazing at it untouched by the power that is in it. Nor can anyone speak just for the one, just for the other.

(My argument is that despite the difficulties and because none can speak just for one or the other, the third space of translation is a necessary space in which the process of trans-relation of cultural metaphors of understanding is able to be performed from one to the other and, reciprocally, from the other to the one. Translation is a process in which the translators or interpreters are not impartial mediators, but rather are those who have been deeply touched by the power within the opposition, wounded by it in fact, and who seek to move from that wounded knowledge towards a convergence of cultures that respects diversity in unity. In Aŋangu tradition the ngangkar.i healers who carry sick souls on their backs to the eagles’ nest in the Milky Way must themselves be pierced on the same spears that pierce those whom they seek to heal (Ilyatjari pers.comm., 1992). The concept of the ‘wounded healer’ is a transcultural one that is found in many Indigenous and shamanic traditions, including that of the Hanged Man of the Western Tarot, the Celtic Runes and the core symbol of healing in Christianity, the wounded Christ on the Cross.

This thesis has established that those who choose to enter the performance space of translation, whether Indigenous or Western people, want to understand not only one another, but also themselves. Their aim is to use the understanding to reconcile differences. In the year 2000 the reconciliation marches of hundreds of thousands of people were symbolically staged across the major capital city bridges right around Australia. People who had been wounded by the oppositional nature of the past and present relationship between Indigenous and Western peoples in this land were calling for a symbolic act to facilitate national healing which, unfortunately, many Australians did not understand. The request that Prime Minister say ‘Sorry’ to Indigenous people for past atrocities was not expected to cure the practical
issues of racial injustice in our society, but would have been a profound
symbolic act of national healing. If the nation’s leader had chosen to
acknowledge shame, he would have honoured the tradition of the wounded
healer, on behalf of the nation.

The person or persons who are in the position of being mediators between
Indigenous and Western people are placed in a third space of translation within
the cross-cultural performance space. This space of translation is a dynamic
space, which respects and preserves the diversity of all views while seeking to
meaningfully trans-relate these and facilitate convergence in understanding. In
policy and practice arenas of cultural natural landscape management, the
translation space is the space in which convergence is sought between
Indigenous and Western values and understandings of caring for country. The
translation schema developed during this study has implications for the
management of and caring for natural resources between any two culturally
distinct interpretations of natural resources. It can also be applied to the
management of or caring for any cultural natural landscapes to sustain cultural
and biological diversity.

The third space of translation facilitates the transplanting of idea-seeds from
one culture into another. If the conditions are favourable these idea-seeds have
the potential to form transcultural concepts that grow and adapt to their
common ground. The equitably shared ground, on which a culture of
convergence is possible, is one of sharing the wealth and wellbeing derived
from the use of the cultural natural resources of this country. This is still a
dream, but one which many people share. The Anangu tradition of dreaming
new dances and songs to perform change in society may offer a way to envisage
new convergent futures. Performers in the space of translation may need to
‘dream’ or ‘envision’ new futures before convergence can become a reality.
These visions will need to use the words and actions of politicians and poets to
create new movements that include difference in a convergent unity.
Trans-cultural Idea-seeds

Moving from the conceptual metaphors of culture, song and dance, we sum up the work of this thesis by returning to the ecology, seeds and growth of the lands and waters of Australia.

Convergence of Spirit

The Indigenous idea-seed being transplanted into Western consciousness is that health and wellbeing depends on people’s spiritual connection to the land, their interconnectivity with nature. The message from Nganyinytja to all who have lost their meaningful connection to the people and place where they live is:

It’s not that you take on some of my stories and make them yours, or that you take on an artefact of my culture and make it yours. It’s deeper; it’s deeper. You must take the teaching back into your own Tjukurpa, into your own heritage and into your own country. And you must bring that aliveness and connectedness with the Land right through your own heritage.

(Nganyinytja, pers. comm., 1989)

Convergence of Ecological Caring

The idea-seed conveyed in the concept of ngura walytja, kinship to country, is that we are related to the cultural natural environments of the places we call home. This is a relationship of belonging to people and place. All people, whether native born or immigrant, need to know they belong if they are going to take responsibility to care for country. Whether they live in cities, towns or the countryside all people need be involved in re-sourcing their cultural natural landscapes. For Western and Indigenous peoples, shared time in the same landscape allows for that mutual responsibility for country to develop.

Convergence of Economic Reciprocity

Many non-Indigenous Australians want to know how to ‘give back to the first people of this land, to share the wealth, heath and wellbeing possible in the
'lucky country' of Australia today. They ask how do we share, give back or pay the rent? Aboriginal people involved in welcoming people to their country say this can be done by forming relationships of respect and taking responsibility for our actions towards the people and places of this country.

A practical implication arising from this research for the Australian tourist industry would be to share with Indigenous people the wealth gained from the use of their cultural natural landscapes. Responsible eco-tourism businesses give a percentage of their profits towards environmental conservation. Responsible cultural tourism should return a percentage of profit to Indigenous Australians whose cultural images have been used to promote Australian tourism for many years. This principle of reciprocal economics would help sustain Indigenous cultural heritage and the tourism business that relies on it.

The idea-seed of reciprocal economics can be transplanted into many different cross-cultural performance spaces. The transcultural concept is that giving back to re-source that which has been used is a sound business principle and essential to sustainable living.

Convergence of Cultural Connectivity

Songlines are a translation of a concept of sung and storied cultural landscapes present in many cultures. The song sagas in many languages describe trails of cultural connectivity between peoples and places across many continents.

The research into the Ngintaka Heritage Songline Trail suggests that understanding of the complex Aboriginal maps of the continent of Australia could be facilitated by appropriate interpretative trails open to the public. These trails could provide interpretation of both the Indigenous and Western cultural landscapes that overlap and intersect in this country. Overlaying these maps may reveal nodes of convergence of valuing country that form new transcultural ways of perceiving the land and waters of Australia.
Recording of these songlines both orally and symbolically on maps is as important for Indigenous as non-Indigenous Australians as this heritage fades from the cultural landscape. The elders who hold these songs and stories are asking for them to be recorded, as was evident during this research. The importance of the Ngintaka Song recorded at Angatja in 1994 is already becoming evident, as John Broomfield remarked after his recent Desert Tracks trip:

Am I correct in thinking Sammy is Nganyinytja’s and Ilyatjari’s son? In the vehicle, as we drove back to camp after the final afternoon’s walking, we played your Inma Ngintaka cassette over the PA system. Sammy and the women, who were singing along with the tape, were in tears, and Sammy said of the Anangu storyteller: ‘That’s my mother.’ It was very touching to see how moved they were by the recording.

(Broomfield, pers, comm., 27 September 2005)

The Indigenous tradition of performing knowledge of country in song and dance is usually seen as interesting but irrelevant to Western experts involved in development projects on Anangu lands. However, it may be that the failure of most Western development projects to be effectively taken up by Anangu is indicative of the lack of attempts to integrate these knowledge traditions into western management systems. The adoption of the Inma Way ethical principles embodied in the song saga of Wati Ngintaka into the reciprocal economics, cultural and environmental practice of Desert Tracks was essential for its success as an Anangu owned business.

The idea-seed being offered here is that the integration of traditional concepts and values may be essential for Indigenous uptake of projects that involve Western concepts and values of cultural natural resource use and management.

Ontological Convergence
The heart of the paradox of the meeting of Native and Stranger, Indigenous and Western Indigenous, host and guest in the performance space is how to expand
conceptual and real cultural boundaries in reciprocal acts of translation without plundering the knowledge or resources of the other. The continuing reality of inequalities of political and economic power and the privileging of Western above Indigenous knowledge unfortunately often result in plunder. Real power and resource sharing is a necessary condition for reciprocal knowledge sharing.

The extent to which Western tourists can gain an understanding of Indigenous culture by travelling the Wati Ngintaka Songline has been examined. Despite the presence of Desert Tracks Anangu guides and skilled translators, it must be admitted that the understanding gained on tour is only a glimpse into another worldview. We return to Kawaki Thompson’s question:

I am of the Ngintaka. How can we understand each other, we of the Ngintaka and you of the...? What is your Dreaming?

(Thompson, pers. comm., 12 November 1998)

This exploration has failed to answer him. The question remains a subject for future philosophical and cross-cultural investigation and translation.

Other suggestions for future research in the cross-cultural performance space include:

- Exploring the ontological divide in the specific languages of disciplines within cultural natural landscapes and resource management.
- The role of song and dance performance in adaptation to change in Indigenous Australian traditions.
- A comparative study of all Indigenous groups in Australia who have designed ‘bush colleges’ like Angatja, the Yolngu GARMA Festival in Arnhem Land and the Ngarinyin Bush University in Western Australia.
- A study applying the Aboriginal ontology of the Rainbow Serpent to changing mainstream perceptions and values of water across Australia.
Summing Up

The translation schema and eco-cultural footprint are presented as ways of understanding the perceptions and values of the inter-cultural and cross-cultural languages that meet in the performance space of cultural natural resource management. They provide patterns within the knowledge gardens of each culture from which idea-seeds can be transplanted into other knowledge gardens and nurtured to grow into transcultural concepts as trees of knowledge that protect the cultural and biological diversity of this planet.

Applying these schemas of the metaphorical imagination to translation can assist in arenas of cross-cultural performance. The metaphor of the footprint is a transcultural image of human impact on the earth. Western sciences and humanities refer to the ecological footprint; the human economic, cultural and ecological use of our environments. However, the human foot balances better on five toes, and this can be achieved by the inclusion of our ontological and spiritual beliefs. The five toes of the Translation Schema provide a way to assess the cultural diversity of perceptions and values of CNRM in terms of our eco-cultural footprint (see Figure 47). While the schema applied to the five fingers of our technological hands would assist in the assessment of the cultural diversity of CNRM methods and practice. Together, the fingers and toes of the Translation Schema of Figure 41 can be applied to culturally diverse perceptions and values, methods and practices of managing our cultural natural landscapes and resources. With a strong ethical heel print of respect, relationship and responsibility towards the cultural and biological diversity of the earth the Translation Schema eco-cultural footprint supports a wide holistic approach towards caring for community and country.
Figure 47: Eco-cultural Footprint (D James 2005).

Ontological law & governance
Spiritual wellbeing
Ecological biodiversity
Economical reciprocity
Cultural diversity
Caring for Country & Community
Respect
Relationship
Responsibility
My thesis goes some way towards translating certain Indigenous idea-seeds into the Western concepts of NRM to suggest a trans-cultural conception of *cultural natural re-source management* (CNRM). If this approach is widely adopted, it will provide a translation schema and eco-cultural footprint in which the specialist fields within the performance space of cultural natural resource management can reconceptualize their disciplinary knowledge. The translation schema and footprint offer processes for transforming different perceptions and values of cultural natural landscapes and resources into transcultural concepts of caring for shared community and country.

*Figure 48: Diversity in Unity (D James 2000)*

![Diversity in Unity](image)

Dickie Minyintiri said:

> These two lizards, one white and one black, are meeting each other. This is very important, the story of *Papulangkunytja*, of the place of two strangers meeting. A long time ago, the white lizard and the black lizard met as strangers, *papulananyi*, staring and trying to recognise each other. Like us today, we call each other blackfella and whitefella, now because we’re strangers. But later, when we know each other, we’ll all just be people.

(Minyintirri pers. comm., Walinynga, 1999)
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APPENDIX 1:

*Inma Ngintaka: The Perentie Lizard Dreaming Story and Song*

(Accompanying CD)

APPENDIX 2:

*Ngura Walytja: Kinship with Country*

(Accompanying DVD)
APPENDIX 3

DESERT TRACKS BUSINESS PLAN:
AIMS AND OBJECTIVES
COMPANY MISSION STATEMENT

Desert Tracks aims to provide a unique experience of Aboriginal culture and lifestyle for the participants on its tours into Pitjantjatjara Lands. Visitors enter the space where the two worlds meet, the Pitjantjatjara desert culture with the traditions stretching back over 40,000 years and the modern western technological society.

The Pitjantjatjara elders are guiding their people into this era, developing a tourism business that sustains traditional lifestyle and their sacred relationship to the land. Sharing their wisdom and knowledge with visitors from all over the world.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:

1. Community control of the delivery of tourism business, creating pride and a real enterprise for their children to become involved with.
2. To provide employment opportunities for Anangu in the cultural tourism business as guides, interpreters and in public relations.
3. To provide employment in communities that economically sustains the maintenance of cultural heritage and current lifestyle of Anangu living on traditional land.
4. For Anangu to control the information being given to visitors about their country by telling their own story of the Law and Dreaming.
5. To use legally appropriate contracts for the use of cultural material by journalists, photographers, artists, film makers and musicians.
6. To develop a profitable eco-tourism enterprise, the profits of which will be distributed equitably back to the participating communities.

Primary goal of any Desert Tracks business plan is to ensure:
   i) Maintenance of cultural heritage and ensuring authentic information is given on all tours and in promotional material.
   ii) Profitability of the business and employment of traditional custodians in their homelands.

7. Operate in accordance with internationally recognised standards of ecotourism.
8.

STRATEGIES:

1. Employment of Anangu
   i) training as interpretive guides
   ii) recognition of prior training of elders as holders of Tjukurpa and Inma
   iii) training in marketing and promotion
2. Anangu control of information
i) design of all brochures, information booklets, itinerary, Tjukurpa told to be done in consultation with Anangu.

3 Community pride in business control

i) establishing clear community control over the itinerary and movements of tourists whilst at their community

ii) independent accounting of costs and profits generated by each community

4 Economic sustenance of culture

i) award rate payments to guides and interpreters

ii) distribution of profits back to communities based on trip revenue

5 Profitable business

i) increasing destinations and variety of product

6 New destinations

i) consult with new communities interested in becoming tour destinations

ii) gain permission from regional Land Councils for tours

iii) assess impact of numbers and frequency of tours on each area and plan visits to minimise destructive impact on land, people and particular sites

iv) conduct infrastructure facilities like water, toilets, showers and shade shelters

v) training sessions with experienced guides from Angatja to prepare new guides and hosts for tourists’ expectations and needs and the planning of itineraries.

vi)

**ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE**:

Desert Tracks Business 1988-2000

**Board of Directors of Desert Tracks Pty Ltd Members from 1988-2000:**

Accountable to Anangu Pitjantjatjara for conducting tours in accordance with permit conditions for operating on the Pitjantjatjara Lands.

Charlie ILYATJARI Angatja Chairman
Ivy NGANYINYTJA Angatja
Mabel TJULKIWA Umpukulu
Sandy MUTJU Umpukulu
Leah BRADY Angatja
Andy TJILARI Arangna
Stanley DOUGLAS Cave Hill
Jonathan LYONS Amata
Henry TJAMUMALYI Amata

**Employees of Desert Tracks Pty Ltd:**

Manager: Diana James.
Tour Operations Manager: Roger Hammond, Jim Montgomery, Hussein Burra
Senior interpreter/guide: Linda Rive

TOURISM NETWORK

Membership of:
Central Australian Tourism Industry Association Inc
Australian Eco-tourism Association
Aboriginal Tourism Australia

SECTION 4: AWARDS

Desert Tracks won national and international recognition in cultural and eco-tourism.

1992  Australian National Award for Cultural Tourism
      NT Brolga Award for Cultural Tourism

1993  Nganyinyija Order of Australia for her work in cross-cultural education as the founding Director of Desert Tracks tours.

1994  NT Brolga Award – Judges Special Recognition for Outstanding Achievement in Cultural Tourism

Ecotourism: A South Australian Design Guide for Sustainable Development' published by the South Australian Tourist Commission highlights examples of DTs architecturally designed ablutions, rubbish and shelter facilities.

World Congress on Adventure Travel and Ecotourism – presented at the Sustainable Design and Ecotourism Seminar. Nganyinyija and Diana James with Paul Pholerus.

1995  Invited to present a paper at the ‘Showcasing Day’ of the Australian Conservation Training Initiative six week International Training Programme, titled ‘Education Planning and Management.'
APPENDIX 4

ANANGU PITJANTJATJARA COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON REGIONAL TOURISM
Regional Tourism on AP Lands - AP Council Resolutions since 1995

- Resolution of AP Regional Tourism Meeting, 1995 – AP Chairman, Gary Lewis

'It would be good planning for there to be one regional tourism association of all communities involved in tourism on the AP Lands. Desert Tracks could be expanded to become the regional tourism business under the Pitjantjatjara Council. This would be a community cooperative industry, allowing individual communities to run their own tours but with one central booking office, advertising, management staff, permit and payment system, training and employment award for anangu guides and tour managers.

TRAINING & EMPLOYMENT: 3 Day meeting organised by Desert Tracks at Umuwa with TAFE and Adult Education representatives from N.T and S.A. and national government funding agencies.
3 year accredited on site training for anangu rangers and tour guides discussed and outlined incorporating traditional anangu knowledge and new tourism business knowledge. Full report available.

- Resolution of the AP Heritage Meeting, 23rd May 2000

'There should be one Tourism Company on the AP Lands, Desert Tracks an Anangu owned company. All communities should join this company and the money story will be clear for all to see.'

- Resolution of AP Executive and Heritage Committee, Umuwa 12th November 1998

AP approval for Ngintaka Trail Tourist Trip & Film - development subject to anthropological clearance.

- Resolution of the AP Meeting, Umuwa 29th - 31st May 2001

Ngintaka Heritage Trail Research: Approval given for Diana James, PhD student ANU, to research and prepare a development plan for the Ngintaka Heritage through the Pitjantjatjara Lands, assessing the potential benefits and impacts of tourism on communities and the environment, to develop a bi-culture management model. (see attached proposal).
APPENDIX 5

ATAL ECO-TOUR CAMP REPORT 1997
DESERT TRACKS
ATAL TOUR BASE CAMP
(Excerpt of Final Report)
Project assisted by the National Ecotourism Program
Commonwealth Department of Tourism 1994 - 96
Diana James, 10th March 1997

AIM: design of an ecologically and culturally sustainable ecotourism camp on the Pitjantjatjara Lands. The infrastructure is to provide shelter, clean and hot water, solar lighting and energy storage, a cool room, clean appropriate pit toilets and recycling of wastes. To introduce visitors to this unique cultural and ecological environment the camp infrastructure must be efficient, comfortable and non-intrusive in the environment. So that the main aim of the tours, getting to know Aboriginal people and their land and having a good time is assured. What fun! Especially knowing there's a hot shower and comfort back in camp.

STAGE 1:

THE LOCATION:
Mann Ranges, north-west South Australia. Atal is the chosen site, 6km from the homeland of Angatja. An area of mulga scrub near the base of the ranges, on the protected north-east side.
This is a degraded site having been used for camps for a couple of years.

Consultation and Research:
On site the manager, Diana James, carried out consultations with the traditional owners and the directors of Desert Tracks over several months. Requirements of international tourists for eco-camp facilities were researched. Once the major design requirements were determined an environmental architect, design engineers and the Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) in Alice Springs were contacted.

The architect Paul Pholeros was chosen because of his long association, over ten years, with the people of the Pitjantjatjara Lands. Paul had been working on environmentally and socially appropriate housing for local communities in cooperation with the regional Nganampa Health Service.
Thus the aim of community consultation and the designing of infrastructure that used appropriate technology of a standard available to all communities on the AP Lands was ensured.

STAGE 2:

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MEETING WILTJA

This central meeting wiltja was an adaptation of a traditional wiltja (shelter) design. Adaptations to suit large groups of tourists -

- The opened out semi-circular design and higher roof allow for group meetings.
- the back wall against the prevailing winds is higher than traditional windbreaks, but low enough to encourage sitting rather than standing when gathered around for storytelling.
- the central fire place for making billy tea and sitting around is a traditional feature of wiltjas and desert life.
• canvas awnings have been designed to be positioned over the front in summer to increase the shade and removed in winter to allow the winter sun to penetrated the witija, traditionally people would have changed the open side of their witija to suit the season.

• constructed of local hard wood termite resistant desert oak and spinifex thatching is making use of traditional building materials, with the adaptation of wire to hold down the spinifex.

The building was contracted out to a local builder, Roger Hammond, with long experience of building in this region. He worked well with the local community workers. The women particularly worked hard on this structure doing most of the spinifex thatching. As building witjas was traditionally women’s work they were experts in this skill.

STAGE 3: ABLUTION FACILITIES

VISITORS

The design specifications included:

• low impact infrastructure appropriate for this desert environment

• minimal water usage - one bucket full of hot water per shower carried to canvas shower bag

• educate visitors on the need to conserve water in this environment

• biodegradable soaps and shampoos to be provided by Desert Tracks

• solar heating with low combustion chip heater back up for cloudy weather

• aesthetically pleasing

• in accordance with international environmental design standards

• easy to clean and maintain

• appropriate waste water disposal that doesn’t detrimentally affect vegetation and ground water

• drainage - grease trap, holding tank (to be emptied periodically on revegetation areas) and soakage trenches

• pit toilets of regional appropriate technology design (CAT)

STORAGE FACILITY - POWER, RAINWATER, FREEZER

In the ablution block a storage room was designed to:

• store solar power in a battery bank to be used to recharge torches and head lamps

• provide low watt lighting for the camp, toilets and showers

• recharging facilities for visitors video cameras and other recording equipment

• clean rainwater for anyone with a sensitive stomach

• freezer, to freeze ice ready for each group to use in for food preservation

• dust free sealable room for storage of special equipment

• solar hot water for showers

ANANGU ABLUTIONS BLOCK

• Nomadic Homelands Ablutions Block - standard appropriate design used in the region

• solar hot water and chip heater from Centre for Appropriate Technology

• no restriction on water usage

• lighting from main storage facility

• drainage - grease trap, soakage trench

• Nomadic pit toilet
SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS

- Ablution blocks to be positioned for privacy and ease of access from tourist and Anangu camps respectively. Brush fences and revegetation to be planned to enhance privacy and to blend these facilities into the environment.
- Minimal damage to the campsite whilst under construction - to ensure this the visitors ablation block was constructed off site, even the concrete slab finished to a high standard for easy cleaning
- all care was taken not to disturb trees and to return the site to its original condition after construction, regular inspections by architect and Desert Tracks manager
- pegging of sites overseen by traditional owners.

OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPSITE INFRASTRUCTURE DESIGN

Objective 1: Facilitate the application of ecologically sustainable principles and practice in an Indigenous tourism industry.

1(a) Promote the elements of ecotourism.

- Low impact infrastructure designed to minimally impact on the fragile ecosystem of the mulga bush.
- Minimal vehicle access, designated roads, footpaths, campsites and inma ground.
- Minimal water usage. Recycle waste water onto vegetation where appropriate.
- Biodegradable cleaners, soaps, shampoos - provided for visitors.
- Firewood brought in, minimal use.
- Rubbish sorted, recycled glass and metal, vegetable waste down old pit toilet.
- Visual blending of structures with surroundings, using local spinifex thatching.
- Cultural sustainability - small groups, limited number of tours controls impact. Cultural elements included in tour by the elders, taught to younger members.
- Education and interpretation - provide information booklet pre tour on culture, ecological sustainable design elements in infrastructure, etiquette and interpretation of local flora and fauna.
- Local and regional benefits: economic input into local communities creating jobs for people who want to live on their homelands looking after the land and culture.

1 (b) Develop models of ecological sustainable tourism.

Incorporation of modern appropriate technology designed specifically for this arid environment.
- waste management - pit toilets, recycling, limit nutrient levels of washing products.
- energy conservation - solar power, quiet and renewable.
- water quality - water storage tank with sufficient for each trip, regular checks by Health Department, rainwater storage inside cool room to avoid contamination.

Objective 2: Develop a strategic approach to integrated regional planning based on ecologically sustainable principles and practices in eco-tourism.

Development of this campsite infrastructure for Angatja has involved many levels of regional and community planning for appropriate site development in keeping with ecological guidelines. An environmental architect was engaged to consult with the local community, the Pitjantjatjara Board of Directors of Desert Tracks, the tour operations manager and their anthropologist consultant. The plan was designed to incorporate cultural and ecological concerns specific to that region. Then final approval had to be
sought from Anangu Pitjantjatjara at a strategic planning meeting for tourism on the AP Lands.

**Objective 3: Encourage a complementary and compatible approach between ecotourism activities and conservation in natural resource management.**

The camp is designed to minimise the impact of regular groups of tourists to this site. Based on a projected strategy of controlled numbers of people and vehicles, the site will be ecologically sustainable.

**Objective 4: Encourage industry self-regulation of eco-tourism through the development and implementation of appropriate industry standards and accreditation.**

Desert Tracks has participated in the SA Government review of ecotours in their state. This campsite and tour management was assessed as being up to international ecotourism standards. We have participated in attempts to establish industry accreditation.

**Objective 5: Support the design and use of carefully sited and constructed infrastructure to minimise visitor impact on natural resources and to provide for environmental education consistent with biological planning objectives.**

Ablution blocks - Environmentally sensitive and energy efficient facilities - solar power, waste management, biodegradable cleaning agents, water restrictions. Wiltjas - Local materials, use of mulga, spinifex and desert oak where possible. Work with local community on design and building. Upgrade existing wiltjas to waterproof stage.

Site - Already degraded, plan to revegetate, minimal extra damage during construction.

**Objective 6: Undertake further study of the impact of ecotourism to improve the information base for planning and decision making.**

The campsite will be monitored long-term to determine the impact of current tourism levels and determine impact on adjacent areas. The frequency and numbers may have to be adjusted as the results of such monitoring become evident.

**Objective 7: Encourage and promote the ethical delivery of ecotourism products to meet the expectations and match levels of supply and demand.**

Based on international research on the demands of tourists for bonafide ecotourism experiences, the campsite facilities have been designed to fulfil these expectations. Information about the camp infrastructure, its ecologically and culturally sustainable aspects is provided to visitors.

**Objective 8: Facilitate the establishment of high industry standards and a national accreditation system for ecotourism.**

Development of this campsite as a prototype for desert cultural campsites will encourage regionally high standards for ecotourism.

**Objective 9: Improve the level and delivery of ecotourism education for all target groups.**

An outline of the ecological and cultural design principles employed in the campsite infrastructure will be included in the pre-trip information booklet.
Objective 10: Enhance opportunities for self-determination, self-management and economic self-sufficiency in ecotourism for Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders.

Desert Tracks is now a 100% Aboriginal owned tour company. The Directors were involved in all stages of the design and building of the campsite infrastructure. The design allows them to control the activities of visitors along traditional interaction patterns. Traditional camp spatial layout is incorporated in the design.

Objective 11. Operators need to make businesses more viable.

An ecologically sustainable campsite like this for Angatja will reduce operational costs by:

- providing a local renewable power source
- refrigeration, lighting, hot water - all onsite for no recurrent cost
- increased customer satisfaction by providing facilities allows for prices of tours to increase
- cost effective, minimal impact practices.

Objective 12. Seek to ensure that opportunities for access to eco-tourism experiences are equitable and that eco-tourism activities benefit host communities and contribute to natural resource management and conservation.

Quality camp site facilities ensure that a wider cross section of travellers can be comfortably accommodated.

Small scale eco-tourism benefits the local community by bringing in an income for people who chose to live on their traditional lands and maintain their cultural knowledge.

Tourism is a low impact economic use of the land. It ensures that the traditional sacred sites, waterholes and plant and animals of the food gathering region are managed for long term sustainability. The economic returns from sustainable tourism provide an argument for restricting other short term destructive land use like cattle or mining.

Thus the benefits of a conservation approach to land management and environmental and cultural sustainability can be supported.
APPENDIX 6

DESERT TRACKS — IMPACTS REPORT 1996
DESERT TRACKS: Case Study

Diana James 1996

TOURISM IMPACTS MONITOR
Environmental, Economic and Cultural Impacts - Indigenous Tourism

Pilot Project of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Tourism Industry Strategy, pp19-22

Why Tourism?
Ilyatjari says: “I’m teaching my grandchildren the inma and how to survive in this land. The culture may be lost if they don’t have a reason to learn it. The business brings in money for people to live in their own country and keep their culture strong. This is our business Desert Tracks. We started it for our grandsons and grand-daughters to carry it on and grow this business. I am now working and planning for this future”.

In 1987 the first two tour groups came into the Pitjantjatjara Lands with the Australian Conservation Foundation. These were so successful that Nganyinytja and Ilyatjari invited Greg Snowdon and Diana James to bring in groups regularly, so Desert Tracks began in 1988.

Nganyinytja says: “I had this idea. Lots of other people were always asking us about our culture. So I started these tours to teach people about our way of life. That is how it began”.

Funding
In 1988 Diana James and Greg Snowdon contributed all capital and equipment to the joint enterprise, all the itinerary and cultural content of the tourism product by the Anangu of Angatja. In 1990 Diana James took over full management as a sole trader and Desert Tracks continued as a joint venture with Angangu under permit from Angangu Pitjantjatjara. In 1994, with the assistance of the Desert Tracks manager, the Angatja Community received a grant from ATSIC to purchase and expand the business. The business is now 100% Aboriginal owned and ceased receiving ATSIC assistance in June 1996. The income from tours has continued to increase and the numbers of communities involved has grown. However, the requirements of full time office and booking staff and management are a heavy cost on a business that only has a limited season of eight months a year. It will have great difficulty maintaining staff and guide levels without funding. Training and developmental programs cannot be carried out without additional funding.

Management
The financial and tour operational management has always been provided by non-Aboriginal staff. While the designing of tour itinerary, planning of where to go and what to see has been controlled by the elders of each tour destination. This division of management responsibility reflects the areas of expertise of all people involved in the business. AP approves all tours, itineraries and brochures before publication. Permits for all passengers are through AP.

Nganyinytja says: “Our manager and guide look after the tourists well. They bring lots of people to our camp, and show them around. They bring food and drive the tourists in the bus we brought. They both work very hard, driving and cooking for
the tourists. They look after them and make sure they’re happy. All their food and swags are bought in, everything to make them happy”.

When the people of Angatja bought the business in 1994 they retained Diana James as Manager because it was a system that worked. This relies on mutual trust and good communication between the Directors and the manager. Because the Directors are not literate or fluent in English there is an added area of difficulty in operation of a business that requires knowledge of company law, accounting, advertising, control of media reporting, permits to enter Aboriginal land, writing brochures, communicating with clients and the tourism industry. Knowledge of Pitjantjatjara by the manager has been an essential element in the development of the business. Younger community members have expressed interest in management training. However, the difficulties of low literacy levels and the need to live away from the community, in Yulara, are prohibitive.

Nganyinytja says: “We don’t want our Anangu manager to live at Yulara, too much drink, no family. If we have an office on the Lands our young people could work there. There are lots of young people eager to work as they get older”.

Competing Economic and Cultural Enterprises
Cattle, horses, camels - Ilyatjari and his sons run a few head of cattle and horses around Angatja. They also sometimes herd wild camels for sale or training. These enterprises compete for water, access to country, human resources and community vehicles. Eco-cultural tours cannot operate in an area where domestic livestock is breaking fences, trampling vegetation and despoiling water sources. Livestock also attract flies, a deterrent to tourists. Stanley Douglas at Cave Hill is concerned about wilderness preservation:

“I would like to see it like this. We could put up a fence to keep the cattle out. We would like to see our native plants grow back. Native grasses, and bush tucker like bush tomatoes will grow back. Bush turkeys eat these so they will return to the area. We don’t want the cattle and horses to interfere with tourism”.

Traditional obligations to attend ceremonies, funerals and nowadays meetings that concern land use of sensitive areas, mean that that guides and elders have obligations that can be more important than guiding a tour group. If no guides are present for some or all of the tour then the Company can be sued for not providing the advertised itinerary. An Aboriginal cultural tour depends heavily on Aboriginal guides. Younger people may find full time employment in service industries in the larger communities more rewarding than part-time guiding in remote homeland centres. Thus a scarcity of younger guides.

Long Term Community Goals for Tourism
Ilyatjari says: “Long term, the young people will continue. When I’m gone they’ll look after this business ... the culture may be lost if they don’t have a reason to learn it ... the business brings in money for people to live in their country”.

Cultural Impacts
The younger generation are keen to learn traditional knowledge because they see it has economic relevance today in a business. The festivals of dance are creating opportunities for traditional dance to be performed and new dances have been created to explain traditional Law to tourists. Protection of sacred sites, knowledge and photographic images of country and people have been issues that the business with the assistance of the Pitjantjatjara
Legal service has had to address. A declaration of intent must be signed by all visitors to declare that they are coming for personal reasons not professional journalism, research, or with the intention of making any profit from the knowledge of Aboriginal culture they gain on tour.

All professional journalists, photographers, researchers and writers prior to participation in a tour must sign legal contracts. All material must be returned to the Company for vetting prior to publication. Secret or sacred material must be edited out and misuse of information can be prosecuted.

Traditional custodians of Cave Hill, Dickie and Armunta say: "We protect this place and watch over it ... in case someone comes in the back way to the cave. This place is a very important place ... we are the only ones allowed to take tourists into this place. We teach them about its Creation Law and about the Dreamtime ancestors".

**Economic Impacts**
Guide payments bring direct cash into the community after each tour. This is irregular but substantial and allows some families to save for cars, swags, tents or other large items.

Traditional obligations to share resources mean that most guide payments are quickly dispersed amongst a large number of kin. This can often be discouraging for guides who see little long-term returns from the money earned in tourism.

Large guide payments to younger guides can result in drinking binges at Curtain Springs. The elders have partially solved this by restricting the use of community vehicles.

**Environmental Impacts**
Improved infrastructure facilities for tourists have upgraded facilities for guides. Ensuring good clean water supplies for tourists has improved water supplies for the communities on homeland destinations.

Increased use of roads by buses and 4WD vehicles has made some restrictions necessary. Vehicles are restricted to major roads. Cross-country hunting is limited because of the creation of many tracks.

Design of a permanent ecologically sustainable campsite was necessary to reduce environmental damage from vehicles and camping. This has restricted road access, solar power, and restricted water usage, non-polluting soaps and detergents, careful wood lot usage and minimal infrastructure designed to fit in with traditional designed structures.

Each campsite has been assessed by an environmental land use expert from the Pitjantjatjara Council and roads and structures located to minimise erosion damage. An environmental architect was used to design the major infrastructure with ongoing monitoring of damage to sites.

Rock art preservation plans have been designed in conjunction with specialist archaeologists.

Rubbish and waste control remains a big issue for the communities. There are systems to deal with rubbish generated by the tourist camp and the guide camp can make use of these. However community rubbish disposal systems in homelands and larger communities are not adequate and cause a problem for tourists, who cannot understand that people who love the land would leave so much rubbish around. Communities have to deal with this issue if they want tourists.

**Advice to Others Starting Cultural Tourism**
Nganyinytja says: "Plan what you will do with people, how you will look after them ... need to plan your time with tourists. Its a lot of work, people need to understand this".
APPENDIX 7

WALINYNGA REPORT 2005
Conservation and management issues
Walinynga (Cave Hill)
Musgrave Range
South Australia
A report to the Indigenous Traditional Owners of Walinynga, the Cave
Hill Community, Anangu Pitjantjatjara, Pitjantjatjara Council and Desert Tracks Pty Ltd.
Katharine Sale and Diana James
Revised February 2005

Note: A draft report was given to the Traditional Owners and Desert Track Pty Ltd for
discussion in April 2004. There were a number of changes occurring in the
administration of the AP Lands at this time. The report was finalized following on-going
discussions by Diana James with the Traditional Owners and others.

(Note: Walinynga is referred to in this report as Waliny(nga) following a spelling
convention in earlier reports, current maps of AP Lands refer to Walinynga).

Introduction
This report presents a short assessment of the condition of the art and general
environment of Waliny(nga) (Cave Hill), Musgrave Range, South Australia. It includes
suggestions for conservation and management actions, which could be carried out to
make sure all of the values of this place, are looked after in the future. These
suggestions need to be talked about with all stakeholders, who include:

• the traditional owners of Waliny(nga), the residents of Cave Hill community, Anangu
Pitjantjatjara, NYP Women’s Council, Pitjantjatjara Council and associated consultants
in anthropological and environmental management and conservation, legal, tourism and
essential service project officers and AP Roads;
• adjoining landholders of Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park, Mulga Park Station and the
Central Lands Council; and
• Northern Territory, South Australia and the Australian Tourism Commissions.

Background
On June 3-5th 2002 the traditional owners of Cave Hill and the directors of Desert
Tracks Pty invited Katharine Sale and Diana James to continue the Waliny(nga) sites’
impact monitoring project commenced in 1994. Waliny(nga) heritage sites were
included in the Desert Tracks tourism impacts monitoring project in 1994 when the
Cave Hill community decided to join the regional Aboriginal-owned tourism company of
Desert Tracks. The Waliny(nga) sites are on the Kungkarangkalpa Tjukurpa,
Seven Sisters Creation Songline, and are of sacred significance to the indigenous population
of the Pitjantjatjara Lands and surrounding regions.

Site location and context
Waliny(nga) is located about 26 kilometres north east of Amata in Pitjantjatjara Lands. A
small Aboriginal community lives at Cave Hill, about 1 kilometre to the south of
Waliny(nga). The road to Amata from Uluru passes very close to the site (within 1km)
Waliny(nga) (also referred to as Owalinja, ‘Walinja, O’walinja (Tindale, 1959:305)) is the
name given to Cave Hill, a large granite rock outcrop. There are two shelters with art on
the southern side of Cave Hill. The shelters and the surrounding area are part of the
Tjukurpa Creation Track storyline of the Kungkarangkalpa, the Seven Sisters (Pleiades)
and Wati Nyiru.

The site is recorded as Waliny(nga) – H890 (myth ceremonial) in the Register of
Aboriginal Sites and Objects, set up under the Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988 and
administered by the South Australian Department for Aboriginal Affairs and
Reconciliation. The site information is confidential, and permission is required from the
Pitjantjatjara Council to view the information held in the register for this place. Due to
time and resource limitations, the register was not looked at before visiting the
Waliny(nga).
The main shelter with art is the *wilija* built by the *Kungkarangkalpa* women. The smaller shelter with art is a shelter built by Nyiru. Women cannot go to this shelter, and so we did not visit it during our visit. Work by early researchers suggests that the main shelter *may also have been associated with increase ceremonies for Papa* (dingo).

A short rocky slope leads up to the main shelter, and two to three native fig trees are growing on this slope as well as other small trees, bushes and ground cover (grasses etc.). Some of these trees are growing in front of the shelter, providing protection from wind and rain.

The main shelter is about 21 metres long and up to 11m wide (7.2 metres wide at the entrance). There are granite rocks across the floor of the shelter, and the area of deposit (loose soil) is approximately 4m2. The rest of the shelter floor is sloping rock which runs to the right (looking into the shelter), ending in a narrow hole.

The art is on the walls and roof of the shelter. The images have been made by painting (wet) and drawing (dry), and colours include red, yellow, white and black. Materials include oochres, charcoal, chalks and possibly crayons. There are many images in the shelter, including ancestral beings, animals, birds, tracks, serpents and other designs. There is not a full description of the images, however Tindale (1959) and others have recorded some knowledge about some of the paintings (refer to Appendix 4).

There are many areas where images have been put on the top of other images (superimposition). It looks like this has happened many times over the years. As an example, Tindale (1959:328) says that he was told by a Pitjandjara old man that some paintings in yellow ocher were from more recent visits by Ngadjadjara men from the Warburton Range. Other images (e.g. men riding camels) had been made in white and black by Pitjandjara men after 1915. In 1974 many of the images (e.g.: sacred images, those associated with ceremonial business) were painted over so that the shelter could be opened up to visitors. This is described in the book ‘Killing me softly’ by Wallace & Wallace (1977).

Culturally, this place has on-going significance as being on a major Tjukurpa, the Seven Sisters Creation Songline. It also has other values for people. Some of the resources which people use in this area include a waterhole (in the rock outcrop), *ill* bushes around the base of the rock and many different bushfoods and medicinal plants.

There is a large open campsite with stone artifacts where people have camped in the past, just to the south-west of the main shelter on top of a dune. This campsite has been described by Johnson (1963) (he calls it Site 21, *Owalinja*). Some of the artifacts from here were collected by the South Australian Museum. The artifacts are made of local stone as well as red quartzite, described as being from the eastern end of the Petermann Range, 40 miles to the north-west, and a green stone possibly from the eastern end of the Everard Range (100 miles to the south-east).

*Site plan for Waliny(nga) – Desert Tracks eco-cultural tourism management*

In 1991 the Cave Hill community applied to the Regional Council Anangu Pitjantjatjara to start tours with Desert Tracks. The traditional owners, resident and non-resident, were consulted and approval was given to commence a limited number of tours in 1994. All stakeholders were most concerned to ensure the protection of this magnificent rock art site of living spiritual significance to Anangu.

*Traditional Owners care and protection of Walinynga:*
Stanley Douglas of the Cave Hill community joined the Board of Desert Tracks Directors and with the manager Diana James, consulted with land management and heritage rock art specialists to develop a plan designed specifically for the Waliny(nga) rock art and stone artefact sites and the surrounding sand dune area. A program to monitor changes due to tourism was initiated. A land and site management plan was drawn up after consultation with AP land management officer Mike Last and heritage consultant Katharine Sale. This was undertaken in two stages, as outlined below:
1. Walinynga land management, Stage 1, 1993

The key activities undertaken were:
- restricting vehicle access to the other side of the hill away from the main cave;
- closing access to the original camp site near the corrugated iron hut on the dune nearest to the cave as it was too unstable and a high erosion area;
- setting up a new day visitors area on the more stable dune site further west;
- setting up a long term camp site on the protected flat on the western side of the hill;
- locating two pit toilets between the day and long stay camp sites;
- planning to use a larger flow bore for water supply and a tank external to the community (Pitjantjatjara Projects);
- defining a single walking track to the main cave, then up to the hilltop lookout around the south-eastern side, avoiding a sacred area on the north-eastern flank and returning down round the western slope and to the wilytja site;
- to minimise erosion Mike suggested following the natural wallaby tracks up to the main cave, putting branches and brush over the rest of the slope, maintaining obscuring vegetation across face of the cave and discouraging any clearing or burning off around the cave precincts; and
- putting spinifex matting on the floor of the cave to reduce dust and erosion.

2. Walinynga rock-art conservation Stage 2, 1994:

The Walinynga plan needed to include traditional and modern rock art conservation methods suitable for protecting the sacred rock-art sites. This knowledge was sought from heritage conservation consultant Katharine Sale when she visited in 1994 with the Commonwealth Indigenous Heritage Cultural Heritage Protection Program. Stanley Douglas had invited the Program to focus one of its projects on Walinynga. Although the project did not go ahead here, Katharine had an initial look at the condition of the art and surrounding environment. After talking with the traditional owners and Desert Tracks she wrote a report with some suggestions about how to best look after the place in the future: ‘Report on a fieldtrip to Walinynga (Cave Hill), Musgrave Range, SA. (Sale, 1994). One of the recommendations was that Walinynga be regularly re-inspected, every two years if possible, to monitor any changes in the condition of the art and place.

Other strategies - restricted visitors only with Traditional Custodian Guides:
A key conservation measure initiated by the Traditional Owners and reinforced by the heritage consultants was to limit numbers of tourists to small groups of 10-14, on foot always with a traditional custodian guide and to prohibit photography in the cave in case it damaged the art.

Significance
The Walinynga sites are of sacred significance to the Indigenous population of the Pitjantjatjara Lands and surrounding regions of Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park, the Yangkunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara, Nganyatjarra and Luritja Western Desert Language peoples of South Australia, Northern Territory and Western Australia. The sites are on the Kungkarangkalpa Tjukurpa, Seven Sisters Creation Songline, which is of national importance as it crosses the continent from east to west and south to the sea. (Nganyinytja, Tjulkiiwa and James, 1996). The national and international significance of the sacred sites along this Dreaming Track has yet to be recognised and protected under current Australian cultural and environmental heritage legislation. The traditional owners of Walinynga have asked that this process be started with their sites close to the Cave Hill community.

Conservation issues
The assessment of the main art shelter and surrounds at Walinynga was undertaken by visual inspection only, looking at what was happening in the shelter. Photographs were taken to show key problems. It did not involve a full recording of the conservation issues or their location within the site. Unfortunately photographs taken in 1994 turned out not to be suitable for comparative purposes. The visit therefore focused on establishing monitoring points for future monitoring.

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There are two types of conservation issues at Waliny(nga):
1) natural issues (that are caused by natural events and processes); and
2) visitor issues (that are caused by people visiting the site).

Natural issues
Some of the paintings are being affected by natural things happening in the shelter, like water running over the paintings, wasps making nests over the paintings, or bits of the rock with paintings falling off. This is described below with some examples.

Visitor issues
* Dust in the shelter. Since the last visit, spinifex has been put down on the shelter floor to help keep down the dust from visitor’s feet (upper photo over). This seems to be working well. There is little evidence of dust on the paintings.
* Track erosion – The track up to the shelter was fairly stable when we visited (lower photo over). It is an informal track, and could become eroded if lots of visitors are using it.
* Impacts on open campsite. The open campsite is located on part of a dune, with artifacts scattered across the surface of a large area. The soils are highly erodible. At the moment the site seems stable, but it could be easily damaged if visitors start walking across it regularly.

Cultural Heritage

Recording and monitoring
It is suggested that two other things are carried out in the short term to look after the art and environment at Waliny(nga):
1. Record - the art and surrounding area.
2. Monitor – changes to the art and surrounding area

* Recording. For such an important place, it is useful to have a full record of what is there, including all of the art. A record can be used to see if anything changes at a place over time, or is damaged.
Without access to the Register of Aboriginal Sites and Objects held by the South Australian Department for Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, we have not been able to tell if this place has been adequately recorded. It seems that it has been visited many times over the years, and that there are early photographs of the place which could be used as part of the documentation.
- Firstly, the senior custodians need to talk about this, and think about whether they want to do this.
- With the permission of the senior custodians, permission should be sought from the Pitjantjatjara Council to access the records held in the Register of Aboriginal Sites and Objects and the form filled in (see Appendix 3).
- The information in the register (and any other available sources) should be looked at to determine previous levels of recording, and what further work is required.

* Monitor. Monitoring involves regularly looking at a site and recording specific information about it in the same way at each visit.

Other issues – visitor management

Facilities and infrastructure
After tours started going to Waliny(nga) in 1994, a number of changes were made to provide basic facilities for visitors and look after the area. This was based on land management studies carried out in the area by Anangu Pitjantjatjara and discussions with senior custodians for Waliny(nga) (as described earlier)
Water and toilets were installed for tourist. Restrictions were placed on vehicle access, camping sites, numbers of tourists and frequency of tours. Defined walking trails, spinifex matting in the cave, the regrowth of vegetation and the protocol of no flash photography of the art work, were established to provide environmental protection for the rock art.
In 2002 at the time of our visit, the facilities at the site included a rainwater tank, a wiltja for visitor use, pit toilet, areas for camping, a building and an informal vehicle turning area. The facilities are in some disrepair and likely to be inadequate for the increased numbers of tourists.

Visitation
The site can only be visited by guided tour. Desert Tracks, the Anangu-owned company, controls tourism access to the site. Desert Tracks in joint venture with Odyssey Safaris has given the latter the license to run day tours to the site. These small groups stay an average of 3-4 hours at the site visiting the cave rock art gallery, walking to the top of the rock dome and the open camp site on the western sand dunes. A copy of the tour itinerary is located in Appendix 6.

Desert Tracks tours, managed by Discovery Ecotours, visit the site for longer stays. In 2003 they advertised a 2-4 day tour Seven Sisters and Ngintaka Dreaming. In 2005 the tour format has changed to a 2 day 'Cave Hill Seven Sisters Dreaming' at Walinynga. Visitation to Walinynga is changing from one of infrequent visits to the shelter to sustained, regular visits. This could lead to different impacts on this place, both physical – erosion of tracks, impacts on plants, damage to the open campsite and the paintings, and impacts on the cultural values and significance of this place, through inappropriate visitor behaviour and access to areas, inappropriate interpretation etc.

Cultural heritage interpretation
Interpretation of the site relies heavily on the presence of skilled Aboriginal guides who can speak English. The most experienced Anangu guides at the site do not speak fluent English and non-Indigenous tour guides do not speak Pitjantjatjara, thus there is a potential translation problem. Instances of misinterpretation and dissatisfaction of both customers and Anangu guides was noted during tourism impact monitoring visits to Walinynga by Diana James in 2002 and 2003:

Visitor comments, 2003: "We couldn't understand the Anangu story."
Guide, Minyintirri: "They didn't listen properly, tours are too quick."

Appropriate interpretive signage in Pitjantjatjara and English of the rock art sites, the story of the Seven Sisters and the cultural landscape would improve understanding. An information booklet, similar to those designed with Anangu of the Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park, regarding the natural and cultural heritage of the Walinynga would greatly enhance cultural heritage interpretation.

Governance issues for tourism at Walinynga.
Protection of the natural and cultural heritage values of Walinynga is a complex governance issue. The major stake holders are the Anangu Traditional Owners and Cave Hill Community, the Anangu-Pitjantjatjara Council which holds the freehold land title, Desert Tracks Aboriginal Tour Company, Odyssey Safaris and Discovery Ecotours. It is in all their interests that the heritage values of the site are protected.

The question of who is responsible to develop any appropriate tourism and conservation measures and infrastructure at the place is problematic. Any permanent structures on AP Lands are owned by Anangu Pitjantjatjara. Therefore, private companies are reluctant to build any amenity structures on AP Lands. AP are unlikely to build tourist amenities or conservation infrastructure unless they receive direct revenue from the tours. Desert Tracks is a small business with limited capacity to construct the necessary conservation and tourism infrastructure.

Protecting Walinynga into the future
Walinynga is a very significant place to Aboriginal people. It is an important part of the Seven Sisters Creation Songline, a Tjukurpa Creation Track which travels across this country. It has an extensive range of paintings, some of which are very fragile. It is also a place that documents a long history of interaction between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, particularly in response to tourism, for example with the repainting of the site in 1974, and more recently with the introduction of Aboriginal-run tours and then joint operations with a large tourist resort.
There are two key things that can be done to look after Waliny(nga) in the future:
1. Make a plan - hold a workshop with the relevant Aboriginal people to talk about the future;
2. Think about listing Waliny(nga) on a national register to better recognise and protect its values.

**National recognition and protection for Waliny(nga).**

Given the significance of Waliny(nga), a greater level of recognition and protection could be sought for this place than is currently provided for by listing on the State's Register of Aboriginal Sites and Objects.

- Listing on Register of the National Estate, under the *Australian Heritage Council Act 2003*.

It is strongly recommended that further steps be taken to progress the potential listing of Waliny(nga) on the Register of the National Estate. Advantages in listing of the site on the Register of the National Estate include recognition of the national cultural values of this place and a formal assessment of its significance; and the potential to tap into additional sources of funding for conservation and management works and other initiatives.

**Note:** The application has been written but not submitted as Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council was against National Heritage Listing for the following reasons:

'The APY Executive resolved not to proceed with NHL nomination proposal. The issues raised re site protection and assistance to TOs fall within the responsibilities of APY and the protection provided by the Pit Land Rights and Aboriginal Heritage Acts, and mainly need better coordination and assistance which we have been instructed to facilitate, along with AP Land Management. Another major issue is that national heritage listing would cede control over land use for part of the Anangu freehold lands to the Commonwealth Minister, which they were not prepared to do - this is already covered in the Land Rights Act as well.'

(Dee Neal Draper, pers.comm., 22 September 2005)

However, in response to this report, a site visit of Neal Draper, APY land Management and with Desert Tracks management did occur and agreement was reached concerning a tourist access path and slope protection in front of the cave.
APPENDIX 8

NGINTAKA HERITAGE TRAIL RESEARCH PROPOSAL:
Indigenous Heritage Trail Development: The Ngintaka Heritage Trail Feasibility Study, to investigate the development of a Tourism Heritage Trail through the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of South Australia, following the Ngintaka Tjukurpa Trail.

PhD Research Application to the Pitjantjatjara Council by Diana James 15th December 2001

Nganyintja’s Cross-cultural Tourism Vision:

"The two Laws need to become one to keep the Land.”
The integration of Indigenous and western land and cultural management best practices are essential to development of a sustainable Indigenous tourism industry in the Pitjantjatjara Council region. To provide employment and income generation for Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara in their area of cultural expertise.

It is widely recognised that Indigenous tourism is a growth industry in Australia. The Pitjantjatjara Council lands are uniquely located to take advantage of this tourism growth market because of their proximity to Uluru a major tourism destination for Australian and international visitors. The proposed Ngintaka Heritage Trail would become an alternative loop road for tourists travelling north south or east west via Uluru through Central Australia. This is the Pitjantjatjara Council region of the N.T., W.A. and South Australia. The route would link enterprises such as the Arts Centres and community run tours that are currently disadvantaged by remoteness from their market.

The aim of the feasibility study is to establish the willingness and capacity of all Anangu communities on this route to participate in the tourism that would be generated by opening such a public route. As well as visiting existing community centres traditional owners could select sites along the trail that are open for tourist visitation and can be adequately protected environmentally and culturally. New tourism enterprises and infrastructure would be developed to promote a unique Indigenous journey through this beautiful country. Restricted permit models like those at Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park could be established to ensure environmental and heritage protection and become a source of revenue generation. There is a obvious potential for employment and training of Anangu to work on this Heritage route as rangers and guides.

Regional Consultative Group:
Representatives from AP Executive, Pitjantjatjara Council, AP Heritage Committee, Central Lands Council, ATSIC Representative, SA Tourism Representative, NT Tourism, Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park Board of Management; Pitjantjatjara Council Anthropology Department, Legal Department, Land Management, Projects, Nganampa Health, AP Roads, AP Regional Ku Arts, Desert Tracks Board, Mimili Tours, Wataru Tourism; Communities including Wallatinna, Fregon, Irintata, Ngarutjara, Ernabella, Kenmore Park, Kanypi, Walytjatjara, Kurkutjara, Pipalyatjara, Wingellina, Docker River.

Sustainable Indigenous management of cultural and natural environment:
The long term sustainability of the project would depend on the regional and community councils, advisers and administrative systems working cooperatively on the design and maintenance of such an extensive tourism heritage route. Cultural and environmental protection measures will need to be established, maintained and periodically reviewed to ensure current relevance and adaptation to the changing nature of the tourism industry and the Aboriginal communities involved.

Training and employment potential:
The designing of a regional tourist guide/environmental ranger training system would be an essential component of the future control and maintenance of such a public access heritage trail. Revenue from permits to drive the route, stay at campsites and take guided tours could be used to support the training and on-going employment of Anangu tourist guide/ rangers from each community on the route.
TOURISM DESIGN COMPONENTS:

♦ **Permits, Film & Journalist Contracts**
  - Permit templates can be developed for all tourism and arts enterprises in the Pitjantjatjara Council region – ensuring protection of Indigenous intellectual and heritage copyright, restriction of visiting or photographing sacred sites or ceremonies,
  - Restriction on alcohol and drugs on the Lands.

♦ **Camp Sites Infrastructure**
  - Design appropriate environmental management plans for cultural sites and camp grounds.
  - Designated camp sites, water and wood conservation systems, erosion and degradation of site protection; restrict vehicle access
  - Appropriate technology toilet facilities, solar power, water storage and restricted use;
  - Rubbish disposal systems;

♦ **Interpretive Material**
  - Explain permit conditions, restricted areas
  - Design culturally appropriate interpretive materials and all-weather signage.
  - Ethical protocols and permits for journalists, film and TV producers, and special interest tour groups.
  - General photography protocols and restrictions;
  - Detailed pre travel information booklet with a map, including tourism sites information and protocols for visitors.

♦ **Guide/Ranger Training**
  - Training required for local indigenous guides, interpreters, performers and others in the associated tourism enterprises that may be established in communities;
  - Can be coordinated with ranger and guide training at Uluru and existing TAFE courses.

♦ **Associated Tours, Arts Centres and Special Events.**
  - Design guided tours to associated Arts Centres, cultural sites or historic buildings on communities.
  - Business opportunities for each community enterprise can be integrated into the regional business plan,
  - Planning and promotion of Special Events – eg Ernabella Sports, Arts & Cultural Festival

♦ **Advertising**
  - International and national tourism trade fares – regional representative booths.
  - Regional advertising plan – promotion of regional ‘trademarks’ for tours and arts.
  - Regional co-operatives can maintain separate community enterprises but benefit by regional size business co-operatives

♦ **REGIONAL BUSINESS PLAN**
  - Develop a five year business plan that integrates the development of the Ngintaka Heritage Trail with Community Tourism enterprises.
  - Take advantage of economics of scale by establishing a central office for booking, permits, advertising, business and financial management, coordination of guide training, ranger reports, environmental and cultural protection monitoring.
EXISTING EXPERTISE: Desert Tracks the longest established Anangu owned and operated tourism enterprise on the Pitjantjatjara Lands has over twelve years experience of the strengths and problems of managing successful tourism in this region. It has won National Indigenous Tourism awards and international recognition for high standards of eco-cultural tourism. The protocols, permits, and principles of environmental and heritage protection, and the design of ecologically appropriate tour camp infrastructure they initiated can provide models for future development of tourism in the Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunyantjatjara region.

APPROVAL BY ANANGU PITJANTJATJARA:
Permission for Diana James to undertake this feasibility study was given at the AP Executive meeting of 29-31st May 2001

Ngintaka Heritage Trail Proposed Route

Wallatinna: Working cattle station, camp, day tour to Ngintaka site.

Mintabe: Opals, Interpretive information on Seven Sisters story.

Indulkana: Iwantja Arts & Crafts, fuel, store, permit check point.

Mimili: Day tour (established already), overnight camp, extended tours.

Fregon: Kaltjiti Arts & Crafts, guided tour to Ngintaka site.


Ngarutjara: Overnight camp, morning climb Mt Woodroffe (highest SA)

Mulga Park: Fuel, food, water, toilets.

Cave Hill: Desert Tracks: Camp, water, toilets. Protection of rock art.

Amata: Minymaku Arts Centre. Fuel, food.

Angatja: Desert Tracks tour. Atal Camp, guided tours of Ngintaka trail Develop- 3 day walking tour of trail, water on trail.

Walytjitjata: Guided visit to site, end of Ngintaka journey.


**Wataru: 2/3 day guided tour from Pipalyatjara

Wingellina: Arts, fuel, food - road to Docker River, Uluru, Alice Springs;

Alternative Routes and Additional Tours

Kenmore Park: alternative route from the Stuart Highway to Ernabella.
Caravan Park proposed with day tour possibilities.

WA – communities on road through to Warburton.

NT – Docker River to Uluru Cultural Centre and Anangu Tours to Mt Ebenezer Arts to Alice Springs.
APPENDIX 9

NGINTAKA SONGLINE HERITAGE TRAIL:

ANANGU CULTURAL HERITAGE REPORT (PART 1)
Ngintaka Songline Heritage Trail  
Anangu Cultural Heritage Report  
Part 1: Summary of Recommendations

Tourism, Culture, and Conservation  
Partnerships on APY Lands

Excerpt from Final Report by  
Diana James, Anthropologist and cultural tourism consultant report, June 2005  
for Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Council,  
Desert Tracks & Discovery Ecotours,  
Department of Industry, Tourism and Resources.  
Funded by the Australian Government  
Tourism and Conservation Partnership Initiative Grants 2004

Project Brief from Desert Tracks and Discovery Eco-Tours  
Project Outcomes

Development of a tourism and conservation venture that delivers:  
1. A major natural and cultural attraction along the Ngintaka Songline route  
2. Specific conservation action that protects and or promotes biodiversity along the route

Prepare a feasibility study and business Plan for the Ngintaka Songline Heritage Trail.  
This plan will:  
1. Identify the geographical areas and boundaries for the Songline Trail and  
document the links between the environmental qualities, tourism attributes and  
Songline story  
   • Consult with traditional owners, APY Land Management, Desert Knowledge  
   CRC, NT Parks and Wildlife Service, SA Parks  
   • Document boundaries on physical maps where possible  
2. Identify tourism and conservation opportunities and priorities within the Songline  
   Trail boundaries  
   • Consult with traditional owners, APY Land Management, Desert Knowledge  
   CRC, NT Parks and Wildlife Service, SA Parks  
   • Tourism ideas may include permanent or semi permanent camps, day use  
   areas, walking trails, bush food trails  
   • Conservation opportunities may include, orphaned animal soft release  
   enclosures, feral animal/weed eradication, bush food replanting, native animal  
   release programs (including endangered animals), flora and fauna research  
   base camps  

D.J. Consultancy to provide:  
1. anthropological clearance, anthropological data and information that reflects the  
wishes and concerns of traditional owners in response to the proposition that  
their country who’s borders are contained in the Ngintaka Songline, be open to  
tourism visitation.  
2. present all conditions and restrictions they specify in an authored report to be  
presented to Red Dune Consultancy, Desert Tracks and AP Land Council for  
use in an amalgamated report that is being put together by Red Dune  
Consultancy that is commissioned by Desert Tracks Pty Ltd under the  
Conservation and Tourism Initiative.
Summary of Cultural Report Recommendations for APY Tourism.

This report is not a full anthropological clearance of the proposed Ngintaka Heritage Trail. Only a few sections of the Trail could be surveyed with senior Anangu traditional owners. It is recognised that tourism impacts on whole communities therefore wider consultation with Anangu and APY Council approval is necessary before this proposal proceed further.

Recommendation 1: APY to Commission Anthropological Reports.
That APY Council commission an anthropological report on Anangu interest in the development of a tourist route along the Ngintaka Songline. A cultural impacts assessment would need to be part of this report. Anangu would be asked to consider the tourism proposal indicating potential numbers of tourists, buses or self drive, camping sites, water and wood, access to community services, stores, art centres and interest in special site tours along this route. Negative and positive impacts of tourism need to be understood by Anangu locally and across the APY Lands before an informed decision can be made. The cultural intellectual property contained in this report remains APY copyright.

Protecting Anangu intellectual property: to protect Anangu cultural and intellectual property used by Desert Tracks or other tour ventures on APY Lands, operators need to be made aware that all Anangu culture information is under APY Council copyright. Joint copyright with APY should be declared on all advertising, brochures and on the Desert Tracks website.

Recommendation 3: APY Land Council Approval of all Grant Applications.
That all government agencies considering applications for funding proposals on Indigenous Lands request a letter of approval from the Indigenous organizations and the Indigenous Land Council involved. This should be a standard government requirement for grant approval.

Recommendation 4: Tourist Permits on APY Lands.
It is suggested that APY Council consider the additional permit conditions outlined for tourists by the national representative body Aboriginal Tourism Australia. Also the legal Declaration of Intent that Desert Tracks had to include in its booking form to protect Anangu cultural and intellectual property content of tours. A standard tourist permit could then be designed for all operators on APY Lands.

Recommendation 5: Media Permits on APY Lands.
That APY review the existing standard journalist contract used by Desert Tracks and AP. If this contract is adequate it could be used for all journalist, film, radio or TV applications to come on APY Lands. All tourist operators on APY Lands need to be informed that special application must be made to APY Council for permits for journalists, film and TV producers, professional photographers and anyone engaged in research or intending commercial use of information gained on a tour of APY Lands. These permits and contracts need to be overseen directly by APY Council and its legal advisors.

Recommendation 6: Ceremonial or Funeral Road Closures and Tourism.
To avoid tourist buses clashing with ceremonial and road closures it is recommended that APY decide if it is appropriate to close the Lands to tourists for a set period each year. Itinerary flexibility is important so that tour companies can use alternative routes and destinations to avoid road closures due to ceremonies, bad weather or Sorry Business.

Recommendation 7: Valuing Anangu Guides Traditional Knowledge.
That APY establish guide fees based on experience and training. Traditional knowledge of land, law, song and dance should be recognised as prior training and these persons be accorded senior guide status. TAFE tourism training is valuable particularly for young people with little traditional skills or knowledge. These trainee guides can complement senior guides and train as interpreters, booking agents, office workers and in camp maintenance.
Community Fees to senior traditional owners of site visited may need to be paid. These fees need to be established at rates that allow the tour companies to cost tours per person at rates that allow the tours to be competitive in the open market.
APPENDIX 10

NGINTAKA TJINA:

ANANGU CULTURAL HERITAGE REPORT(PART 2)
A full anthropological clearance of the Ngintaka Songline Heritage Trail (NSHT) as a tourist route is not possible at this stage for the following reasons:

1. Desert Tracks only gained approval from APY Land Council to conduct this study on 1st June 2005. Thus there was not enough time to complete the study prior to the DITR funding end date of 5th June 2005.

2. The Feasibility trip to APY Lands on 25th March-4th April 2005 was brief only allowing for consultation with a few traditional owners of small sections of the route. The major extent of the proposed route has not been surveyed with traditional owners. All local approvals are subject to APY Council approval.

3. Traditional owners of the sections from Wallatinna to S-W of Mimili have refused permission for inclusion of this section in the proposed tourism trail.

4. The N.T. section requires consultation with the Central Lands Council and senior traditional owners currently living in W.A. who have not yet been contacted.

5. The anthropological report on the NSHT is incomplete, as all traditional owners of country through which this Songline travels and other Anganu for whom it is a route of deep religious significance created by a totemic ancestor must be consulted. Many Anganu speak for this country and they need to decide together if they want it opened up for tourism. Final approval for tourism must come through the APY Council.

6. APY approval of the anthropological report is the first step, then the proposed tours must be approved by local Anganu, communities and the APY Council. A clear explanation to Anganu about the type of tourism being proposed needs to include a estimate of expected numbers and the demands it would put on communities to provide guides, campsites, toilets, showers, water, fire wood and access to stores, office services and art centres.

7. Three types of tourism were proposed during the Feasibility Study:
   - Walking route – tours to be vehicle assisted (Jim Montgomery).
   - Drive through – 3 day adventure tour (Discovery Ecotours to DITR).
   - Angatja College style – 5 days, vehicles and short walks (Lee Brady).

8. The actual route Anganu traditional owners took the consultants:
   - Main road through APY Lands connecting communities (see map)
   - Side roads to sites that could only be visited only with senior TOs.
   - No one was interested in walking the route cross-country with tourists.

The tables following summarise the Traditional Owners consulted, their estate country, their relationship to it, and if they gave permission in principle to the idea of a Ngintaka Heritage Songline Trail through their country. Then part of the photo report on the consultation in country with TOs is included as an example of this style of report. It is designed to translate concepts of country in the cross-cultural management performance space of natural cultural landscape management on AP Lands.
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<td>Yami Lester</td>
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Tos: traditional owners.  
Iti: itingarinyi, birth place.  
Ngura kaputu: clan estate of close family.  
M: mother’s, Ngunytju  
F: Father’s, Mama  

KEY:  
U: mother’s brother, uncle, Kulypalpa  
Inmanguru: rights to perform Inma  
of that country or Ngintaka.  
Mm: mother’s mother, Kami  
Ff: father’s father, Tjamu
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NGINTAKA HERITAGE TRAIL: NGINTAKA TJINA

Blue Hills Section

Site 1: *Tjiwa tjunu* site – grindstone hidden in hole in creek-bed.


*Mguratitja* : Blue Hill Family Clan

Teddy Edwards is older brother of Molly Tjami, both born at Itjarangu, near this site Blue Hills.

Molly Tjami & Leah Brady at Blue Hills Twin Windmills.

Conservation Issues

Cattle destruction of grindstone site in creek bed.

Need other watering points for cattle, horses, donkeys.

Site 2: *Tjintjiga claypan* - near fence line running North-South

Site 3: *Tjalpikiri* – Traditional Well - Ngintaka site close beside main Mimili Road.

Traditional Well - Needs careful clean and traditional restructure: protection from cattle & tourists.

Site 4: *Inma Nyuti* – rolled headdress hill, beside Mimili road

Song - *Anmarwara ngarangu* – Ngintaka standing with legs spread wide.

Everard Ranges along Mimili Road.

Waterhole south side of hill – clean out, wedge tail eagle perch. Good camp site.
Site 5: *Kuntili waymatja* – Ngintaka saw his aunties gathering wild gum ‘tjau’, and lighting a small fire.

Teddy Edwards cleaning *Tjau* increase site.

Traditional conservation by song: Stones are cleaned and the Ngintaka song verse sung and dance performed, then rain brings more wild gum.

NGARUTJARA - Mt Woodroffe north side – Tjintulu.

Gateway to Ngarutjara Clan Estate through Araluen Pass.

Peter Nyaningu Clan Estate: Antalyangu gate to Uliapanya Creek.

**Site 1: Ngintaka Pilpirpa – Mt Woodroffe north face** is the perentie lizard chest, he is looking out over the country north, east and west from the highest mountain in South Australia.

This is the place where the *nyintjiri* people caught up with Ngintaka and searched him for the grindstone, but he cleverly hid it and started singing so everyone danced with him for days.

**Ngintaka sees these sites from Mt Woodroffe and sings song stanzas:**

*Tjilka* – roly poly prickle bush (*Salsola kali*). Site to north-east of Mt Woodroffe.

**Papa tjuta** – dingos fighting in creek bed south of Aliwanyuwanyu (David Umula). Ngintaka turned his head around and saw a dingo chasing a euro.

**Ulaipanya piti** – a large swamp, saltpan, at the head of the creek. N-W of Woodroffe.
ULAIPANYA SECTION

Traditional Owner and guide: Mick Wickilyiri
Elders consulted: Dickie Minyintirri, Barney Wangin, Stanley & Ronnie Douglas.

Amata road turn off reference point:

Site 1: Ulaipanya waterhole
Ulaipanya (Britten Jones) Creek.

Extensive patch of Desert Rose

Ulaipanya waterhole dry March 2005, by drought and overuse by cattle.

Ulaipanya waterhole – an oasis in times of drought.

This waterhole will be recommended for inclusion in the AP Land management waterhole protection program in which valuable natural waterholes are being fenced off. This is protect the waterholes from cattle, horses, camels, and donkeys.

It is recommended that Ulaipanya be maintained as a wildlife flora and fauna reserve. Substantial income for Anangu could be derived from tourism – birdwatchers, walkers, eco-cultural tourists. A permanent hut or safari tents could accommodate visitors and animal watching hides could be constructed on a walking track around the waterhole, spring and Anilalya Soak nearby.

Permanent Spring – currently trampled by cattle, in danger of silting up and ceasing to flow.
Site 2: **Unkulnga** – nyintjiri tjuta – lots of dark skinned goanna people following Ngintaka became the standing stones at this site, rock looks like petrified wood.

Mick Wikilyiri and Lee Brady – cleaning the site at Unkulnga.

Site 3: **Lanmal**

Site 4: **Tjilinyina**

Ngintaka pissed here creating a rockhole and soak.

Site 5: **Ngintaka Tjiwa**- Ngintaka went underground.

Interesting site where Ngintaka hid the *tjiwa*.

Looks like a long petrified tree trunk.
ANGATJA SECTION

Angatja Clan present – Leah Brady, Sammy Lyons, Barney Wangin. Manager & interpreter: Lee Brady (custodian through marriage.)

Site 1: Atal

Spinifex bough shelter constructed by Lee Brady, and CDEP workers after original burnt down.

Site 2: Mutingarana :

Ngintaka resting with his knee up

Site 3: Wipungku ngintinpungu :

Pantu – salt lake made by Ngintaka sweeping his tail around.

Hundreds of wild camels drinking from soaks in the lake. These were traditional sources of clean drinking water before being fouled by camels.
One day’s walk from Mutungarana around behind low hills. Vegetation change from mulga woodlands to desert oak stands on dunes, and single bloodwood trees mark Wati Ngintaka’s journey. Ullukunpa – honey grevillea (Grevillea juncifolia) – en route.

Site 4: Ngankurpana wirilyapungu: Ngintaka preening his beard.

Sammy Lyons dancing Ngintaka, Leah Brady and Barney Wangin singing the Ngankurpana wirilyapungu verses of the song line.

Lee Brady interpreter.

Site 5: Ulkapatjunkunytja
Ngintaka man vomits up the parka parka or mistletoe berry seeds.

Barney Wangin, Leah Brady, Renee and Sammy Lyons at parka parka site.

Parka parka – mistletoe berry seeds weathered pattern on rocks at this site.

Important increase site for mistletoe berries, regularly cleaned and cared for by Anangu on visits with tourists. Continual rubbing of the stone is destroying the parka parka markings on the stone.
Site 6: Tjanmatapiti: Ngintaka dug out wild onions from the hillside.

Note: Site at base of range
Not accessible to tourists – Michael Williams of Mimili refused permission.

Site 7: Kulpí – Anymawarara ngarangu.
Ngintaka has vomited up all the seeds and stands with his arms wide, his empty belly is the cave.

Erosion of steep climb into the cave is a hazard. Slippery, steep, vegetation loss by wild burn out. Uncontrolled burns in the Angatja region contribute to erosion problems. Tourist use increases erosion damage.
APPENDIX 11

LANGUAGES MAP:

YANKUNYTJATJARA and PITJANTJATJARA