New Voices, New Visions

New Voices, New Visions:
Challenging Australian Identities and Legacies

Edited by

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For the blokes in the family: Reg, Kurt, Luke and Mark

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And the women: Lynne, Lisa, and Sarah

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part V: Sexuality, Gender and the Regional

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

CATRIONA ELDER AND KEITH MOORE

"Damn the law; my will is the law, and woe unto the man that dares to disobey it!" shouts Governor William Bligh from the pages of E. A. Hughes's *Bligh of the Bounty* (1928, 177). Yet, some did dare, and twenty years after his crew mutinied on board his ship, Bligh encountered another uprising—this time as governor of New South Wales by the military officers serving under him. Many historians share Hughes's view that the *Bounty* captain was a bullying tyrant, undeserving of compassion or sympathy over the mutiny by his crew. They portray Bligh as cruel and inflexible, a martinet devoid of the skills necessary to successfully occupy the position he held. However, another vision, which highlights the voices of Bligh and his supporters, challenges those who argue that Bligh, as captain of the *Bounty,* was a tyrant. Those who support this viewpoint see Bligh as an expert navigator who was compassionate towards his crew. They argue that it is the first mate, Fletcher Christian, who deserves the blame for the *Bounty* mutiny. Also, many historians assess Bligh's performance as governor of New South Wales favourably, considering him a principled and competent administrator surrounded by powerful and corrupt officers. Bligh was a victim of circumstance, his supporters claim. Although numerous historians have attempted to settle the matter, new voices or new research facilitating new visions and new formats for telling the tale continue to surface.

Although the crew of the *Bounty* would not have known it at the time, they were making Australian history. The shipboard rebellion took place a year after Australia was colonised, and the location of the ship at the time and the crew's ultimate destination reflected the British interest in the South Pacific. When Bligh re-emerged as a colonial governor in New South Wales, it was as a member of a circulating group of British military officers overseeing the governing of the expanding British colonies. More specifically, the endless debate on whether Bligh was a "blunt and zealous … public servant actuated … by honest intentions" (Bennett 1867, 367) or someone who "offended by his rudeness until, at last, there was scarcely anyone in the colony who was his friend" (Allen 1882, 32) has played an

important part in the production of national cultures and histories. The centrality of the issue in early Australian history reflects the place of the first colony of New South Wales and the political history and narratives of challenge, rebellion, and disobedience in Australian history and popular mythology. In a volume such as this, which explores the new visions and voices in twenty-first-century Australian life and culture, it is interesting to consider the myriad of narratives that have emerged around William Bligh over the last two hundred years. They help to highlight the changes and the continuities in the voices and the visions that have circulated about Australian cultures. The collection of works on Bligh can help us trace the patterns in the themes and issues that move in and out of daily social and political life in Australia, and the fora—local, national, and global—in which these stories play out.

The *Bounty* mutiny attracted the public's attention almost as soon as it occurred, and the voices that contributed to the production of the narrative of the rebellion were varied. William Bligh's account, titled *A Narrative of the Mutiny, on Board His Majesty's Ship the Bounty ...*, was published in 1790. Also in that year, the Royalty Theatre staged *The Pirates: Or, the Calamities of Capt. Bligh* (Clement and Larsen 1989, 1, 49). The capture of some of the *Bounty* crew members in Tahiti and their return to London where, in 1792, they were court-martialled and some executed heightened public interest in Bligh's role in the mutiny, especially when Edward Christian, the brother of prominent *Bounty* mutineer Fletcher Christian, published the proceedings (Clement and Larsen 1989, 17). Already, the story of the mutiny was circulating as popular theatre, legal documents, and memoir. Accounts of the uprising penned by the mutineers were published, though the authenticity of some was questionable. When *The Letters of Fletcher Christian* emerged in 1796, readers were informed that the contents were about Christian's participation in "numerous South Sea adventures." Lord Byron produced a favourable portrait of Christian in his 1823 narrative poem *The Island, or Christian and His Comrades* (Clement and Larsen 1989, 51, 55).

In the late nineteenth century, the *Bounty* story and the NSW corps rebellion were sutured into Australian history, with varying conclusions. In *History of Australia from 1787–1882* (Allen 1882, 32), James Allen wrote favourably about Bligh, whereas Alexander Sutherland in his *History of Australia from 1606 to 1888*, published in 1897, was scathing in his denunciation of the New South Wales governor. When Australian and New Zealand students in the early twentieth century were introduced to colonial history, they received a negative story of Bligh as "overbearing" and "unfitted" for the post of governor (*History of Australia and New*

Zealand 1927, 26–7). In the twentieth century, some of the literary and historical visions of Bligh morphed into celluloid, and new dramatic or fictionalised narratives of his life emerged. In 1933, the Australian film *In the Wake of the Bounty* was released, with Errol Flynn making his acting debut as Fletcher Christian. However, the film had limited influence, as Greg Dening (1992, 346) explains, "MGM bought it up to clear the ground for their 1935 version." The 1935 film *Mutiny on the Bounty* starring Charles Laughton as Bligh and Clark Gable as Christian won the Academy Award Best Picture that year (Clement and Larsen 1989, 69). In both films it is possible to see how the intersection of a "good versus evil" story, a matinee idol, and an exotic South Seas adventure was imagined as box-office gold. The appearance of the Bligh story on film highlights the role of new media—television and cinema—in envisioning a nation. These media expanded the spaces where national narratives could be aired; they also connected Australia with particular circuits of culture: the Hollywood film industry and the American and British television cultures. The rivalry between the two films about the *Bounty* demonstrates how visions of Australia or Australian visions of the world were filtered through the two dominant English language behemoths—the United Kingdom and the United States. Provided the dominant vision of Australia continued to be that of a Western culture mistakenly located in Asia, this relationship would continue to shape the narratives of belonging, place, and identity.

Bligh scholarship continued to be produced in the late twentieth century, and again new modes and themes emerged. Dening's *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty*, published in 1992, is an ethnographic examination both of the crew members' lives and of the beliefs and social mores of the Polynesians. In an academic scene transformed by poststructuralism and postcolonialism, Dening's book exemplifies the power of these conceptual turns. The Tahitians, who had been absent or mute in much of the analysis of the mutiny, emerged as actors in the scene. It became more obvious to many that the issue of colonialism was central to analyses of Australian life. More narratives exploring Indigenous and non-British visions of place and identity emerged (Moreton-Robinson 2007; Perera 2006). The relations between the dominant Anglo-Celtic Australian population and other groups came to the fore.

Although Governor Bligh does not appear in the exploration of contemporary narratives of Australia in this volume, he might be seen to have a ghostly presence. The early twenty-first-century narratives about Australian culture are produced in a space and time where ocean tragedy has again gained significant attention. The *Tampa* stand-off in 2001, when

the captain of a Norwegian freighter rescued asylum seekers from their sinking boat and was then refused permission to bring them to Australia, reoriented many citizens' thinking about Australia towards the seas to the north. The more recent tragedies of death at sea when vessels filled with asylum seekers have foundered, as well as the stand-offs between the Royal Australian Navy and boats carrying asylum seekers, have increased the awareness of the high seas as a space for national drama.

Identities and Nations

Central to the endeavour of this volume, as with many other volumes that analyse nation-states, is an engagement with the ideas of identity and place. As the Bligh narrative demonstrates, when thinking about nations, space, and identity, an important element is the need to recognise the long-standing place of archetypes in the production of national narratives or visions. In Australia, one of the most long-lived archetypes is that of the "Aussie bloke" or Australian legend (Ward 1958), a masculine figure who emerged from the space of the bush. In the twenty-first century, this archetype has been thoroughly worked over and has emerged as a slightly battered and bruised trope that is more likely to be deployed ironically than with mid-twentieth-century fervour. Critiques of this mode of Australian identity have been made from the perspective of gender and sexuality (Biber et al. 1999; Lake 1986; Thomsen and Donaldson 2003) and race and ethnicity (Ang et al. 2000; Burke 2008). A critical approach to this mythic masculine type and his ironic doppelganger appears in Linda Thompson's chapter in this volume where her analysis of the crocodile as an Australian symbol is undertaken with reference to the two best-known, media-savvy crocodile men: Paul Hogan and Steve Irwin. Catriona Elder's chapter on Antarctic explorers also engages with this classic masculine type, thinking through the ways in which twenty-first-century men engage with early-twentieth-century versions of this form of masculine identity. John Atwood discusses the clash that took place in the 1960s when rural or regional places—the home of the Australian legend— began to attract surfies and hippies, and the primacy of a particular way of life was challenged. Fiona Gill considers the legendary rural bloke in relation to the types of femininity that were understood as companion pieces to his needs. Gill coins the term "masculine femininity" to explain the ways in which strong but acceptable roles for women were represented in Australian literature. Continuing to focus on regional spaces but also analysing a completely different medium, radio, Kate Ames studies the affects of the heteronormative character of the traditional dominant

masculine forms. She undertakes a close analysis of the discourse of a small number of DJs in order to explain how the masculinity of gay men is sometimes disparaged through humour, while in other contexts it is embraced as part of diverse twenty-first-century regional life.

Identities formed around national archetypes or stories do not attach only to individuals, as with the Aussie bloke, but also to broader discourses focused on place. Francis Maravillas's chapter on the location of Australia, "south of the West" as described by Ross Gibson (1992), provides an overarching analysis of some of the narratives about the place of Australia. In particular, Maravillas explores the discourse of Australia in Asia and the ways in which this narrative manifested during the second half of the twentieth century. In 1962, Judith Wright used the experience of vertigo to help describe Australia's unique geographical location. Maravillas elaborates upon Wright's term to suggest that the vertigo results from Australia's postcolonial present and its geographical location to the south of both Asia and the West. Using examples drawn from contemporary art practice, he explores how various artists reflect on the mostly white, uneven efforts of Australia's late-twentieth-century efforts to identify more closely with Asia and to reduce its focus on Europe. Maravillas suggests that the tensions created by a desire to be both of the West and of Asia is further unsettled by new and confronting understandings about the country's colonial past. Tracing the political and cultural discussions that occurred across the end of the twentieth century, including Indigenous critiques of native title legislation and the History Wars of the 1990s, Maravillas's argument makes visible the various forms of colonial desire underpinning the dominant Australian understandings of an Asian and Aboriginal 'other.'

Space and Place

Whereas Maravillas takes a macro view, John Atwood and Lesley Hawkes consider how identities are produced and challenged in smaller spaces. Focusing on the urban, Hawkes examines local attachment to place through a consideration of the ways in which people use meeting places. Concentrating on two popular meeting places—one below the clocks at Melbourne's Flinders Street Railway Station and the other outside Hungry Jack's fast-food store in the Queen Street Mall in Brisbane—Hawkes analyses the cultural role these places play in the lives of locals and visitors. She explains that, despite their seeming differences, both are public spaces that offer a sense of legitimacy for people while they wait. Further, Hawkes argues that these two spaces are "sites of social exchange

and social cohesion" that promote a sense of community. Chiming with the notion of a "line of desire" (Tiessen 2007), Hawkes explores how these meeting places emerge organically in response to the needs and everyday desires of workers and tourists. Designers and architects might have envisioned the spaces and the traffic moving through them in particular ways, but these two meeting spaces provide people with a sufficient sense of ownership that they linger.

In his chapter, John Atwood focuses on the regional rather than the urban space. As with Keith Moore's chapter, Atwood re-envisions an aspect of Australia in the 1960s and, like Kate Ames, he explores the process and consequences of large-scale social change. Atwood investigates Byron Bay in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a period when it became a haven for surfers and a site of the counterculture revolution. Through an analysis of the local media and memoir, Atwood pieces together a story of change and argues that the two waves of arrivals challenged the values of farmers and businesspeople living in Byron Bay and the surrounding region. Drawing on letters to the editor published in the local papers as well as the more relaxed modes of communication found in surfer magazines, Atwood portrays the clash that took place when a rural space was remade as a hippy nirvana. Atwood elaborates that although, with time, the radicalism associated with the new groups dissipated, the emerging tourist industry ensured the continuation of a superficial link to the radical countercultural past. Issues of desire and conflict over space also emerge in Jennifer Hamilton-McKenzie's chapter on the debates about the introduction of irrigation in early-twentieth-century Australia where, yet again, various groups of Australians clashed about the how land should be used and peopled.

As the chapters by Hamilton-McKenzie, Ames, Hawkes, Atwood, and Maravillas suggest, the meanings and functions of spaces are enmeshed in "broader historical patterns that link places together" (Dourish 2006, n. p.). This means that a way of life that animates a place half a world away is often refigured and replayed in Australia. In her chapter, Cindy Lane demonstrates the spatial links that emerge between Australia and Europe. She analyses the diaries, landscape sketches, and paintings made by nineteenth-century visitors to Australia as a way of understanding how they experienced and represented the colony. In doing so, she brings to light some of the spatial "power geometries" (Massey 1993) that were emerging in colonial Western Australia. In trying to convey their sense of wonder, these visitors often interpreted the natural world from Renaissance and classical viewpoints, imposing these views upon the unfamiliar Australian landscape and making links to various European

locations. They compared Western Australian locations with the Swiss Alps, for example. Despite the obvious dissimilarities, they derived pleasure from recognising as European the quaint houses, cultivated paddocks, and the endless parklands that Aboriginal fire-farming had created. Yet their desire to see and value the picturesque in the Australian landscape was frequently disappointed. The visitors considered much of inland Australia as monotonous. Nevertheless, despite the predominance of Eurocentric ideas, some visitors felt they understood the uniqueness of inland Western Australia and conveyed in their writing a sense of spaciousness and an appreciation of the unfamiliar.

In a later period—the early twentieth century—when non-Indigenous Australians had familiarised themselves with the land, their desires often emerged in plans to tame and reshape the spaces they occupied. Jennifer Hamilton-McKenzie's examination of Alfred Deakin's Murray-Darling irrigation policy is a study of one such plan. In her chapter, Hamilton-McKenzie explores the underpinnings of Deakin's support for a farming system that was opposed at the time and has become a long-term disaster adding to the fragility of the Murray-Darling Basin. Hamilton-McKenzie draws attention to the link between the irrigation technology Deakin championed and the race ideologies he supported, placing him within a milieu that privileged whiteness and celebrated the freshness of the new settler colonies, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States. Deakin's love of most things American and his racial beliefs resulted in his promoting an irrigation scheme based on Californian principles and experiences, despite warnings of its inappropriateness to the Australian situation.

National visions of desire and space also animate the chapter written by Catriona Elder. As with the chapters by Lane and Hamilton-McKenzie, it is possible to read Elder's chapter in terms of de Certeau's notion of "space as a practiced place" (de Certeau 1984). In this sense, the national polar expeditions and their twenty-first-century re-enactments can be understood as ways of "transform[ing] the uncertainties of history into readable spaces" (de Certeau 1984, 36). Drawing on the 2006 televised re-enactment of Sir Douglas Mawson's Antarctic expedition, Elder considers the ways in which this documentary/re-enactment program might reflect the changing way in which Australians see Antarctica, from that of an adventure science location to a destination for adventure tourism. However, by re-walking Mawson's route and confirming the expeditionary desire lines, the television program also produces for Australians a stronger sense of ownership of, or belonging to, the Antarctic. Moving from the far south to the far north, Thompson's chapter about the crocodile

demonstrates the transition of the saltwater crocodile from a feared predator to an Australian symbol. As with the Antarctic, this transition can be seen as a way of domesticating and making a space and its reptilian inhabitants more familiar. Again, it is the media—in this case, domestic news coverage and global film and television—that embeds the crocodile in dominant Australian narratives, producing a perverse response to this dangerous creature.

Politics and Politicians

The stories of William Bligh that have circulated in Australia have long made clear the power and role of political elites in this country. The chapters by Samantha Green and Stephen Alomes articulate some of the central dilemmas of the policing and reporting of misconduct by public officials. These two chapters explore the logic of institutional and public space in contemporary Australia. In her chapter, Green investigates the media's role in determining whether Governor-General Peter Hollingworth, as Anglican archbishop of Brisbane, had failed in his duty of care to a victim of child abuse. Green focuses on the way in which the media influences attitudes and values in Australian society. She examines the media's simplification of a complex and multifaceted set of circumstances and the moral panic that emerged through sensationalist reporting. Stephen Alomes, in his chapter, examines the print media's increasing interest in and exposure of misbehaviour by politicians and senior public servants. He suggests this was not always the case, arguing that in the past the tabloid "gossip" newspapers in Australia restricted the publication of salacious gossip and other indiscretions to the private lives of celebrities, many of whom welcomed the publicity. Alomes suggests that this emphasis on gossip influences and distorts the content and nature of political reportage, frequently creating the impression that Australia's politicians are overpaid and their behaviour in debate unrestrained and immature.

Keith Moore writes about politics in his chapter also, but unlike Green and Alomes who consider elites and institutional power, Moore turns his attention to citizens and their troubling of dominant power structures. He compares the New South Wales teachers' strike in 1968 with two highly publicised anti–Vietnam War demonstrations during that year. Examining newspaper reports, Moore notes that although the teachers and the demonstrators received front-page prominence, the short- and long-term consequences of the two actions differed. The teachers, who caused massive disruption affecting children and their parents, persuaded the

government to accede to their demands. In contrast, the more visually exciting anti-war demonstrators caused negligible disruption to the community and their action may not have been very effective in helping to end conscription and Australian involvement in the war. As do Thompson, Green, and Alomes, Moore sees the media as a key place where visions of the nation are produced, and he reflects on why the Vietnam War demonstrations have eclipsed the more successful teachers' strikes in popular cultural memory as the archetypal 1960s' protest.

In their chapter, Ariadne Vromen and Rodney Smith consider political action that occurred forty years after the demonstrations of which Moore writes. Drawing on scholarship that tracks the decline of formal political and community involvement, and taking note, as does Alomes, of the increasing tendency to view politicians and political parties negatively, they argue that new forms of political action are emerging, and alongside are new spaces where action occurs. Political dissent no longer takes place only in the streets; a new form of opposition is enacted through consumption—a form these two authors call "political consumerism." Vromen and Smith explain that political consumerism is mostly embraced by those with the financial means and the knowledge to implement actions in support of their beliefs. For many political consumers, participation is not an individual activity: it relies on networking. Again drawing on Doreen Massey's (1993) idea of power geometries, this argument demonstrates that some affluent social groups have a certain amount of financial "mobility" and can initiate actions that affect—even if only slightly—economic flows and the movement of goods in a community. Vromen and Smith, in part, map the mobile relationships between Australian citizens, their desire for change, and the activities of governments and multinational corporations. The authors trace the lines of desire mapped out by citizens' support for community enterprises and local or national social-justice initiatives through their practices of consumption. Vromen and Smith's chapter articulates the relationship between local actions in relation to national or global networks of power.

Kate Ames examines a challenge to dominant politics of a different kind; however, her focus is on the normative and everyday politics of sexuality. She analyses the impact of regional radio on the lives of young people living in Rockhampton in the mid-1990s, examining the sometimes-uneasy intersection of gay sexual identities and regional identity in the on-air banter between radio hosts and their audiences. Again, the chapter works through the intersection of power, space, and identity (Massey 1993), suggesting that although normative "heterocentric" views continue to predominate in the media, there were at the local level

some changes taking place as Hot FM provided space for new voices and so challenged older discourses of typical and acceptable forms of regional or bush masculinity.

Belonging and the Nation

Ames carefully analysed the on-air exchanges of radio hosts in order to trace the shifts taking place in a regional town in Australia. She was mapping the way that the space was changing. One of the outcomes of the subtle shifts she tracked could be an increased sense of belonging for gay men and lesbians in regional Queensland. National narratives work to produce feelings of belonging for citizens, but many of the normative narratives have excluded equally as many citizens as they have hailed. Maria Chisari, in her chapter, examines the 2007 Australian citizenship test, which was instituted to address a mood within many conservative circles that multiculturalism enabled migrants to be indifferent towards Australian values, lifestyle, and the rule of law and was therefore diminishing the cohesiveness of Australian society. The citizenship test was designed to calculate the level of belonging of migrants and to instil in them what were described as "core values." Chisari argues that John Howard's concept of national unity promoted through the citizenship test demanded that migrants and refugees reject their cultural practices and embrace integration within a narrow set of norms.

Chiara Gamboz explores a governmental practice that sought to integrate non-white Australians into a normative sense of the national. Her chapter traces not only the ways in which governments have restricted the ability of Indigenous people to control their own lives but also their resistance through the form of the petition. Gamboz argues that petitions are a valuable means of furthering understandings of Indigenous and non-Indigenous interactions in the past. The voices and perspectives detectable within petitions can act as a corrective measure to help compensate for the under-representation of groups and individuals in the recording of historical accounts, she explains. Petitions from Indigenous groups have included requests for land, greater freedom of movement, wages, freedom to marry and of employment, and the alteration of oppressive legislation. In particular, Gamboz examines two distinct petitions: the first written by Ellen Kropinyeri in 1923 responding to the removal of Aboriginal children from their families and the second, originating eight years later, from the Aboriginal settlement at Lake Tyers in Victoria written in support of a local manager. Gamboz mobilises the concepts of power and identity, arguing that petitions reflected an attempt to interact with the "'pre-

existing structures of power' identified in the domination contract as a result of previous human causality." Within the space of the nation—a state that limited Indigenous rights—these texts were a way of engaging and speaking back to non-Indigenous colonisers.

Emma Price explores a very different situation from that of Gamboz. As with Chisari and Maravillas, Price engages with a post–September 11 Australia where migrants are perceived as potential problems. Drawing on the popular television program *Border Security,* a series filming the work of the quarantine and customs department in Australia, she analyses the vision of Australia that the program produces as it engages with ideas of "good" and "bad" travellers through the format of reality TV. Price challenges the producers' claims that the events are representative of everyday Australian life. The space of Customs House—on the border between Australia and the rest of the world—becomes, in Price's analysis, a place where unwitting passengers and in-the-know government officials perform a particular version of welcome and control of visitors.

The role and culpability of William Bligh both in the *Bounty* mutiny and as governor of New South Wales has promoted a debate that has generated new visions and new voices for more than two hundred years. As the myriad of authors, screenwriters, historians, cultural theorists, documentary makers, and even the original participants in the mutinies have made clear, the places where the insurrections occurred—on the high seas and in a newly colonised land—shaped the narratives produced. The narratives about life in Australia post-colonisation have continued to be formed in relation to space and identity. The sixteen authors in this book draw on ideas, concepts, and theories about nation, identity, space, place, and power in order to rethink stories or reread large-scale and everyday media, private, or public events in new ways. In many cases, the authors are promoting debate on topics where a single viewpoint currently predominates. These authors are introducing to readers new visions and new voices about Australian society and the Australian identity.

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PART I:

COMMUNITIES AND SPACES

Chapter One

Un/settled Geographies: Vertigo and the Predicament of Australia's Postcoloniality

Francis Maravillas

> When East becomes North and West is under your feet,
> your compass spins frighteningly.
> To calm it you must find yourself a new axis.
> –Judith Wright (1962)

Written in 1962 for *The London Magazine*, Judith Wright's pithy description of the experience of vertigo induced by Australia's paradoxical geographical location—as a "Western" nation on the edge of "Asia"—is remarkable for its historical acuity as much as for its prescience. It alludes to the spatial dimension of the settler-colonial project, which historically established Australia as a far-flung outpost of "the West" through the occupation of a vast, distant "Southern land" perceived to be virtually empty. It suggests also the sensation of vertigo palpable in the heady mix of hope and anxiety that marked not only Australia's "turn" to Asia late into the twentieth century but also the more recent re-imaginings of the nation and its place in the world at the beginning of the new millennium.

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which vertigo, as an affective function of space that also produces spatialising effects, is constitutive of the psycho-geography of Australia's settler-colonial and "postcolonial" culture and identity. I argue that vertigo results from Australia's predicament of postcoloniality and the various efforts of the nation to come to terms with its paradoxical geographical location—south of both the West and Asia. By deploying the trope of "the South" as the means to understand Australia's paradoxical geographical location as a white settler colony on the edge of Asia, I seek to evoke what Paul Carter describes as the "spatial forms and fantasies through which a culture declares its presence" (Carter

1988, xxii). At the same time, I argue that the South is not simply a historically and geographically constituted site; it is also an evolving cartography. By examining the textual, visual, and affective registers underlying the figurations of the nation across various domains—ranging from political rhetoric and cartoons to selected works of artists of Asian origin in Australia—the shifting outlines of this cartography will be discerned.

Vertigo in the South

While the "affective turn" in critical and cultural theory has focused attention on the emotional texture and intensities of the body, subjectivity, and identity, it is only recently that there has been a growing recognition of the affective economies of space, place, and territory (Probyn 2005; Smith et al. 2009; Stewart 2007). In her work on the "cultural politics of emotion," Sarah Ahmed draws attention to the spatial dimension of affect by focusing on what emotions do and how they circulate. As she suggests, "it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the 'I' and the 'we' are shaped by, and even take the shape of contact with others" (Ahmed 2004, 10). In this way, the economy of affect is defined by spatial relations of proximity and distance and shaped by our "encounters with forces and passages of intensity that bear out … folds of belonging (or non-belonging) to a world" (Seigworth and Gregg 2010, 3). As a particular mode of relating to space, place, and territory, the experience of vertigo that constitutes the psycho-geography of Australia may thus be viewed as symptomatic of the imaginative coordinates and symbolic cartographies that locate the nation as a white settler colony, far from Europe and on the edge of Asia.

As a deep-seated form of disorientation and anxiety about space and place, the sensation of vertigo also is akin to a "structure of feeling" in the sense developed by Raymond Williams. According to Williams, structures of feelings are:

> … specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity. (Williams 1977, 132)

In this way, vertigo can be understood as a kind of "lived" geography: a deeply ingrained structure of feeling induced by Australia's *precarious* sense of its location and identity as a nation in the wider world. This sense of vertigo is accentuated by what Meaghan Morris refers to as Australia's