Spectacle and Tourism as the Faustian Bargain: Sustaining the Myths of Landscape

> *Cultural landscapes can be represented as stories, myths and beliefs, which may be applied to wilderness landscapes or ordinary landscapes. This can apply to landscapes, used to represent national identity, to local landscapes invested with local folklore, or to sacred landscapes invested with ancient mythological meanings.* (Armstrong,2001:9)

> *The unprecedented rise in recreation and tourism … precipitated not only renewed interest in landscape but also – for capitalists, hedonists, and sentimentalists at least – a renewed value. At the level of both consumer (public demand) and producer (regional economic development interests), landscape is increasingly sought for its unique and intrinsic characteristics – its scenery, history, and ecology. Whether as a theme park, wilderness area, or scenic drive, landscape has become a huge exotic attraction unto itself; a place of entertainment, fantasy, escape, and refuge.*
> (Corner, 1999:15)

These quotes reveal the tension between the mythic qualities of landscape and the current pressure to consume landscapes for pleasure. Corner explores the nature of landscape's 'renewed value' in his study, *'Recovering Landscape as a Critical Cultural Practice'*(1999) suggesting the need for visionary and ambitious landscape projects, however, he does not caution about the impact of recreation and tourism on the existing myths and stories embedded in landscapes. There are important creative challenges for design and the media if the myths of landscape are to be sustained in the face of the current pressure to use landscapes for tourism.

The power of landscapes to draw tourists seeking spectacle has a long tradition. 18th century traveling connoisseurs were drawn to the spectacle of 'Sublime' landscapes and all that they embodied, including obscure, dark and forbidding scenes with a rugged primeval aesthetic (plate1). Such landscapes impressed the spectator with their apparent supernatural power. In contrast, others were drawn to tamer, more reassuring landscapes exemplified by the 'Beautiful' or 'Picturesque' (Andrews, 1999). Today, the myths of those former 'Sublime' landscapes of wilderness places have changed. Instead of embodying awesome power and control by forces beyond humans, they have become fragile areas, vulnerable to exploitation, initially as resource exploitation and more recently by the tourist industry.

In the past, it would not be possible to consume 'Sublime' landscapes because we, the spectators, could not perceive their boundaries. Now, because humans have seen the Earth from the Moon, no earthly elements can intimidate. Those green areas seen from space now have a new sacredness. They do not evoke the power of the deity but the power to connect us back to our human existence.

Similarly, rural landscapes and their picturesque meanings derived from 18th century yeoman farmers working in productive landscapes under the benign patronage of the landed gentry has shifted to fabricated scenes of pastoral life for a tourist driven economy, where for example, French farmers are paid to keep their farms looking like the traditional French countryside, contemporary myths, while elsewhere in Europe agricultural landscapes are vast technological machines for food manufacture.

Thus landscapes as spectacles for tourists have shifted from noble and inspiring places to become the commodity to be experienced as moving images viewed through the window of cars or tourist busses. The meanings of these landscapes are manipulated by various forms

of media to enhance their role as commodities. Landscapes, however, are not blank slates on which media can inscribe various meanings. The landscape is already a richly inscribed medium through which meanings of place/space are understood. As a conveyor of messages, landscapes have been heavily laden with myths and meaning since time immemorial (Cosgrove, 1986). By inscribing new messages in order to lure mass tourism – the contemporary spectators – earlier meanings, which often require more effort to be understood, risk being lost or damaged

Clearly media plays a key role in commodifying landscape, but they can also play an innovative and creative role in protecting particular value-laden landscapes. In this process, one can ask, does the tourist gaze damage the landscape? Although the act of looking does not physically erode the landscape, the sense of Sublime, Beautiful and Picturesque landscapes are certainly eroded by the crowded presence of contemporary tourists, the ways in which they gaze and the inevitable paraphernalia of rest stops, trinket shops etc they require. Can we re-narrate the landscape as a new epic so that the current source of damage, the tourist gaze, can be a two-way view that invites self-reflection and different ways of engaging?

This paper explores the literature about landscape meanings particularly focusing on meanings associated with everyday life in small communities. It examines the current concerns about commodification of place using a particular landscape in Australia to examine the issues. This is a spectacular landscape on the North East coast of Australia, known as the Scenic Rim; a landscape containing World Heritage sub-tropical rainforests, sugar cane and banana plantations, and a Miami-like recreational high-rise strip along golden beaches, all in close juxtaposition and integral to the quality of the other. Each of these landscapes has become the object of the tourist gaze and each has a different ability to withstand such consumption.
(Plates 2, 3, 4)

To understand the changing nature of the tourist/spectators' gaze, the paper examines the changing way travellers have looked at the landscape from 18th century travelling

connoisseurs to 21st century mass tourists. The paper explores the way Drive Tourism, seen as economic saviour for many communities, is a Faustian bargain where the revenue generated by tourists comes with the loss of some important community values related to an authentic sense of place. Tourism also interferes with innovative ways for communities to move forward. The paper asks can one employ the skills of design and media to provide decoys as spectacle, simulacra of real landscapes, but presented in such a way that the spectator's gaze changes from one of unreflective consumption to one related to new myths about landscape? Closely related to these designs is the need to address the current expressway experience as a new aesthetic of mobility.

THE SPECTACLE OF LANDSCAPE
The Connoisseur's Gaze: The Sublime, the Beautiful and the Picturesque.
Travellers in the 18th century were usually European aristocrats seeking to explore different places as connoisseurs. Such people were educated about the myths of landscape, for example, 'Sublime' landscapes were described as conveying 'delightful horror' (Andrews, 1999:134). This was exemplified by landscapes which embodied transcendence, vastness, magnificence, and fearfulness. They nevertheless drew the spectator because, despite their overwhelming power, viewing them did not place the spectator in actual danger. This sense of danger, the 'delightful horror', continues to draw tourists to contemporary 'Sublime' landscapes.

In contrast, 'Beautiful' landscapes were seen as having a 'fragile delicacy', described in female terms as smooth and sensuous landforms (Andrews,1999:133), often revealed through cultivation of the land. They were submissive and productive. Again such pastoral scenes continue to draw the tourist gaze

A third landscape aesthetic, 'Picturesque' landscapes, was valued for the landscape's apparent untouched status. Picturesque landscapes were untamed nature, not a frightening wildness, but nature in organic growth and decay, symbolizing what is good, beautiful and true to a spirit of place or *genius loci*. They embodied the agency of time as well as a naturalness and spontaneity in contrast to the artifice of designed gardens of the aristocracy.

'Picturesque' landscapes exemplified 18th -19th century German Romanticism where everything at a distance becomes poetic – '*distant mountains, distant people, distant events*' (Andrews, 1999:111). The spectator's gaze was deep and reflective but always from an 'aesthetic distance'. Travellers viewed such landscapes from a window where the confinement of the interior was in immediate contrast with the immensity of the space outside.

The Democratizing of Travel
By the 19th century, with the advent of rail, travel had become available to the middle class. This not only occurred in Europe. Increasingly, in North America and Australia, people travelled through the landscape as recreation. In the United States during the 19th century, the railways used the medium of photography to produce highly evocative scenes of beautiful landscapes that one could visit by train. Similarly using trains to arrive in mountainous scenic landscapes occurred in Australia at the same time.

By the 1930s, in the United States, people were encouraged to use the newly produced cars to travel through the landscape as a form of Drive Tourism. During the late 1930s, as a result of the Depression, employment programs were developed, often employing media in the form

of photographs, art, music and travel literature, to encourage people to enjoy the American landscape (Findlay & Bing, 1998). Since the late 1940s, touring America or Australia by car has become a common form of recreation.

Today 'Drive Tourism' has taken on a different form where small towns seek to regain economic strength through tourism; the towns becoming the destination and their local heritage, the resource. Drive Tourism, a well-funded government policy, seeks to promote tourism as economic development in rural and regional areas; for example, a partnership between Tourism Queensland, Main Roads and the Queensland Heritage Trails Network is preparing Corridor Management Plans for staged development of designated tourism routes, many of which will pass through the Scenic Rim. This approach involves formulating an image and 'branding' each route, installing promotional signage and information systems, and marketing of the routes based on associated tourism 'product' and events through a range of media.

Such an approach commodifies the highways and the view from the road and has generated a number of concerns about the impact that tourism is having on the landscape, the very resource which generated the original interest for vacationers.

Why Gaze at Landscapes?
The tourist gaze embodies a number of different ways of looking at landscapes. Urry (1995), in his study on the consumption of place, suggests that tourists can be classified according to the experience they seek. If the tourist travels to see views, distinctive localities, or experience wild nature, then their gaze may be 'romantic' in that they seek solitude and a sense of authenticity in what they see. They are more likely to be slow travellers wanting sustained immersion in the landscape where their gaze can fall on places which evoke respect and humility. At the same time, their gaze may also be 'environmental', where the tourist is fascinated by nature, or 'anthropological' in their romantic view of different communities and place. They are often lone tourists seeking individuality and self-discovery.

If the tourist seeks spectacle derived from convivial crowds, then solitude is disappointing. The 'collective' tourist gaze is a series of shared encounters where tourists gaze at predictable scenes. Often 'collective' tourists are also 'spectatorial', where as a communal activity, they experience a series of brief, and often breath taking, encounters with the landscape, glancing at and collecting different signs. Other tourists are described as 'post-tourists' who delight in inauthenticity. They enjoy the multitude of games that can be played and believe there is no authentic tourist experience (Urry,1995).

These could all be described as 'gaze as experience' but what meanings do tourists seek to see in the landscape? Is the landscape still embued with 18th-19th century myths and meanings or have landscape meanings changed?

MEANINGS AND VALUES IN THE LANDSCAPE
As stated earlier, landscapes are not blank slates. Instead they embody meanings and values which range from highly valued wilderness to affectionate feelings for landscapes exemplifying ordinary and everyday ways of life. While it is generally accepted that wilderness landscapes are to be prized, less is understood about why cultural landscapes should be valued.

A key to understanding the significance of cultural landscapes in terms of myth and meanings lies in its origins in the German geographical circles in the late 19th century, Landscape as a cultural construct grew out of discontent about the hegemony of physical geographers who considered biophysical systems the only means of interpreting landscape. Similarly in France, landscapes derived from human influences provoked interest because ways of life, customs and practices were seen as responses to geomorphically distinct regions. At the same time as physical geography was being challenged, German philosophical paradigms were also changing. A new paradigm, phenomenology, was proposed as a way of understanding ways of life and customs, particularly everyday life and the way it is experienced.

French and German geographical studies, in parallel with phenomenological studies, lay the foundation for later studies on sense of place. The growth of this work occurred in the United

States in the 1920s where Carl Sauer, influenced by both the German humanist geographers and the new developments in human geography in North America, put forward the concept of landscapes as representations of the activities and aspirations of cultural groups. He was the first person to refer to 'the cultural landscape' explaining that the cultural landscape was the result of cultural groups responding to natural landscapes in ways where culture acted as the agent on natural areas, the medium (Sauer,1925).

Later, followers of Sauer developed the practice of 'reading' the landscape through critical observation. Initially such readings were anthropological, but subsequent scholars recognised that landscapes were repositories of signs and symbols which were expressions of customs and values, imbuing landscapes with a sense of place.

The way places can become important to communities often relates to social memory. David Lowenthal, a pioneer in the art of interpreting the meaning of landscape, has been pre-eminent in developing concepts of attachment to places redolent with memories and past associations. His work shifted discussions about place and cultural landscapes into the realm of values rather than mere descriptions of the ways cultural practices have created landscapes. Lowenthal saw that cultural landscapes had value as a form of heritage because of the need for human attachment to the past (Lowenthal, 1985,1996).

In parallel with Lowenthal's work, significant work in North America and Canada has focused on sense of place such as the work of Edward Relph (1976) and the spirituality embedded in *genius loci*, expounded by Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980). More recently Simon Schama (1995) has explored the depth of collective memories and myths embedded in cultural landscapes.

Sense of Place

Edward Relph, in his book, *Place and Placelessness* (1976) observes that the values people attribute to places are related to their level of empathy with such places. Relph was one of the early cultural geographers to incorporate a phenomenological perspective into understanding the concept of sense of place, prompted by the rise of perceived 'placelessness' in many first world cities.

In seeking to understand why we value certain places, Relph sees the importance of 'existential' or 'lived' space as particularly relevant. According to Relph, existential space is constantly being made and remade by human activities. These are evident as unselfconscious patterns and structures in the form of landscapes, towns and houses. It is this unselfconscious aspect of existential space which is undermined when communities rely on tourism for their economy.

Of particular importance is Relph's exploration of the 'identity' of place. There is a difference between the identity *of* a place and group identity *with* a place based on whether one experiences the place as an insider or an outsider. He states '*To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it'* (Relph,1976:49). Relph proposes three states of insideness; '*behavioural insideness'* which is being physically present in a place, '*empathetic insideness'* which is the emotional involvement with a place, and '*existential insideness'* which is the complete and unselfconscious commitment to a place (Relph,1976:50).

The tourist is an outsider and often perceives sense of place through media generated images. The more communities reconfigure themselves to appeal to the image required by such outsiders, the more they endanger their 'existential insideness'.

Narrating Landscapes/Reading Landscapes as Texts

An alternative way to understand landscapes lies in Post-Structuralist theory which can be extended to narrating landscapes. The concept that landscapes can be read as texts with complex intertextual connections, multiple authorship, and the role of the reader/spectator in the construction of meanings has blossomed in the climate of Post-Structuralism. This has resulted in many interesting partnerships between disciplines such as temporal and spatial

media, fictive realms, and lived experiences revealed by the poetics and politics of stories (Pottinger & Purlington, 1998).

Reading landscapes as texts is generally supported in cultural studies and urban semiotics (Calvino,1979; Carter,1987, 1992; Eco,1986) where the use of tropes and metaphors can be used to uncover meanings and values. Pottinger & Purlington, however, are keen to show how this interpretative process can be translated into designs for the landscape.

The Iconography and Myths of Place
There is also a rich body of theory about the iconography of place. The humanistic geographers, Cosgrove & Daniels (1988) have written extensively on this, drawing predominantly from artistic and literary representations of landscape as vehicles to reveal the socio-political signifiers embedded in representations of place.

Included in ways of representing landscape, multi media and landscape design clearly have a contemporary role. Cosgrove, in his study, *Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape* (1986), provides important insights into the meanings and values associated with Western landscapes. He looks at how the 'landscape idea' has developed as a cultural construct particularly in terms of production on the land, ranging from the Medieval period, characterised by close affinity with the land which is saturated with myths, to capitalism where the land becomes a commodity for increasing exchange value. He suggests that ideologies are embedded in the landscape as metaphors for various aspirations of cultural groups.

Cosgrove explores the role of the New World in fulfilling European aspirations. In North America, Cosgrove's 'landscape idea' takes on a particular form which, he claims, is shaped by the combination of European ideas, the reality of the American landscape, and the particular social structure in America. He draws from John Stilgoe's (1982:17) claim that North America is the landscape of common knowledge, which is created by

> … a mixture of both the 'little tradition' transmitted by generations of half-literate peasants and the 'great tradition' of the literate, innovative minority of scholars, rulers, and merchants and professional surveyors and architects.

'Little traditions' have also been described by other geographers such as J.B. Jackson's (1984) description of vernacular places and descriptions of everyday places discussed by Donald Meinig (1979) in his edited volume, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes.*

Theoretical interpretations of landscape myths, meanings and values thus include existential understandings, iconographic interpretations as well as the value of familiar and everyday places. Some regional landscapes such as the Scenic Rim, embody all of these understandings; they are iconic, they are sublime and picturesque, and they are also ordinary and everyday.

Introducing the Scenic Rim
The Scenic Rim is a mythic landscape. As stated, it is a World Heritage Site on the North East coast of Australia. It is defined by a giant crescent of spectacular mountain ranges and extends from the Gold Coast high-rise strip in the north to the idyllic coastal town, Byron Bay, in the south and west as far as Main Range National Park. Seen as a whole, it includes the centrally located volcanic mountain ranges of the Tweed Caldera (Plate 5) which are largely uncleared, possessing high natural values; rural plains of sugar cane and banana plantations (plate 6); and coastal areas which include fishing villages (plate 7), larger urban towns and high rise resort known as Surfers Paradise (plate 8).

The landscape is rich in Aboriginal mythology as well as projected European myths ascribed to 'Sublime' and 'Picturesque' landscapes.

In terms of cultural tourism potential, the Scenic Rim includes a wilderness experience as well as attractive rural landscapes, all of which are in close proximity to the large population centres along the coast. The rural area is currently struggling as a productive sugar cane and banana plantation landscape, so the whole area is seen as ripe for a tourist driven economy.

RURAL COMMUNITIES AND TOURISM

Currently there is much concern about the demise of rural landscapes, particularly where they adjoin growing urban development. In France, this has been of concern for some time where, in managing the loss of rural landscape, French landscape architects indicate

> *…since the 1980s France has finally become aware of the true gravity of the crisis of the rural world and the agricultural economy … moreover the growth of other economies, such as tourism and recreation, has moved into the agrarian areas without evolving their own culture of place-making … the preservation of the legacy of these agrarian communities, the care of their resources, and the adaptation to new, changing economies demands true invention in the form of innovative landscape projects.*
>
> (Marot,1999:49)

Rural communities in Australia are similarly suffering the plight of many small town communities as they try to come to terms with post-Fordist flexible accumulation, particularly changes in global agribusiness and its resulting unemployment.

One proposition is that these small communities should be left to become 'rural relics' whereas another proposition recognises that there is an intimate relationship between place and culture which expresses itself as human attachment, shared identity and civic responsibility. Embedded in the second proposition is the value of assisting small communities to maintain their livelihood within their existing setting.

The few local economic programs developed to address the viability of small rural towns, such as the Main Street Program, tend to be formulaic, focusing on tourism as their economic base. There have, however, been other initiatives which have looked at environmental design opportunities for new rural industries. Environmental/landscape design in these rural situations have used broad-scale site planning and design to develop a range of proposals including new agribusiness associated with organic farming or value-adding to existing rural industries.

Communities in the hinterland of South East Queensland and Northern New South Wales have the added forces of suburban 'sunbelt' development across the coastal plain and high-rise tourist developments along the coast. Because tourism is such a strong focus for the coastal area, hinterland community groups are keen to develop Drive Tourism through a proposal called the "Great Holiday Road" (CACTASS, 2000).

Clearly this landscape involves complex community and tourist industry dynamics and, although apparently robust in many ways, the issues of mass consumption of place need to be carefully considered whether it is a community initiative or driven by the wider tourist industry.

MASS CONSUMPTION OF MYTHS OF PLACE AND IMAGINED COMMUNITIES

In his study on *Consuming Places* (1995), the sociologist, Urry, brings out the particular peril of post-modernity and its impact on place identity. He concentrates on the economics of space and the different concepts of consumption, citing Zukin's work on the city as a centre for post-modern consumption. She describes the way the city has become a spectacle which she calls a '*dreamscape of visual consumption*' (Zukin,1992:221). Surfers Paradise is the epitome of Zukin's dreamscape (plate 9), however it is ideal for mass tourism. It is robust and has potential along with other simulated dreamscapes to act as decoys for tourists, keeping mass tourism away from everyday community life.

Expressions of everyday lived space are best explained by Henri Lefebvre's concept of space and representation. For him,

> *…everyday life comprises all that is humble, ordinary, and taken for granted; it is made up of repetitions, of small gestures and insignificant actions in which all the elements relate to each other in such a regular sequence of accepted pattern that their meaning need never be questioned.* Lefebvre's (1974,1991:100-101)

Such meanings are being appropriated and distorted where tourist interests aestheticise everyday spaces in rural towns, as picturesque and quaint forms of living history. This ignores the fact that everyday landscapes are contemporary and that there is the potential for new meanings to emerge that relate to modern sustainable communities with people going about their everyday activities free of the self-consciousness associated with the tourist gaze.

Consumption of place has also been the focus of interest for the geographer, David Harvey. He suggests that because of the post-modern time-space compression and the resultant homogeneity of culture and place, there is increasing sensitivity to the variations in places. As a result, there is an incentive for places to be differentiated in ways that are attractive to capital and tourists (Harvey,1989). This is a Faustian bargain. The unselfconscious expression of differences evident in places will be lost once they become part of the image-making process used to lure capital.

As Zukin points out, post-modern landscapes are often imagined 'place', such as themed villages and Disneyland Main Streets. Perhaps the ultimate extension of this phenomenon is where the place - as a site of consumption - is the real place, in which people live and work, but now existing as a hyper-real version of itself such as rural towns given over to themed tourism, often enacting a themed history which never existed (Lowenthal, 1996).

In his study *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now*, Peter Fowler (1992) foreshadows Urry's concerns about the consumption of place. Fowler focuses on the consumption of heritage places and possible reasons why the commodification of heritage is so acceptable in the present community. He comments on the 'invisibles' in a landscape where the significance may not necessarily lie in the features themselves, but in their relationship across space and time, along with other phenomena, the nature of which may be uncertain at a particular moment. In this context, the loss of rural community life in the Scenic Rim and some of its 'invisibles' is equivalent to the loss of rainforests and their potential to yield knowledge. There are alternatives for rural towns as tourist 'heritage' sites, some of which lie in using the nature of knowledge in communities in innovative ways that address the future rather than the past.

All these theorists are concerned about the consumption of cultural landscapes where people live and work, whether city centres or smaller communities in their regional settings. Of equal concern is the consumption of wilderness places. In contrast to the 18th century concepts of 'Sublime' landscapes, Schama points out that the founding fathers of modern environmentalism, Thoreau and Muir, promised that 'in wilderness is the preservation of the world' (Schama.1995:7). This was based on the presumption that the wilderness was out

there, somewhere in the heart of America, awaiting discovery and that such a spiritual place would be the antidote to the poisons of the industrial society (Schama,1995). Of course the 'healing wilderness' was as much a product of cultural craving as any other imagined place. Today this concept has been supplanted with the idea that wilderness is awaiting tourist entrepreneurs to take people for short bursts of the spectacle of prehistory.

Given the prevalence of consumption of place, whether the city centre, rural areas or wilderness, potential lies in separating tourists and travellers as a way of developing forms of management that address the needs of both while minimising the damage that mass tourism can cause.

The Tourist and the Traveller
When the term 'tourist' was first used around the end of the 18th Century, it was used interchangeably with the term 'traveller' (Sharpley,1994). Today, these terms have different connotations, where the traveller is associated with exploration while the tourist expects spectacle.

> *The traveller, then, was working at something; the tourist was a pleasure seeker. The traveller was; active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him...he expects everything to be done to him and for him.*

<div align="right">(Boorstin in Shapley 1994:68)</div>

Sharpley (1994:87) sees that the 'distinction between the traveller and the tourist is no more than a manifestation of the first two stages in the evolution of travel and we have now reached a third stage, the era of the post tourist.' One could ask, in this third stage is there a way where passive tourists can be contained, while enlightened travellers can explore?

INTERPRETING THE LANDSCAPE FOR AN ENLIGHTENED TRAVELLER'S GAZE.
Reading the Landscape as History and Heritage
There are other ways of representing landscapes than using them to provide sites for passive consumption of stereotyped images. Landscapes can be sites for learning about the complex and layered myths and histories embedded in places, much of which is yet to be told.

Representing landscapes as history raises many interpretation issues. Some see history as slices of time where a chronology is established and marked by significant dates associated with major changes. Others prefer to interpret history through themes. The Australian Heritage Commission developed an early example of heritage themes in an attempt to develop a more sophisticated approach to the interpretation of Australian heritage (Pearson & Sullivan,1995).

Most heritage interpretations of South East Queensland have emphasised 'land use' as the foundation to their themes, with little attention being paid to identifying attitudes, perceptions and interpretations of climate and nature. Another approach considers these aspects through a thematic history including 'living in the tropics' and 'the unofficial history of marginal groups' (Sim, 2001). This last theme has particular significance to the Scenic Rim area, as it includes sites of Aboriginal massacres, the first use of South Sea Islanders as forms of slave labour in cane fields and numerous 20th century migrant groups who worked as itinerant labour on sugar plantations. Descendants of these communities continue to live in the area.

The most powerful form of heritage lies in the World Heritage rainforests and the remnants of the shield volcano, considered to be one of the largest in the world. As a heritage landscape, however, this is the most vulnerable of all to tourist pressure. At present, its power lies in its sense of stored knowledge and secrets about nature.

An equally important heritage interpretation lies in the Aboriginal history associated with this landscape. There is Aboriginal mythic significance in the central mountain, named Mt Warning by Captain Cook when he saw it from the sea in 1770, or Wollumbin, by the Aboriginal people. Wollumbin is heavily imbued with warrior mythology associated with the vertical scars on the mountainside (plate 10) The area is drenched with stories of the 'killing

fields' (Reynolds, 1999), lost grave sites, lost bora rings (sites for traditional cultural practice), and lost sites of missions where the 'stolen generation ' were housed from the turn of the 20th century to the 1960s. Narrating the landscape to represent Aboriginality, however, requires a more complex approach than Western chronological or thematic histories (Hart,2001).

The history since first white occupation is more easily revealed in the landscape.   Because of the fertile volcanic soils and the huge river meeting the sea, towering forests of red cedar, now extinct, dominated the landscape. At this time, the area was more akin to the 18th century European myth that Australia was an Antipodean Garden of Eden. This landscape tells the story of white resource exploitation. The timber getters selectively removed all the giant cedars and pines, followed by settlers completely de-afforestating the landscape to remove obstacles to agriculture.   The mountainous rainforests were spared because of their inaccessibility and the un-likeliness of productive use. By the 1980s, this perception changed and the area was declared a World Heritage Site to protect it from resort developments.

Reading the landscape as history is a readily accepted practice. Landscapes are also rich in other narratives reflecting many 'little traditions' and a few 'noble' visions.

Narrating the Landscape
Narrating this landscape for an enlightened traveller's gaze is rich in possibilities, particularly the themes which highlight the struggles to establish productive landscapes and the close relationship between local communities and the particularities of this place. It is a landscape rich in narratives and myths about heroes; heroic rescues in precipitous valleys, the post World War 1 heroic 'little Aussie battlers' who tried to fight the 'prickly pear' weed infestations consuming their Soldier Settler allotments and the yet to be told stories of Aboriginal heroes defending their land. These are all themes about the 'tenacity' involved in trying to survive in this landscape (Barber, Grimes, Hogg,2001).

Politically, narrating the area is interesting because the border between two States runs through the Caldera; a surveyor's line unrelated to natural features. State rivalries are evident as border control gates, known as 'tick gates', ostensibly to ensure no plant material, particularly fruit, passes from side to side. Narrating the landscape as political boundaries raises many levels of interpretation, ranging from global/national in terms of World Heritage Sites, the special interests involved in State and Local Government boundaries which impinge on effective management of natural system boundaries, and the invisible boundaries of Aboriginal clans, some of whom now seek to establish Land Rights claims.

Another form of landscape narration relates to water catchments and the exploitation of water in the area. As with most European settlements in Australia, towns have tended to cluster along the coast, particularly where major rivers meet the sea. The subsequent manipulation of land related to creating dams in the mountain valleys, developing irrigation channels in the cane plantations and finally in the 1960s undertaking the first canal estates in Australia, the latter further strengthen the similarity with Miami, Florida. The proliferation of canal estates for resort and luxury housing continued until the mid 1990s when the environmental damage could no longer be ignored. But almost forty years of canal estates, as damaging as they are, have nevertheless resulted in a particularly interesting heritage of different forms of canal estate technology.

The final layer of narratives in the area relates to the idealism associated with the French student movement of 1968. The hinterland behind the coast became the site for the advent of 'hippie' communes closely linked to the Aquarius Festival in the early 1970s and the fight to save old growth native forests from wood chipping. Student and environmental activists converged in the area, living in communes and establishing alternative lifestyles. They and their children continue to live in the area, bartering with organic produce and maintaining the battle to legalise cannabis, one of their organic crops (Harper et al,2001). (plate 11)

Clearly such landscapes, so rich in layered narratives over time, deserve a different tourist gaze to one of merely consuming pre-digested images of quaint rural towns sitting in scenic landscapes. Perhaps the way to change such a fate is to encourage local communities to eshew tourism as their economic base, and instead draw from the different forms of knowledge; formal, theoretical, informal, practical and tacit, that exist individually, collectively and in the landscape.

Drawing from the concerns about the French rural landscape and the call for 'innovative landscape projects', there are a number of ways of working with rural landscapes emerging in Europe, including the new rural projects in the Netherlands. These provide dramatic landscapes reflecting coalitions between energy companies, nature and farming organisations, the water board and others, all working towards a new type of post-agricultural landscape (Dettmar,1999).

NEW AESTHETICS OF MOBILITY FOR ENLIGHTENED TRAVELLERS
As a result of these various innovative projects and interventions, tourists have the potential to become enlightened travellers, however there are other forces undermining the tourist/traveller's experience of the landscape. The design of contemporary expressways, including the confinement by acoustic walls, is separating the tourist/traveller from any sense of the landscape through which they pass. Thus to be able to develop an enlightened traveller's gaze, a new aesthetics of mobility is needed. Francine Houben, a Netherlands landscape architect, states

> *The motorway is a space in its own right and a car an extension of the office or living room. It is a room with a view, … We run the risk of losing this view as individual local authorities start to capitalise on their land beside the motorways, planning in the clumsiest manner imaginable… . Here lies an opportunity to deploy landscape design scenarios in order to create a cohesive structure of motorways and cities. The aesthetics of mobility makes this possible.*

> (Houben, 2001b)

The road experience in South East Queensland and Northern New South Wales is dominated by massive expressways, associated connector roads, billboards and acoustic walls. In Australia, the current design debate about dealing with expressways has tended to focus on exciting art works as major entries into cities, leaving other expressways confined by cheap 'package-case' acoustic walls. The proliferation and extensiveness of such shabby walls is an alarming phenomenon.

From the 1960s, landscape architects played a leading role in the design of major expressways, working on preferred scenic road alignments and ways to minimize the impact of the roads on the surrounding environment. In Australia, this was exemplified by the design for the original Sydney to Newcastle expressway, where the road was carefully cut through the Sydney sandstone to create sculptural works of great beauty, in strong contrast to the brutal, almost vertical cuts, sprayed with concrete, characteristic of many expressways today. Designers at this time drew from the notion of 'Progressive Realization' or the gradual revealing of views and the 1950s 'Continuous Ribbon Theory' where the notion of driving is experienced in 'sensuous uninterrupted flows – tilting, turning, dropping and climbing … an internal harmony of wide swinging curves…' (Shepherd, 2001)

With this road design heritage, how do we address current alienating designs so that residents and travellers alike deepen their enlightened gaze? Houben (2001a) suggests that the landscape be analysed into character types and managed accordingly. For an enlightened traveller, the experience of landscape also depends on one's worldview, romantic, capitalist, environmental, nationalist etc (Dover, 1994). Traditionally, the traveller would have held a 'romantic' worldview when traveling through the landscape. It is possible to develop typologies of landscapes that address the aesthetics of mobility for enlightened travellers with romantic worldviews. Black, Don and Newell (2001) propose four typologies, under the headings of 'Phenomenon', 'Romantic Views and Choreography' 'Romantic Infrastructure', 'Romantic Stopping Nodes'. The 'Phenomenon' typology includes character units that embody 'wild, rugged, magical, and emotional' elements. Many of these character units become recognizable as the traveller moves deeper into the mountain ranges. The 'Views and Choreography' typology contains elements that 'swirl, dance, curve' thus providing a sequence of views. These are also elements that become more significant as one moves deeper into the mountain ranges. The 'Romantic Infrastructure' typology picks up character units that contain sensitive rural infrastructure such as old bridges, fences, gateways and lookouts, all contributing to the romantic character of the landscape. The 'Romantic Stopping Node' typology picks up on character units that include stopping places that allow for 'fascination, distraction, curiosity and refreshment'.

Assuming the removal of acoustic walls, typologies combined with Houben's character units can be plugged into a mapping and narrative process where each typology draws from a set of character units that can be applied to those parts of the landscape without existing romantic attributes, thus creating a particular aesthetic of mobility. Other worldviews, scientific, nationalist, capitalist, socialist etc can be similarly analysed into landscape types and related to expressways.

Thus the contemporary spectacle of landscape is intrinsically linked with a revised aesthetic of the modern freeway.

INNOVATIVE PROJECTS FOR THE TRAVELLERS' GAZE: AVOIDING THE FAUSTIAN BARGAIN
Once the view from the expressway is reinstated, containing tourists on expressways is the most effective way of protecting the landscapes they are viewing. At robust destinations between these journeys, intriguing and exhilarating simulacra, exploiting the full range of media, can be provided as ways to experience the landscapes of value vicariously. These can be fun-filled decoys to satisfy mass tourism needs while keeping this form of tourism away from living, working landscapes or sensitive wildlife habitats. Associated with simulacra of landscapes is the potential for a range of games to be used in vehicles as one travels such as 'Sim Scenic Rim Game', a hand held unit with GPS to enable a range of engagements with landscape (McCarthy & Radice,2001).

In the Scenic Rim, there are a number of ways one can manage tourist landscapes so that the more robust landscapes such as the high-rise strip, Surfers Paradise, and the new simulacra can continue to satisfy the needs of mass tourism, while enlightened travellers can experience the landscape as 'Beautiful' and 'Picturesque' views from second order roads whose margins are carefully managed to heighten the aesthetics of mobility. Journeys through the landscape can be orchestrated with messages about community vitality and environmental sustainability augmenting the clever use of landscape simulacra or theme parks.

To avoid the Faustian bargain, rural towns need to surrender the idea of tourism as a perceived economic salvation and instead embark upon new rural industries, such as innovative learning communities, niche agriculture or post agricultural enterprises (Dettmar,1999).

Enlightened travellers can also be provided with ways of experiencing the landscape through creative interventions. Some might like to become 'Deep Travellers' participating in new landscape relationships where once having passed through the 'firewalls' to contain mass tourism, they can be issued with 'Deep Travelling passports' enabling entry into 'Deep Traveller Journeys' (Watson et al, 2001). Others might like to engage in narratives in the landscape where the traveller becomes the narrator, the landscape the narrative, and the experience an inter-textual play with tropes and metaphors. Selected routes then become an art gallery if the traveller is sensitive to the signs (Harper et al, 2001).

CONCLUSION

Landscapes as spectacles experienced through the travellers' gaze have a long history. Such history is deeply embedded in myths; 'noble' myths associated with the spectacle of sublime landscapes and 'little' myths associated with ordinary and familiar landscapes. Today many mythic landscapes, both epic and sublime as well as familiar and everyday, are vulnerable on a number of counts.

Since the 18th century, the nature of travel has changed and in the process landscapes have become increasingly exposed to various acts of consumption by tourists. Despite the evident deleterious impact of this, there is increasing pressure to continue to appropriate and consume landscapes as part of Late Capitalism's focus on a tourist driven economy.

Some places, such as modern city centres, are robust and can withstand or even be energized by this consumption. Other places enter a Faustian bargain if they use tourism as their economic foundation. This is particularly true for rural communities who risk becoming self-conscious parodies of themselves and in the process lose sight of the rich and layered meanings in their towns and landscapes.

Tourism is not the only option for rural communities. New ways can be found to strengthen their economic base; creative ways that are capable of generating 'little' myths or even heroic epics related to future landscapes.

There are also new ways to use expressways to contain tourists while providing creatively orchestrated views of landscape which, in conjunction with new simulacra of valued places, both rural and wilderness, can influence a change in the perception of landscapes and their vital role in the 21st century.

Media of all kinds can be used to create simulacra of 'real place' for tourist enjoyment and along with a new aesthetics of mobility, the traveller can be given back the romantic and mythic experience of landscape.

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