‘I always wanted to go to Europe’:
Travel as a modern Australian rite of passage, 1945-2012

Final thesis for the MA History
(Migration and Global Interdependence)

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PREFACE

In 2007, I joined the ranks of the hundreds of thousands of Australians who have felt Europe's pull. At the age of twenty-one, I spent five months travelling around Europe by train and staying in backpackers' hostels, all underneath the weight of a backpack I christened 'the Beast'. Looking back, I do not recollect when exactly I made the decision to undertake such a trip. It was just something I always wanted to do. When surveying dozens of young Australians in Europe during the summer of 2012, I would be exasperated when yet another would give as their reason for travelling, 'I always wanted to go to Europe'. Upon reflection, I have realised that I could understand their sentiment since I had felt a similar way myself. Growing up, Australians do feel that pull towards Europe.

Anecdotally, Australians have often commented that other Australians are 'everywhere'; that the distinctive drawl can be heard drifting across Europe, from the beaches of the Algarve to Krakow's Market Square. I would come to see this firsthand; my work as a tour guide across ten European countries exposed me to thousands of young Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders, amongst others, with seemingly more and more arriving each week.

Why were they there? Why did these people pay thousands of dollars and take time out of their busy lives to spend weeks, months or even years on the opposite side of the world? So I asked them, and I asked the previous generation why they did the same. There were several reasons given, but themes such as independence, freedom and the rite of passage emerged. The line of 'I always wanted to go to Europe' rang true for many. The insights of these people, coupled with an analysis of relevant statistics and literature, has allowed me to argue that a new rite of passage in the form of travel, particularly to Europe, has become commonplace in post-World War II Australian society.

Cover image source: Gail Aldwin's original photo from a Topdeck overland tour from London to Kathmandu in 1981, http://gailaldwin.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/paris-fountain0003.jpg, accessed 12 December 2012.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Questions and themes

The fact that young Australians travel to Europe in such large numbers is not a new phenomenon. It has its roots in the late nineteenth century, when young artists, writers and performers would make the long voyage 'home' to Britain. Many would do so in order to surround themselves in a high culture that Australia was deemed, by its own people and by Britain, as lacking. However, it was not until after World War II when young Australians started making the trip in significant numbers, first by passenger ship and later by jumbo jet.[1]

Throughout this paper, I will address a number of questions, whilst exploring three recurring themes. Firstly, and most importantly, why do young Australians travel to Europe in such large numbers? Australia's large travelling population cannot be dismissed as simply part of a global trend of developed nations' affinity with tourism; favourable comparisons against the United States and Japan suggest something quite more complex (Figure 2). For many Australians, a trip to Europe, lasting from a few weeks to a few years, often occurs after tertiary studies and before a career, or after a few years of post-secondary school employment.[2] Therefore, in addressing this question, I will focus on this 'rite of passage'; the distinctly Australian and New Zealander form of long-term travel.[3] Just as other touristic forms of the rite of passage have been studied, such as the eighteenth century 'Grand Tours' of Europe by the English nobility, this contemporary version of the rite of passage is also worthy of academic attention.

[1] 'Young', for the purposes of this paper, has deliberately been left unspecific in this paper and relies instead on self-identification. The travel industry, however, largely classifies young travellers as those aged between 18 and 35.

[2] Pamela J Riley, 'Road culture of international long-term budget travellers', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 15 No 2 (1988), 319

[3] There are a number of parallels between the way in which young Australians and New Zealanders travel, however for the sake of brevity this thesis will focus on Australians. References will however be made to New Zealand and New Zealanders due to this close cultural connection and the modest amount of literature available regarding young New Zealanders in Europe.

Secondly, do young Australians travel in a different way to other young travelers, and if so, how? Of course, the rite of passage makes a sizeable impact here, but my attention in this instance will be focused on the length of people's trips, and their concentration in Europe, particularly in London. Since the nineteenth century, a significant number of young Australians have prolonged their European trip by combining work with travel, usually basing themselves in London. These 'working holidays', originally permitted by the British Government as a result of British Commonwealth membership, usually last two years.[4] This is different to the majority of young Americans and Canadians for example, who prefer shorter and more frequent trips, according to Contiki Tours founder John Anderson.[5]

Whilst the working holiday culture has gained some attention by academics of late, particularly in New Zealand, there are also other differences that are apparent.[6] A specific example is Turkey being added to a number of young Australians' European itineraries, particularly the Gallipoli peninsula. The area's historical connection to Australia (and New Zealand) and its subsequent place in the Australian national psyche has made it a popular place to visit, in comparison to the little attention it is given from most other travellers. In addition, young Australians throughout the post-World War II period have been drawn to travelling by group tours in relatively large numbers, a pursuit often associated with older and less adventurous travelers.[7] This claim is not confined to hostel banter, but has also been seriously debated by tourism academics, which I will return to shortly.

My last question is, how has this travel experience changed over time? When answering this question, I will argue both sides of the case. The most striking example of change

[4] Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians under the age of 30 were deemed eligible for 'working holiday' visas from 1972. Before this time, no permit was needed. UK Border Agency, *Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme)*, http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/visas-immigration/working/tier5/youthmobilityscheme/, accessed 11 December 2012

[5] John Anderson, *Only two seats left: The incredible Contiki story*, Sydney: Messenger Publishing, 2010, 220

[6] See for example Claudia Bell, 'The big OE: Young New Zealand travellers as secular pilgrims', *Tourist Studies*, Vol 2 No 2 (2002) and Jude Wilson; David Fisher and Kevin Moore, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki": Grand "backpacker" tours of Europe' in Hannam, Kevin and Ateljevic, Irena (eds), *Backpacker tourism: Concepts and profiles*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008

[7] Erik Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence: Notes on the phenomenon of drifter-tourism', in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol 14 No 1 (1973), 89 and Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki", 110

would have to be technological advancements, which have allowed greater accessibility over time, from air transport to the provision of information over the Internet. However, whilst this may have made travel easier, it is debatable as to whether this has fundamentally altered this travel experience. Throughout my thesis I will show that young Australians throughout the post-World War II period have visited roughly the same destinations, by similar means (after the boom in air travel in the 1970s) and for comparable amounts of time. Whilst sociologists such as Cody Morris Paris have highlighted changes in the way young people have travelled over time, there is a lack of literature covering the consistencies, and this is where I will add to the discussion.[8]

There are a number of themes I will explore when addressing these questions, which can be divided into three main areas; distance, access and heritage. These three themes characterise the European experience for young Australians over time and greatly assist in attesting the reasons why such large numbers are attracted to taking part in the phenomenon. With regards to distance, Australia has long been seen not just by its own people but by those in other parts of the world, particularly Europe, as far away. Its nickname of 'Down Under', for example, highlights a longtime northern hemisphere-centric worldview. The large expanses of sea and foreign lands which separate the country from Europe, often called the 'tyranny of distance' in Australian literature, have psychologically and physically influenced this European experience.[9] Whilst the physical distance between Europe and Australia has remained unchanged over time, perceptions have however altered through developments in transport and communications technology.

The theme of access can be linked with that of distance; in other words, the likelihood of a person overcoming the tyranny of distance. As a plane or boat ticket to Europe has always been the most expensive single item of a trip, it is therefore more economical to invest more time into a sole trip. As a result, Australians have generally taken relatively long trips to Europe when compared to young Canadians or the British, for example. As

[8] Cody Morris Paris, 'Flashpackers: An emerging subculture?', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 39 No 2 (2011), 1094

[9] The phrase 'tyranny of distance' was popularised by influential Australian historian Geoffrey Blainey in his 1966 book of the same name. See Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How distance shaped Australia's history*, Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 1966.

great distances can also attract great costs, an Australian's likelihood of visiting Europe is influenced on the microeconomic level with regards to one's own wealth, but also by Australian society at a given time, and the world economy more generally. As a result of these and other developments, the affordability of a European trip has improved for many over time, though issues of class and race still remain.

The third theme regards heritage; in the Australian context, this translates to the perceived bond between Australian-born citizens and their largely British ancestors. This theme can be applied not only to how Australians have seen Europe as a travel destination, but also how they view themselves with regards to a national identity. In addition, Australia's evolving racial profile has affected the way in which young people view their relationship with Europe, and Britain more specifically. However, this does not necessarily always translate to concrete changes in the way in which people travel and the reasons for doing so in the first place.

1.2 Why Australians?

The decision to focus this paper on Australians was not an arbitrary one. However, there is a distinctive lack of historical or sociological research on the travel patterns of Australians, which is difficult to comprehend when Australians have long been overrepresented in world tourism. Unlike the United States, Australia has no international land borders and is significantly more isolated from other countries, particularly those with similar cultures. British historian Frederick Alderson believes this was a major reason for the large number of Australians he encountered whilst travelling in Europe and the Middle East in the late 1960s; the fact that Australia is geographically 'cut off' from the rest of the world.[10] He draws a parallel with the Grand Tourists; like Australia, Britain too is and was cut off from the rest of Europe, and he argues that this fed a desire to see Europe to a greater extent than their French and Italian counterparts, for example.

[10] Frederick Alderson, *The new grand tour: Travelling today through Europe, Asia Minor, India and Nepal*, London: The Travel Book Club, 1971, 12

Australians travel in overwhelming numbers throughout the world, including in Europe, despite the great distance. Of course, it is important to point out that Europe is not the most popular holiday destination for Australians (Figure 1). Geographically closer holiday spots including Bali, Thailand and Fiji have instead been frequented to a much higher degree, usually for shorter trips where the emphasis is on relaxation rather than sightseeing. An analysis of these destinations and their popularity over time would be of value, but is not within the scope of this thesis. Instead, I will be examining why it is Europe, as opposed to these other holiday hotspots in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, that has captured the attention and imagination of a large amount of young Australians, and over a relatively long period of time.

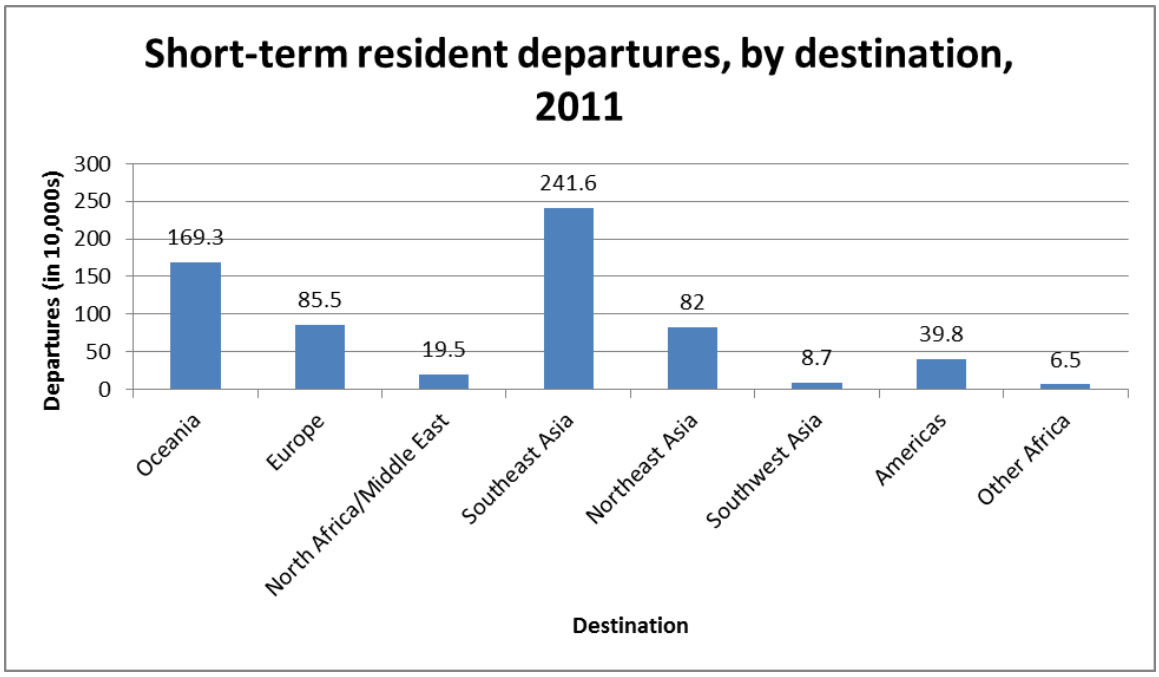

Figure 1: Short-term (less than twelve months) Australian resident departures, by region, 2011.[11]

A way in which to demonstrate the popularity of international travel amongst Australians more concretely is to compare the number of outbound travellers for Australia with that of the United States, a country that has long been a focus for tourism historians.

[11] Australian data was taken from 'Short term movement, resident departures: Selected destinations – Original', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3401.0Dec%202011?OpenDocument, accessed on 12 November 2012

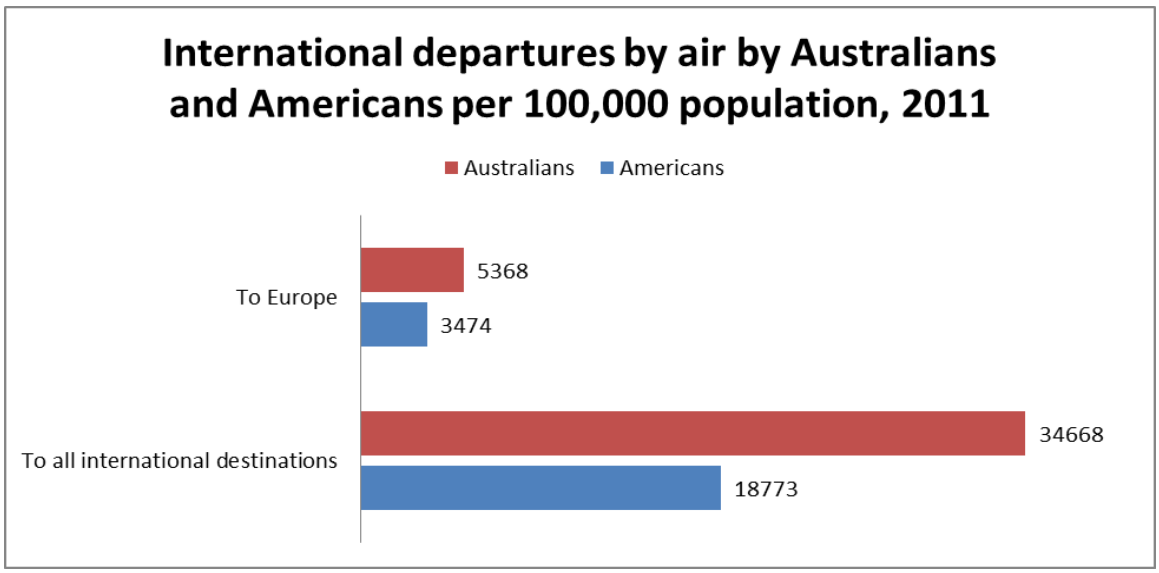

Figure 2: Departures by Australian residents from Australia compared to departures by American citizens from the United States in 2011, per 100,000 head of population. [12]

As indicated in Figure 2, taking into consideration the significant population difference, 2011 saw 3,474 American citizens depart for Europe by air, per 100,000 head of population. In Australia, that number was 5,368 per 100,000. When we look at international departures more generally, the figures are even more striking; 18,773 international departures (by air) by Americans compared to 34,668 by Australians, again per 100,000 population. By collating data taken from airport departure cards, seventy-nine per cent of these international trips by Australians were for holiday or visiting family

[12] Australian data was taken from 'Short term movement, resident departures: Selected destinations – Original', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3401.0Dec%202011?OpenDocument, accessed on 12 November 2012 and 'Australian demographic statistics, Dec 2011', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/allprimarymainfeatures/81C5AE743DDCF8F0CA257A850013DF4C?opendocument, accessed 12 November 2012. American data was taken from 'US citizen air traffic to overseas regions, Canada and Mexico 2011', *International Trade Administration, Office of Travel and Tourism Industries*, http://tinet.ita.doc.gov/view/m-2011-O-001/index.html, accessed on 12 November 2012 and 'National totals: Vintage 2011', *United States Census Bureau*, http://www.census.gov/popest/data/national/totals/2011/index.html, accessed 12 November 2012. One inconsistency acknowledged is the different data sets is the fact that American citizens are compared with Australian residents (which includes both citizens and non-citizens legally residing in Australia). This is due to the way in which the respective governments have collected their data; Australian census data solely deals in residents over citizens and the Australian Bureau of Statistics does not publish a count of Australian citizens. This impacts the comparison slightly, due to the increased mobility of non-citizens who are likely to live either transnationally or retain ties with their home country. However, as the difference calculated between the two countries is quite stark, I believe this data flaw to be slight and does not largely affect my argument; that Australians travel in large numbers.

and friends.[13] This is not a new discovery; the 1980s saw approximately 300,000 Australians visiting Europe per year, roughly the same number as the Japanese, who have a more visible presence, larger population and associated literature.[14]

In their useful 2008 study of Australian van and coach tours in Europe, Jude Wilson, David Fisher and Kevin Moore also lament the fact that such little academic attention has been paid to young Australians in Europe.[15] Indeed, Wilson, Fisher and Moore's paper is the sole study which shares the same focus demographic as this thesis, albeit with a narrower question. In addition, though less than a quarter of Australia's size, there is surprisingly a modest amount of research on young New Zealanders in Europe since World War II, focusing on what has become known as their 'OE', or 'Overseas Experience'. This rite-of-passage, which usually involves a stint of employment in Britain and travel in Europe, is very similar to the experiences of many young Australians, and has been of value due to their close cultural, colonial and historical ties with Australia.[16]

The more specific niche research field of youth tourism studies has also neglected young Australian travellers. Instead, studies of young travellers have been focused mainly on major receiving societies and their respective 'backpacker ghettos', such as in Southeast Asia, India and Australia. This is despite Europe being the original home of backpacking and boasting long-standing 'backpacker ghettos' in London and Amsterdam, for example.[17] However, studies have focused on Europe being a sending society, rather than a receiving one.[18] On the contrary, studies have focused on Australia as a receiving society for young travellers, rather than a sending one.[19]

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[13] Department of Resources, Energy and Tourism, *Travel by Australians, June 2012: Quarterly Results of the National Visitor Survey*, Canberra: Australian Government, 2012, 14. A similar breakdown was not available for the American data, nor do either country breakdown their data by age.
[14] Riley, 'Road culture', 319. This whole number climbed to almost 1.2 million in 2011, according to 'Short term movement, resident departures: Selected destinations – Original', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3401.0Dec%202011?OpenDocument, accessed on 12 November 2012.
[15] Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki"', 114
[16] Ibid
[17] Jay Vogt, 'Wandering: Youth and travel behaviour', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 4 No 1 (1976), 36
[18] Erik Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence: Notes on the phenomenon of drifter-tourism', in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol 14 No 1 (1973), 89
[19] Nick Clarke, 'Free independent travellers? British working holiday makers in Australia', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol 29 No 4 (2004) and Loker-Murphy, 'Young budget travellers'

A major reason for this historical oversight is that studies of youth tourism have been dominated by sociologists and cultural anthropologists, not historians.[20] Studies have focused on the present, rather than the past, and have been influenced by new developments rather than the longevity of tradition. Australian youth tourism in Europe is not a new phenomenon, but has rather developed alongside the tourism industry in general. As Wilson, Fisher and Moore describe, young Australians do not 'stand out'; there are no ways in which to track their movements as a group and despite sociologists' attempts, it is difficult to group them at all.[21] As a result, these young Australians have simply been incorporated into general tourism studies.

1.3 Historiography and debates in youth tourism studies

As the focus of youth tourism studies has largely been dominated by sociologists and cultural anthropologists, rather than historians, I have in turn decided to asses a broader area in order to benefit from the insights of other academic disciplines.[22] In order to emphasise what makes youth tourism different from mainstream tourism, much attention has been given to sociologist Erik Cohen's 'drifter' phenomenon, coined in 1973. He described a drifter as:

> [One who] ventures furthest away from the beaten track. He shuns any kind of connection with the tourist establishment. He tends to make it wholly on his own, living with the people and often taking odd-jobs to keep himself going. He tries to live the way people he visits live. The drifter has no fixed itinerary or timetable and no well-defined goals of travel.[23]

Cohen's description is interesting to note for this paper, as it was developed at a time when Australian youth tourism was beginning to boom. Though Cohen defines his drifter with regards to lifestyle rather than age, he elsewhere implies that drifters are predominantly young people.[24] He goes on to divide the drifter into two sub-categories;

[20] John Towner, 'Approaches to tourism history', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 15 No 1 (1988), 48
[21] Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki"', 119
[22] Towner, 'Approaches to tourism history', 48
[23] Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence', 89
[24] Ibid, 96

full-time and part-time, with full-time drifters consisting of the 'adventurer' and 'itinerant hippie' and part-time drifters being made up of 'fellow travellers' and 'mass drifters'.[25] Despite Cohen's emphasis on these four groups, this attempt has not been highlighted by academics with the all-encompassing 'drifter' term analysed in isolation, with its 'part-time' sub-categories largely ignored.

Cohen's theory, however, was debated almost immediately, due to what Julie Wilson and Greg Richards call a 'gap between backpacker theory and practice'.[26] Camille O'Reilly agrees, believing that the essential flaw of Cohen's theory was its idealism.[27] Youth tourism theory has since been plagued by this debate; is the drifter the ideal traveller, and do they exist to the extent which deserves such academic attention? In addition, if the drifter did indeed exist, was it simply a product of Cohen's time and the counter-culture of the 1960s and early 1970s?

In 1988, Pamela J Riley tackled the latter issue, dismissing Cohen's term and instead preferring the somewhat clunky 'long-term budget travellers', which was taken up by her contemporaries.[28] By the 1990s, however, the relevant mainstream term in most of the world became 'backpacker', with 'traveller' preferred in North America.[29] This new term has relied on self-identification and the image of a backpack whilst travelling, rather than a radical lifestyle choice. Weaker than Cohen's drifters but stronger than Riley's long-term budget travellers, the term 'backpacker' has been adopted colloquially amongst young Australian travellers. Popular youth travel agency Student Flights offers advice such as 'The dos and don'ts of backpacking' and 'How to eat like a backpacker' on their website.[30] Meanwhile, young inbound tourists to Australia are termed backpackers, even in Australian Government literature.[31]

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[25] Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence', 100
[26] Julie Wilson and Greg Richards, 'Suspending reality: An exploration of enclaves and the backpacker experience' in Kevin Hannam and Irena Ateljevic (eds), *Backpacker tourism: Concepts and profiles*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008, 22
[27] Camille O'Reilly, 'From drifter to gap year tourist: Mainstreaming backpacker travel', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 33 No 4 (2006), 1000
[28] Riley, 'Road culture', 319
[29] Philip L Pearce, *The backpacker phenomenon: Preliminary answers to basic questions*, Townsville: James Cook University of North Queensland, 1990, cited in Laurie Loker-Murphy and Philip L Pearce, 'Young budget travellers: Backpackers in Australia', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 22 No 4 (1995), 819
[30] Lauren Burvill, 'The dos and don'ts of backpacking', *Student Flights Australia*, http://www.studentflights.com.au/travel-mag/2012/10/the-dos-and-donts-of-backpacking/, accessed 13

What does this mean for the historian? Perhaps most vitally, perceptions of youth tourism are constantly changing. Cohen's idealised drifters may have been a product of his time, when the hippie trail from Europe to India was well-beaten and the hippie counter-culture, though weakening, was still ever-present. Riley's new definition successfully removed the drifter's outdated hippie connotations, but to the detriment of any attached perceived romance of the pursuit. Despite the drifter theory's shortcomings, it has influenced tourism studies ever since and it does hold relevance for this paper.

However, as I will explain throughout this thesis, attempts to define youth tourism have been lacking when applied to young Australians travelling to Europe since World War II. Whilst Australians were identified as a significant grouping within Cohen's generic drifters, these people are not the focus of this paper.[32] Australian youth tourism, just like youth tourism in general, cannot be homogenised.[33] Instead, I have found that of those whom I interviewed and surveyed in the second half of 2012, which I will discuss shortly, generally fit relatively neatly within Cohen's sub-category of 'mass drifter'. In other words, they tended to be those who utilise backpacker infrastructure such as youth hostels, backpacker bars and more generally backpacker ghettos, but on a shorter-term basis with an end and a return to 'home' in sight. Though this definition is quite narrow, unlike the broader drifter, my findings suggest that the profile of these mass drifters has stayed relatively consistent from the end of World War II to the present.

Crucially, my focus group also included those who chose to take part in organised travel such as coach tours, a practice that is often shunned by youth tourism theorists such as Cohen and indeed inside the enclaves themselves as 'mainstream' or simply 'tourism'.[34] Usually viewed as something for older people or for the less adventurous, coach tours of

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November 2012 and Lauren Burvill, 'How to eat like a backpacker', *Student Flights Australia*, http://www.studentflights.com.au/travel-mag/2012/09/how-to-eat-like-a-backpacker/, accessed 13 November 2012

[31] 'Backpacker essentials', *Tourism Australia*, http://www.australia.com/plan/before-you-go/work-volunteer-study/backpacker-essentials.aspx, accessed 27 November 2012

[32] Jude Wilson, David Fisher and Kevin Moore, 'The OE goes "home": Cultural aspects of a working holiday experience', *Tourist Studies*, Vol 9 No 3 (2009), 8 and Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence', 96

[33] Sven Larsen, Torvald Ogaard and Wibecke Brun, 'Backpackers and mainstreamers: Realities and myths', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 38 No 2 (2011), 691

[34] Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki"', 119

Europe have been accepted by many young Australians as a popular way of travelling since their beginnings in the early 1960s.[35] However, these people still largely self-identify with backpacker-related terms, despite not conforming to Cohen's original drifter definition.[36] This is in stark contrast to the literature surrounding global youth travel, which is dominated by a theme of independence.[37]

1.4 Research methods

In lieu of any substantial amount of historical sources on which to base my research, I have instead taken advantage of a number of non-academic sources which are related to this field of study. Autobiographies by Contiki Tours founder John Anderson and former Topdeck tour guide Brian Thacker were invaluable due to their first-hand accounts of Australians travelling in Europe in the 1960s and 1980s, respectively.[38] Relevant newspaper articles were also lacking; not being in Australia, I was reliant on digitised articles for my research and the national newspaper digitisation project does not yet cover the majority of the time frame on which I have focused. Most of the articles found were Canadian, and the overwhelming majority were simple sponsored articles in travel sections which left little room for analysis. However, I was able to come across detailed, relevant data through the Australian Bureau of Statistics, which greatly assisted me in asserting claims of high rates of travel by Australians. Unfortunately, there were also limits to these statistics, such as rates of international departures not broken down by age and as such I was forced to rely on anecdotes and both academic and non-academic literature which attest to young Australians travelling in large numbers over time.

[35] John K Walton, 'The origins of the modern package tour? British motor coach tours in Europe 1930-1970', *Journal of Transport History*, Vol 32 No 2 (2011), 157
[36] O'Reilly, 'From drifter to gap year tourist', 998
[37] Examples include Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence'; Larsen et al, 'Backpackers and mainstreamers'; O'Reilley, 'From drifter to gap year tourist'; Riley, 'Road culture'; and Vogt, 'Wandering'. Literature that includes group tours often focuses on solely that pursuit, such as Molly G Schuchat, 'Comforts of group tours', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 10 No 2 (1983); Isabel Quiroga, 'Characteristics of package tours in Europe', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 17 No 2 (1990); and Walton, 'The origins of the modern package tour'.
[38] Anderson, *Only two seats left* and Brian Thacker, *Rule No 5, No sex on the bus: Confessions of a tour leader*, Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2001

The bulk of my research came in the form of interviews, questionnaires and surveys, which were made possible largely through my work as a tour guide in Europe in the summer of 2012. Between June and August, I surveyed 105 people travelling through the Andalusia region of Spain on group tours, the majority being young Australians (Attachment 1). I had encouraged respondents to leave their email address for follow-up contact, and as such I contacted 35 of them in October who had left both their email address, and indicated that at least one of their parents had travelled to Europe at a young age. I invited them to pass on a short questionnaire to the parent in question, to which I received five timely and complete responses. Finally, I conducted a further six in-depth interviews via Skype, all with Australians who completed trips of Europe between 1972 and 1989. Below is a visual breakdown of these sources.

Method of research	Age range of respondent	Dates distributed	Travel period in question	Number of respondents
Personal survey	Mainly young people aged in their 20s and early 30s	June-July 2012	2012	105
Email questionnaire	Parents of survey respondents, generally in their 40s to 60s	October-November 2012	1972-1977	5
Skype interview	Middle-aged and the recently retired, in their 40s to 60s	October-December 2012	1969-1989	6

Figure 3: Breakdown of the types of personal history research completed, June-December 2012.

Naturally, there are limits to this research and a number of these surveys and interviews contain significant biases. The findings of only six interviews are not enough to make broad assumptions, and as a result these are merely a selection rather than a complete sample. Questions were not set beforehand, but asked in a way to draw out lasting memories, perceived changes over time and the way in which an individual organised their travel. This made comparisons with the present, through the large number of surveys completed, possible, despite the major flaw being the lack of direct comparison due to the different means in which I collected the information.

Furthermore, I have opted for a style of writing which highlights selective quotes from interviewees. These were chosen for their candidness, honesty and in some areas which lacked academic sources to support a claim, their authority as a participant in the matter in question. In turn, I have kept the latter to a minimum. In addition, biases can be found in the fact that all of those surveyed were at that point on an organised tour (though many also pursued stints of independent travel), and all were in Spain. However, such a large sample size meant that a number of different types of travellers were represented in the findings, allowing for a richer analysis in this paper. Older travellers (aged above 35) and non-Australians, for example, were also surveyed.

1.5 Thesis structure

The majority of this paper will focus on the post-World War II period, but to deepen its historical context, I will first look at the forerunners to these generations. Therefore, the first chapter will look firstly at the lead up to this period in Australia, focusing on the 'Britishness' of society and the social, cultural and physical links between the country and its 'mother country'; Britain. In Europe, I will look at the beginnings of mass tourism on the continent, focusing initially on the 'Grand Tour' of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, taken by members of the English nobility for educational and societal reasons. In addition, I will analyse the ritual known as 'tramping'; a popular way of working and travelling around Europe (and North America) for young working class Englishmen and northern Europeans.

The second chapter will look at young Australians who travelled to Europe in the post-World War II period, and the reasons why they were drawn to leaving Australia. I will do this by looking at the actual decision-making process and the physical ordeal of getting to Europe, divided into three main time periods; the immediate post-World War II period, the introduction of air travel from the late 1950s, and the introduction of the jumbo jet and 'tourist class' fares in the early 1970s. At the same time, I will be discussing how young Australians have been influenced to make such a trip, with a particular focus on the rite of passage and its development over the years.

The last chapter will focus on Europe as a product, and how it has been presented to young Australians over time. Instead of simply looking at the obvious changes, I will identify the changes as well as the significant consistencies of the experience over time. A large focus of this chapter will be on the development of tour companies from the 1960s onwards, as well as the different ways in which these young people have moved around, and experienced Europe over time. This chapter will rely heavily on interview and survey material I have collected from young Australians travelling in Europe, from the 1970s to today. As it involves a large percentage of young Australians in Europe, I will also analyse the development of the working holiday scheme, a British invention which has affected hundreds of thousands of young Australians. The idea of returning to the motherland, Britain, can be an interpretation of this scheme, which has grown in popularity despite weakening ties with Britain.

This paper will to bridge a gap in historiography and analyse an area of history long neglected by tourism historians. With this in mind, it will examine the way in which, and the reasons why, young Australians have travelled to Europe over time.

CHAPTER TWO
BEFORE THE BOOM: AUSTRALIA AND THE TRAVEL INDUSTRY

2.1 Introduction

In the 1950s and 1960s, a common sight in Port Melbourne, Fremantle and other Australian ports were young Australians, some barely twenty years old, waving goodbye their families and setting sail for that mysterious, far away and recently war-ravaged land, Europe. The journey was a long one, often lasting up to six weeks, and for many this journey marked their first time away from home, let alone their first time out of Australia. They did not know what to expect when they arrived at their destination, usually London, nor did they know how long they would stay. It was a journey into the unknown.

This generation, often seen as the trailblazers of the Australian working holiday scheme in London and more broadly, the backpacking scene in Europe, may have been trendsetters, but they were hardly pioneers. Growing up, undertaking such a trip would have been seen as unusual, but not unheard of. From the late nineteenth century, thousands of young Australians made a trip 'home' to Great Britain, influenced by traditional British upbringings or even a supposed lack of culture in Australia. This lasting connection had spurred on the development of commercial flight as a way of lessening the burden of the 'tyranny of distance'.

Not only were these young Australians influenced by issues close to home, but also developments in Europe. By the time they arrived in Europe, they were subject to many decades and even centuries of the development of a tourism industry in Europe. Indeed, British tourists on a 'Grand Tour' of Europe had created a modern tourist path in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, complete with sights, accommodation and amenities. Tramps had laid the foundations for the contemporary working holiday, whilst the demands of the working class had led to infrastructure developments in pleasurable localities, such as beaches and nature reserves.

In order to understand these young Australian travellers of the post-World War II period, it is vital to examine this historical context. By doing so, we can begin to understand both the profile of the typical young Australian traveller, particularly with regards to the connotations of their nationality, and the roots of Europe's allure.

2.2 Australia and its British connection

Despite the fact that the British colonies of Australia formed a federation in 1901, a distinctly British flavour has remained within Australian society until well into the twenty-first century. Examples can be found throughout; currency was in the form of pounds until 1966, Australian passports were specifically called 'British passports' until 1967, and the official Australian national anthem remained Great Britain's *God Save the Queen* until 1984. In sport, cricket and rugby were played and followed with an even greater ferocity than in their home country. In popular culture, a local version of the board game 'Monopoly' was not created until 1985, hence familiarising generations with London landmarks from an early age.[39]

This 'Britishness' did not exist in a vacuum. Domestically, it ushered in xenophobic legislation to maintain the racial makeup of the country, and internationally it preserved a link between Australia and Britain that remained long after generations had been born on Australian soil. This caused ramifications in terms of young Australians' travel patterns, which I will return to shortly. Perhaps the most well-known and symbolic example of Australia's European, and more specifically British flavour is in its White Australia Policy (WAP), announced in 1901, the year of federation. Not a single law, but rather a popular name given for a collection of related legislation, the WAP was widely accepted by the Australian public and politicians from across the political spectrum. Australia's first Attorney-General and later Prime Minister, the Honourable Alfred Deakin, described the WAP to Parliament as 'one of the fundamental principles for the guidance of the

[39] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 22

nation'.[40] This was not simply one of a range of laws enacted for the year, but, as Deakin shows, rather a policy that would define the new country for years to come.

The WAP was not radical in 1901. The Australian colonies had long held a fear of 'Asian invasion', and began its first wholly discriminatory practices against Chinese miners on the Victorian goldfields in the 1850s.[41] Chinese immigration, as had been seen on the Californian goldfields previously, was resisted by all Australian colonies. One by one they enacted tonnage laws (which limited the number of Chinese passengers on boats in accordance with its freight) to stem the flow.

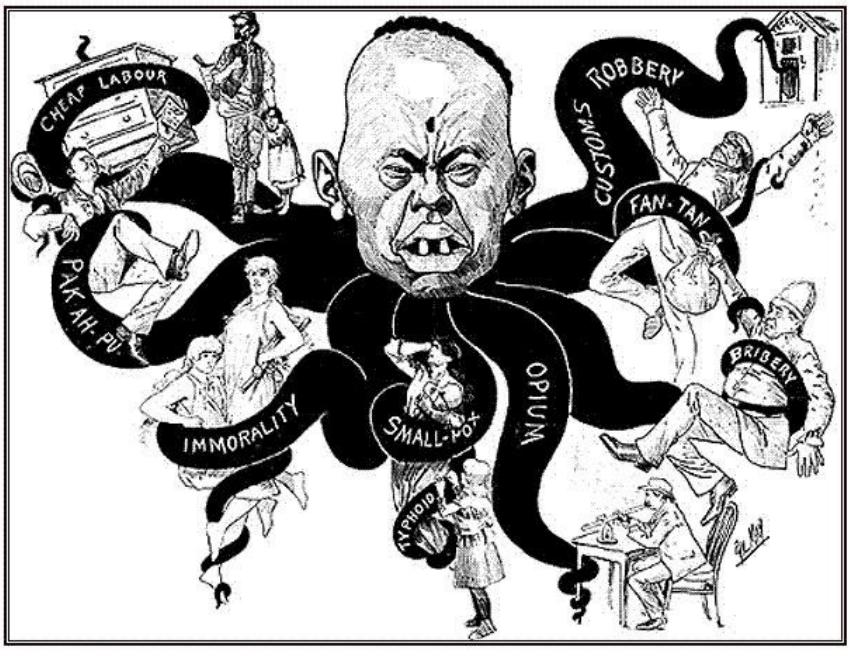

Figure 4: Political cartoons, such as this famous one depicting a Chinese man as an octopus, reflected the sentiment of the time towards non-European migration. Phillip May, 'The Mongolian Octopus', The Bulletin, *21 August 1886.*

[40] Andrew Markus, '1884 or 1981? Immigration and some "lessons" of Australian history', in Andrew Markus and MC Ricklefs (eds.), *Surrender Australia? Essays in the study and use of history: Geoffrey Blainey and Asian immigration*, Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1985, 12

[41] Sing-Wu Wang, 'Chinese in Australian Society', in James Jupp, *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 203 and Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalisation of Borders*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, 165

By 1901 however, tonnage laws were seen as outdated and the Natal Formula was introduced, based on a similar program in South Africa.[42] Essentially a language test, prospective immigrants would have to pass in order to gain entry to the country. However, the test was to be administered in a European language of the administrator's choosing. For desirable immigrants, such as the British and northern Europeans, this test was administered in English. For others, such as a prospective Italian or Chinese immigrant, the test could be administered in anything from Slovenian to Welsh.

The reason why Australia was so influenced by the British is quite simple; the WAP was overwhelmingly successful and by 1947, the proportion of people in Australia claiming European descent was 99.75 per cent.[43] In that same year, 97 per cent claimed to have been born either in Australia or the British Isles (including Ireland), the remainder consisting mostly of northern European migrants of whose passages had been provided free or were highly subsidised by the Australian Government.[44] Australia was, according to historian James Jupp, a 'socially engineered country, built to emulate a country on the other side of the world'; Great Britain.[45]

An interesting concept to explore here is Jatinda Mann's idea of 'local patriotism', which is useful in determining why Australians have been drawn to Britain and Europe, both culturally and physically, over time. Mann argues that Australians considered themselves solely British up until the 1960s, with a degree of 'local patriotism' alongside their British identity.[46] This local patriotism could be in the form of anything from a love of the landscape to a disdain for authority, which was seen to be unlike the British. Perhaps the best example of this local patriotism is the reverence given to the Gallipoli campaign during World War I. Much of Australia's national identity is wrapped up in this event; here volunteer Australian (and New Zealander) troops fought against Turkish soldiers as

[42] McKeown, *Melancholy Order*, 196
[43] James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 12. Please note that Indigenous Australians were not classified as 'persons' in the Australian census until 1971 and were therefore not included in population counts.
[44] 'Australian historical population statistics', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3105.0.65.0012008?OpenDocument, accessed on 21 November 2012
[45] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 6
[46] Jatinda Mann, 'The evolution of Commonwealth citizenship, 1945-1948 in Canada, Britain and Australia', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol 50 No 3 (2012), 294

directed by their British military leaders. The campaign was a failure, with thousands of casualties on both sides, and in the years that followed the 'bad guy' was not perceived to be the Turks but the British.[47] Volunteer troops had been initially excited about enlisting in war, with a duty to defend Britain coupled with a desire to see the world.[48] However, the harsh realities of war set in. After the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) landing in Gallipoli in 1915, and the subsequent bloodbath, Australia and Britain's relationship would never be the same again. At the same time, a new camaraderie, referred to as 'mateship' was formed in the trenches and has since been perceived as distinctly Australian and indeed a form of Mann's 'local patriotism'.

Whilst attitudes towards Britain were slowly evolving, ethnically things also changed, albeit slowly, following World War II. The postwar Labor Government's slogan, 'Populate or Perish' reflected the anxiety Australians felt after the fall of Singapore; that the country was no longer isolated and could not rely on the British for protection. There was even a degree of sentiment that the British had effectively abandoned them.[49] Displaced Europeans were offered free or subsidised passages to Australia in exchange for guaranteed paid work on government projects, such as the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme. Even though British and northern Europeans were still preferred, the main impetus for such an immigration program was to build Australia's population in light of potential Asian aggression.

[47] Brad West, 'Enchanting pasts: The role of international civil religious pilgrimage in reimagining national collective memory', *Sociological Theory*, Vol 26 No 3 (2008), 262
[48] Brad West, 'Dialogical memorialisation, international travel and the public sphere: A cultural sociology of commemoration and tourism at the First World War Gallipoli battlefields', *Tourist Studies*, Vol 10 No 3 (2010), 211
[49] 'Populate or perish', *Time Magazine*, 11 August 1952

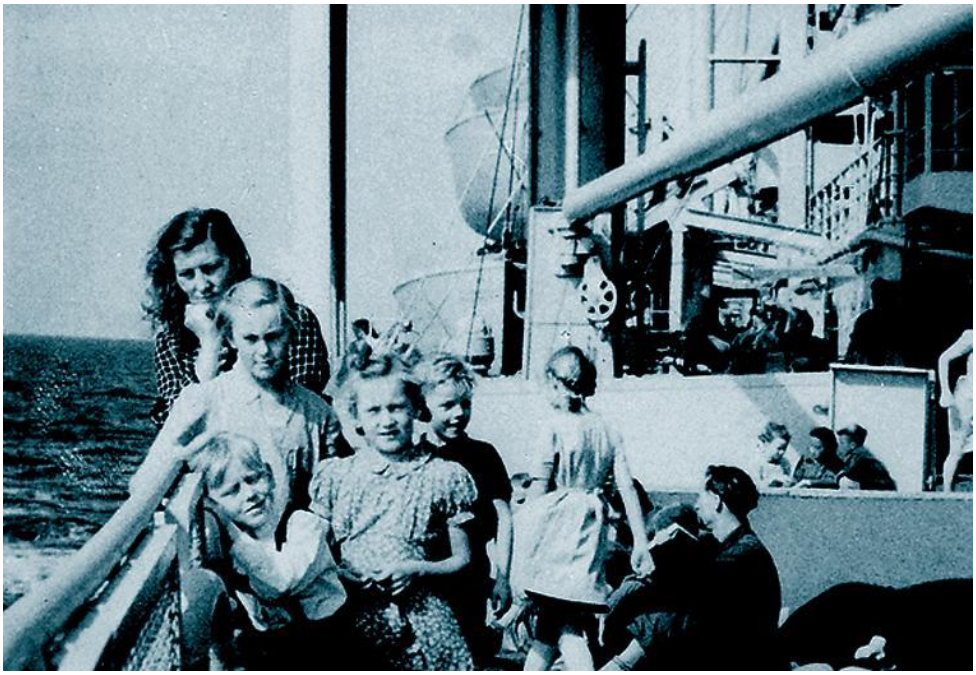

Figure 5: Lydia Drescheris and her children, from Lithuania, were deemed Displaced Persons after WWII. Pictured here in 1950, they are en route to a new life Australia, bound for Fremantle. Western Australian Museum, accessed from http://www.museum.wa.gov.au/welcomewalls/history on 31 January 2013.

However, despite the influx of large numbers of primarily Italian, Greek and Yugoslav migrants, the British character remained. Those in positions of authority still either identified as being British, or of British descent, and British history was still taught in classrooms (in place of local history) well into the 1960s.[50] During a parliamentary debate on Australian citizenship in 1947, Acting Leader of the Opposition Eric J Harrison stated, 'We must take care that, in the process of creating the new, we do not destroy the old, and in this new-found freedom we do not impetuously impair our allegiance to the Motherland'.[51] Harrison's party, the Liberal Party, went on to win the next election on a conservative, monarchist platform and enjoyed widespread support, remaining in office until 1972.

Despite this, British influence was waning, though slowly. Italian coffee and cuisine became mainstream by the 1970s, foreign policy was increasingly focused on Asia and

[50] F B Smith, 'British history in Australia', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Vol 23 No 1 (1981), 42
[51] Jatinda Mann, 'The evolution of Commonwealth citizenship, 1945-1948 in Canada, Britain and Australia', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol 50 No 3 (2012), 306

the Pacific and films and television shows were overwhelmingly American.[52] The Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) was signed by all states in 1951, officially aligning Australia with the United States and ushering in a new wartime era; the Cold War. When American President Lyndon B Johnson visited Australia in 1966, Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt was steadfast in his support for the Vietnam War. Holt's controversial 'All the way with LBJ' speech was testament to Australia's new, non-British defense strategy.

Australia was changing slowly, but in terms of art, music and high culture, it continuously looked to Britain. High culture was not something native to Australia, so it did not receive government investment; for example, Australia did not have a film or theatre industry until the late 1960s. Even in history, Australians would constantly lament having no local history to call their own.[53] The feeling was mutual; even to a certain extent today, Britain saw Australia, and indeed all of its colonies, as culturally inferior.[54] This perceived lack of culture, termed the 'cultural cringe' by AA Phillips in the 1950s, however, stemmed from the closing stages of the nineteenth century.[55]

Those who were taken with high culture, therefore, had to look to Britain for inspiration. From the late nineteenth century onwards a number of young Australian artists took a type of Grand Tour; a trip that was relatively common up until World War II. These young artists would travel 'back' to Britain for an average of about three years, developing their talents, and in turn, depriving Australia of its own local talent pool.[56] Dame Nellie Melba was perhaps the best, and earliest example of this era, who, after travelling to London in 1886 and touring Europe and North America, became one of the world's most famous opera singers.[57]

Not only was Australia culturally isolated in the decades before World War II, geographically, when compared to Europe, it was almost in another world. This fact

[52] Tom O'Donoghue, 'Colonialism, education and social change in the British Empire: the case of Australia, Papua New Guinea and Ireland', *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol 45 No 6 (2006), 790
[53] Clifford Lewis et al, 'Self-identity and social norms in destination choice by young Australian travellers', *Tourist Studies*, Vol 10 No 3 (2003), 277
[54] Davidson, '"Are we there yet?"', 116
[55] Ibid, 117
[56] Bell, 'The big OE', 144
[57] Davidson, '"Are we there yet?"', 118

alone makes it remarkable that Australian society was modelled so closely to that of Britain's. However, with the voyage by sea taking around five weeks, Australia visibly suffered from its 'tyranny of distance'; communications were haphazard and awareness of new technologies and events was sporadic.[58] Yet, or perhaps due to this, Australians were still relatively mobile. Between 1878 and 1912, an Australian cricket team journeyed to England by boat and toured the country on fourteen different occasions, with this practice only halted by the outbreak of World War I. [59] Also in the field of sport, Australia's first Olympian, Edwin Flack, took part in the inaugural 1896 Athens Games whilst he was working in London as an accountant. By the time World War I broke out, thousands of Australians signed up to fight for the British Empire. One of the major reasons why so many signed up, argues sociologist Brad West, was a desire to see the world.[60]

2.3 Overcoming the tyranny of distance

This tyranny of distance meant that Australia long saw itself as a perfect candidate in which to develop aviation technology. Indeed, when the world turned its attention to aviation following the end of World War I, both the England to the United States and the England to Australia routes were seen as the industry's biggest challenges.[61] The success of the first England-Australia flight in 1919 was therefore profound. There was finally a way in which to overcome the tyranny of distance, and no longer did the country have to rely on the sea to be connected to the rest of the world.[62] Almost at once, there was a psychological shift in the way in which Australians viewed their place in the world.

The Australian Government was quick to recognise the local potential of aviation technology, and invested as such. Tenders were extended across the country for the delivery of mail and freight, with the Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services

[58] Meredith Hooper, *Kangaroo Route: The development of commercial flight between England and Australia*, London: Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1985, 4
[59] 'Seasons', *Cricket Archive*, http://www.cricketarchive.co.uk/Archive/Seasons/index.html, accessed on 24 November 2012
[60] West, 'Dialogical memorialisation', 211
[61] Hooper, *Kangaroo Route*, 4
[62] Ibid, 30

(QANTAS) successful in obtaining the tender on the lucrative outback regions of Queensland and the Northern Territory, where the tyranny of distance was felt most acutely.[63] The area in question covered more than three million square kilometres; roughly the size of India. QANTAS planes would link up distant outback towns, collecting mail and other deliveries, plus the odd passenger. Supplementing income from the regular routes, QANTAS planes were also used for joyflights on weekends, capitalizing on the intrigue and excitement that followed the fleet around the outback.

Figure 6: One of QANTAS' first planes, used to deliver mail across outback towns in Queensland and the Northern Territory. Pictured at the QANTAS base at Longreach in 1934. Queensland State Archives, 'Item 1138644', accessed from http://www.archives.qld.gov.au/Researchers/Exhibitions/QldFirsts/PublishingImages/33D-QSA-Item-435743-Qantas-plane_pop.jpg on 31 January 2013.

Similarly, on the other side of the world, the British Government was keen to link up their distant empirical posts. Australia and New Zealand were placed at the very end of a long journey by sea which took in other possessions such as India and South Africa. Both of these interests met in the middle, and the first timetabled 'Kangaroo Route', linking London and Brisbane, was born in 1935.[64] For comparison's sake, the first regular trans-

[63] Hooper, *Kangaroo Route*, 41
[64] Malcolm Knox, *I still call Australia home: The Qantas story 1920-2005*, Bondi Junction: Focus Publishing, 2005, 17

Atlantic service was flown by Pan American World Airways (Pan Am) in 1939.[65] Though barely a third of the distance of the Kangaroo Route, most of this route was over open seas and was therefore logistically more difficult.

The Kangaroo Route, named as such due to the frequent stops, or hops, along the journey, was initially far from a solution to the mass transportation of people. In its early days before World War II, most of the available space on planes was taken up by mail and freight, and few passengers travelled the entire distance, rather joining for a set number of legs en route. The stops were frequent; the inaugural 1935 service made forty-one stops along the way between Brisbane and London, taking twelve and a half days.[66] This compared well with the five weeks spent on a boat to complete a similar journey. Even more promising was the aviation record set in 1934; Melbourne to London in less than three days.[67] By the end of World War II, and the addition of wartime aviation technological achievements, air travel was set to revolutionise Australian mobility and in turn, greatly reduce the tyranny of distance.

2.4 The Grand Tour

Immediately following World War II, young Australian travellers found a Europe that was on the verge of a new era of mass tourism. Though people had travelled for pleasure or work for centuries, historians have long pointed to the 'Grand Tour' of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the forerunner to modern tourism.[68] When those who took part in a Grand Tour are applied in comparison to the way in which young Australians have travelled in the post-World War II period, a number of parallels soon become apparent.

In what became a type of 'rite of passage' for the English nobility, these 'tourists' usually travelled for long periods of time to a number of European destinations, at a relatively

[65] Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004, 37
[66] Hooper, *Kangaroo Route*, 201
[67] Ibid, 168
[68] Riley, 'Road culture', 314

young age and as a 'once in a lifetime' experience. Anthropologist Camille O'Reilly argues that today's young travellers are the descendants of these Grand Tourists, with the educational element the main point of difference.[69] I concur with O'Reilly, but would take her argument one step further. Young *Australian* travellers in Europe, with all of the associated 'rite of passage' connotations, are even more suited to such comparisons. When viewed in conjunction with 'tramping', even more parallels come to light, and I will return to this concept further on in this chapter.

Immensely popular among the landed classes in England, the Grand Tour became to be seen, by its height in the eighteenth century, as an essential part of a young nobleman's education.[70] Though some tourists also came from the nobility in Germany, France and Scandinavia, and even the United States by the nineteenth century, the phenomenon has been largely attributed to the English.[71] As there is a wealth of resources on the Grand Tours of Englishmen, and particularly due to England's contemporary connection to Australia, it is these tourists to whom I will direct the bulk of my attention.[72]

In England, wealthy young men, comprising about 0.3 per cent of the population, would cross the Channel each year, usually taking up to two years to complete a circuit of the continent.[73] The reasons for completing such a trip differed from tourist to tourist, however historian Edward Brodsky-Porges argues that most went for one of two reasons; social or educational.[74] Travel for travel's sake, or for the beauty of landscapes, was not popular until the nineteenth century.[75] Therefore, cities dominated the Grand Tour, particularly in Italy.

In the early days of the Grand Tour in the sixteenth century, when such journeys were relatively rare, tourists needed permission to visit cities and would often have their travels

[69] O'Reilly, 'From drifter to gap year tourist', 1004
[70] I have used the terms 'English' and 'England' for the purposes of discussing the Grand Tour as this was a distinctly English phenomenon rather than Scottish, for example.
[71] Orvar Lofgren, *On holiday: A history of vacationing*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, 160
[72] Towner, 'Approaches to tourism history', 49
[73] John Towner, 'The grand tour: A key phase in the history of tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 12 No 2 (1985), 304 and Edward Brodksy-Porges, 'The Grand Tour: Travel as an educational device 1600-1800', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 8 No 2 (1981), 180
[74] Brodksy-Porges, 'The Grand Tour', 179
[75] Ibid, 181

subsidised by their own government.[76] By the turn of the eighteenth century, however, the Grand Tour was solely an individual pursuit. Despite this, tourists did not travel on their own, but rather almost always with a travelling tutor, dubbed a 'bear leader'. These early tour guides would often have completed a Grand Tour themselves or would be respected academics unable to fund a trip for themselves. The wealthiest tourists would travel with a tutor and sometimes bring along staff; others, particularly later when the Grand Tour filtered down to the upper-middle classes, would travel in small groups and share the one tutor.[77] However, unlike tour groups today, the tourists would set the length and route of the trip, with the tutor more concerned with the trip's logistics.

Though the itinerary of each Grand Tour of course varied, the main destination for the overwhelming majority was undoubtedly Italy.[78] Just about every Grand Tour included a significant period of time in the Italian cities of Rome, Venice and Florence, just as they dominate the Italian tourist trail today.[79] Just as ancient Greece and Turkey attracted unprecedented academic attention in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, major Italian cities were in fashion during the Grand Tour's popularity. Other Italian cities were also visited, though they varied from tour to tour, as did the route to Italy itself.[80]

Though the route of a Grand Tour differed according to the individual's tastes and the current political situation of a region, historians have been able to sketch a rough itinerary that was followed by most tourists. Later tourists, such as those in the late eighteenth century, were very much influenced by their predecessors, basing their route on advice given on various cities and their offerings. For tourist John Evelyn, travel past Naples was deemed unnecessary due to him being told by acquaintances that there was 'nothing to see'.[81] Similar to modern times, guidebooks were also popular. Published in 1648 and viewed as the first English guidebook for Italy, *An Itinerary* by John Raymond described

[76] Michael G Brennan, *English civil war travelers and the origins of the Western European Grand Tour*, The Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture 2001, 11
[77] Brodksy-Porges, 'The Grand Tour', 180
[78] Ilaria Bignamini, 'The Italians as spectators' in Clare Hornsby (ed), *The impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and beyond*, London: The British School at Rome, 2000, 43
[79] Ibid
[80] Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, 25
[81] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, 25

the author's Grand Tour two years previous and was instantly a success amongst potential tourists.[82]

Historians have found that most tourists travelled in a loop, in an anti-clockwise direction, crossing the Channel at Dover and heading straight for Paris.[83] Some would linger in Paris and its surrounds, with a visit to the Palace of Versailles popular. A twice-daily 'coche' service was implemented in the eighteenth century, designed to shuttle the large numbers of interested tourists to and from the palace, one of the first examples of tourist infrastructure implemented in Europe.[84] Other examples of tourist infrastructure from this period can be found particularly throughout Italy, such as the significant expansion of the Vatican Museums in the 1770s. In this case, Pope Pius VI oversaw the development of the Pio-Clementino Museum with its main purpose being to capitalise on the tourists' thirst for Italian art and history.[85]

After Paris, most tourists would head in a south-easterly direction towards Italy, purposely avoiding the Alps as their crossing was seen to create a major burden. Most would travel via Dijon, Lyon and Avignon, and would often skip over the Cote d'Azur due to inaccessibility until its rediscovery by the English upper-class in the nineteenth century.[86] Many would choose a French town, particularly in the Loire Valley where the French language was seen to be the most pure, to spend an extended period of time in which to learn the language. Tourists travelled much more slowly in Italy, however, often settling in a city such as Florence or Bologna for a year or more to learn the Italian language or enroll in a prestigious university.[87] Other tourists more interested in the social side of the Grand Tour would time their visits to coincide with major festivals or parties, such as Carnival in Venice or Rome for Holy Week.[88] Whatever their reasons for travel, Italy remained the main destination for those undertaking a Grand Tour. Brian Thacker, who worked as a tour guide for mainly young Australians in the 1980s, tells a

[82] Brennan, *English civil war travelers*, 5
[83] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, 28
[84] Ibid, 63
[85] Jeffrey Collins, 'Pius VI and the invention of the Vatican Museum', in Clare Hornsby (ed), *The impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and beyond*, London: The British School at Rome, 2000, 175
[86] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, 64
[87] Ibid, 128
[88] Ibid, 112

similar story; the main destination, and ultimately most travellers' favourite country, was Italy.[89]

Figure 7: Many Grand Tourists would sketch what they saw, just like tourists with cameras today. Richard Wilson, View of St Peter's and the Vatican from the Janiculum, *1754, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed from http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1972.118.294 on 1 February 2013.*

Italy's tourism infrastructure therefore has a richer history than most of Europe. Unlike in the other regions visited as part of a Grand Tour, tourists were often escorted around Italy by a *vetturino*; an Italian guide who would offer a tourist transport, lodging and other comforts for a negotiated fee.[90] Cities such as Venice had already been receiving curious visitors for centuries, and Florence grew more and more accustomed to English tourists throughout the Grand Tour's popularity. Well-located apartments were freely rented out to foreigners in Rome, for example, and in Florence shops were opened catering exclusively for English tastes.[91] Tourists in Venice and other cities were served by a whole industry catering for their desire for painted portraits to bring back as souvenirs to England. However, this type of mass tourism already had its detractors. There were so

[89] Thacker, *Rule No 5*, 151
[90] Brodksy-Porges, 'The Grand Tour', 181
[91] Lofgren, *On holiday*, 158

many English in Florence, that when French writer Stendhal arrived in 1817, he complained that the city of his dreams was 'nothing better than a vast museum full of foreign tourists'.[92] Similarly, Venice's Carnival, once an important event which attracted foreign royalty and associated dignitaries, was attended solely by tourists by as early as the eighteenth century, according to historian Ilaria Bignamini.[93]

After Italy, the majority of tourists headed north, some through the Alps but others through Austria to Bavaria and the Rhine region, before heading through the Low Countries and back to England.[94] This route of course was not followed by all, but covers the most popular areas. Spain, Greece and the Balkans, for example, were seen as lacking culture, access or both, and were therefore almost always avoided.[95] The route and experiences of those undertaking a Grand Tour, however, was not static over time. War, religion and natural disasters altered routes, as well as tourists' tastes. The Napoleonic Wars, for example, halted Grand Tours for over a decade. The publication of Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* in 1757 changed tourism slowly but substantially, ushering in a new era described by Swedish historian Orvar Lofgren as the 'tourist quest for the picturesque'.[96] Mediterranean views or the Swiss Alps, for example, were added to itineraries for their aesthetic appeal rather than for historical, social or academic reasons.

However, the biggest change, which transformed the Grand Tour forever, was the arrival of the train. Just like how the arrival of air travel changed Australian international tourism forever, the development of rail transport saw a similar transformation in England. In a matter of a few short years, the journey between London to Rome, which for centuries had taken weeks, if not months, was cut to sixty hours.[97] Tourists no longer needed to see Europe as a trip to be tackled only once, but could make shorter and more frequent trips throughout one's lifetime. Tourists could go away for a week or two on regular occasions, without the impetus to study or socialise. Coupled with this new

[92] Lofgren, *On holiday*, 160
[93] Bignamini, 'The Italians as spectators', 33
[94] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, 28
[95] Ibid
[96] Eric GE Zuelow, 'The necessity of touring beyond the nation: An introduction', in Eric GE Zuelow (ed), *Touring beyond the nation: A transnational approach to European tourism history*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2011, 1 and Lofgren, *On holiday*, 19
[97] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, 246 and Alderson, *The new grand tour*, 26

'tourist quest for the picturesque', areas such as the Cote d'Azur and the Swiss Alps boomed.

2.5 Working class travel and the dawn of mass tourism

With all of these changes, the Grand Tour of the nineteenth century was therefore different, but still immensely popular. As noted previously, by the 1780s, the types of persons undertaking a Grand Tour had also changed, consisting more and more of the professional middle classes rather than solely the nobility. It is often here where historians have traditionally pointed out the introduction of working and middle class tourism, but despite this demographic change, this was not the first time that the English lower classes would travel in large numbers in Europe.[98]

The concept of 'tramping' therefore lends much relevance to this paper. Though young people have travelled in search of work for centuries, it was not until the late eighteenth century when a desire to see and experience new places became popular and an added motivation to tramp.[99] These young people took on a variety of occupations during their travels, some for which they had already undergone specific training. Others were motivated by local unemployment and a desire for anonymity; whatever the case, they travelled in a dissimilar way but with a comparable rate to Grand Tourists, which have unfairly earnt the bulk of tourism historians' attention.[100]

Unlike the Grand Tourists, who were disproportionately English, tramping was popular throughout the British Isles, northern Europe and even the United States, with tramps known to cross the Atlantic in search of work and adventure.[101] In France and Germany, for example, tramping was even an essential part of some career training. Called *Tour de France* in France and *Wanderpflicht* in Germany, large numbers of men would move

[98] Judith Adler, 'Youth on the road: Reflections on the history of tramping', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 12 No 2 (1985), 339
[99] Ibid, 344
[100] Ibid, 339
[101] Ibid

from town to town over a period of time, learning trades such as craftwork of which styles would vary regionally.[102]

Unlike the Grand Tour, the practice of tramping did not end abruptly. Rather, it was transformed by a number of factors; namely, the railroads brought added mobility to thousands more on the continent, diluting tramping's exposure. World War I also limited movement and the new interconnectedness of Europe hampered the *Tour de France* and *Wanderpflicht*; regional differences became less pronounced and therefore less desirable to learn.[103] The mobility of young workers, however, did not diminish; but rather, it increased. Throughout the twentieth century and beyond, young people worked their way around Europe to fund their desire to travel. These 'working holidays' as they became to be known in Australia, have been a popular and class-neutral way of funding travel and gaining work experience for more than half a century.[104]

Travelling solely for pleasure, however, was not a mainstream pursuit for the English middle and working classes until the Industrial Revolution. Beginning in industrialised Lancashire and then spreading to other areas of England, the fashionable 'tourist quest for the picturesque' was made relatively local, with nearby seaside resorts the main leisure destination of choice for many members of the working class.[105] Historian John K Walton, in his study of Lancashire cotton workers, contends that the relatively stable and well-paying local industries allowed for such a leisure industry to develop. Using the newly-built railways, a Sunday family day trip to the seaside would cost less than a day's wage for most skilled workers, and grew even more in popularity when public holidays and annual leave were introduced throughout the nineteenth century.[106] Meanwhile, the railways welcomed the business, offering special holiday fares to seaside destinations in a bid to drive up weekend patronage.[107]

[102] Adler, 'Youth on the road', 339
[103] Ibid, 340
[104] O'Reilly, 'From drifter to gap year tourist', 1005
[105] Walton, 'The demand for working class seaside holidays', 252
[106] Ibid, 250
[107] Ibid

Figure 8: The quintessential Lancashire seaside town; Blackpool. Its beach and famous tower can be seen here in 1895. The Guardian, accessed from http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/gallery/2007/sep/11/ on 1 February 2013.

Whilst departing Grand Tourists only made up about 0.3 per cent of the English population each year until the end of the eighteenth century, seaside holidays of the nineteenth century were much more widespread. Walton goes so far as to say that they were enjoyed by everyone except for the very poor by the century's end, when camping trips and even tours over to Europe became common.[108] By the 1930s, Oostende in Belgium was a popular holiday spot for the English working class, for example.[109]

The English middle classes also holidayed by the seaside, albeit often in different towns aimed at a wealthier clientele. Spa towns in Europe also boomed during this period, with the English joined by nationals from other industrialising nations in towns such as Spa in Belgium and Baden Baden in Germany.[110] Drawn by the promise of health benefits, this

[108] Dennis Hardy, 'Sociocultural dimensions of tourism history', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 17 No 4 (1990), 548 and Walton, 'The demand for working class seaside holidays', 263
[109] Walton, 'The origins of the modern package tour?', 148
[110] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, London: Sage Publications, 2002 (second edition), 4

new reason for travel developed further over the years. In a similar vein, Nice and the Cote d'Azur industrialised rapidly during this time. The fact that English funds assisted in the construction of the iconic Promenade de Anglais in Nice is testament to the English influence in the city.

Before the time young Australians began arriving in Europe in significant numbers, the age of mass tourism had already dawned on Europe. A rise in paid holiday time and disposable income meant more and more people were turning to touring the continent for pleasure.[111] Meanwhile, more and more governments, such as the French, engaged in tourism promotion activities to encourage tourists to choose their country to visit over others.[112] In addition, it was not only Europeans who were travelling around their own continent; by the turn of the twentieth century, it was not unusual to see groups of Americans completing tours of their own. One of the first accounts of American tourists in Europe was Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad*, which recounted, often humorously, a tour of Europe and the Holy Land organised by the Congregationalist Plymouth Church in 1867.[113]

Young people also crossed the Atlantic, with many families adopting the English Grand Tour tradition of sending their children, usually of university age, over to Europe as a means of education and cultural immersion.[114] Travel soon became a marker of status, alongside material objects such as purchasing a car or a house, according to sociologist John Urry.[115] By the 1940s, Europe was deemed the most desirable place for a holiday by American magazines *National Geographic* and *Harper's Monthly*, and preferred more than even domestic hotspots such as the West Coast.[116]

Over on the other side of the world, Australians still at this point considered themselves wholly British and holidayed as such. With all of the main cities having developed by the coasts, seaside resorts were established close to all of the main cities by the turn of the

[111] Sabine Marschall, 'Tourism and memory', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 39 No 4 (2012), 2216
[112] Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 7
[113] Alderson, *The new grand tour*, 29
[114] Brodksy-Porges, 'The Grand Tour', 173
[115] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2
[116] Sam Lollar and Carlton Van Doren, 'US tourist destinations: A history of desirability', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 18 No 4 (1991), 623

twentieth century; Sandringham in Melbourne, Manly in Sydney and Glenelg in Adelaide were all well-connected by tram and in some instances also by train.[117] The elite classes, however, remained fixated with Europe. Europe was viewed as home, and therefore holidays, as rare and as logistically difficult as they may have been, were taken in Europe.[118] Long-distance domestic travel was deemed the realm of explorers, rather than tourists, and remained that way well into until the post-World War II period.

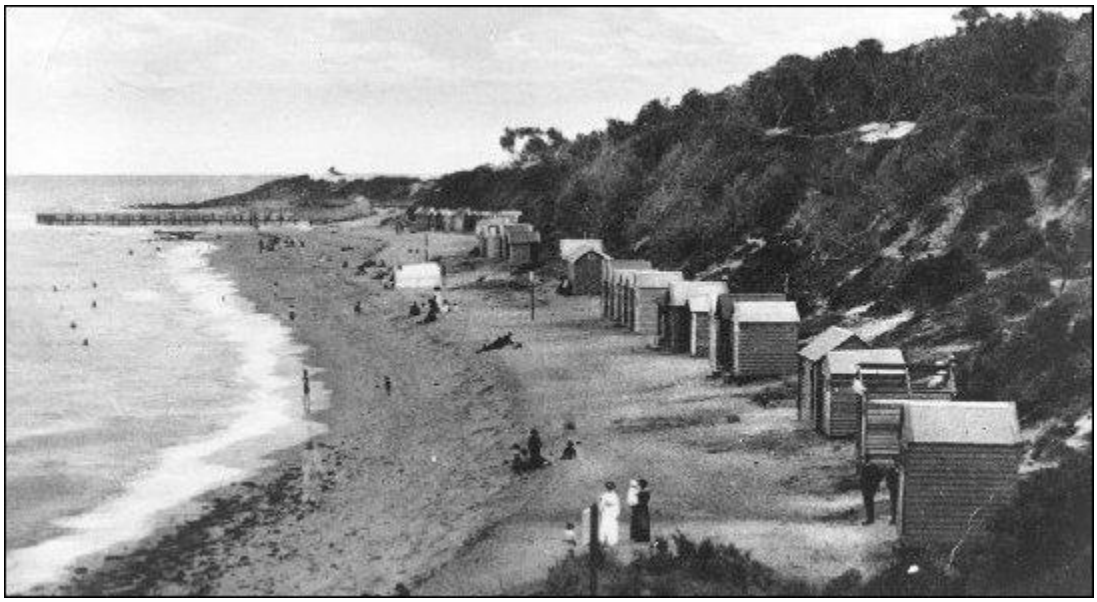

Figure 9: Sandringham Beach in Melbourne, circa 1886. A touch of Britain could be found (and still exists) on the shore: British bathing boxes. City of Kingston, accessed at http://localhistory.kingston.vic.gov.au/htm/article/59.htm on 1 February 2013.

2.6 Conclusion

By the end of World War II, all of the elements necessary to usher in a new era of Australian international tourism were in place. In Europe, mass tourism was set to boom, assisted by decades of pre-war prosperity, a growth in tourism as an accepted leisure activity and the introduction of the railroads and other tourism infrastructure. On the other side of the world, Australians were constantly lessening its geographic isolation

[117] Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday business: Tourism in Australia since 1870*, Carlton: The Miegunyah Press at Melbourne University Press, 2000, 3
[118] Ibid, 2

through investment in aviation technology. In doing so, it changed the national psyche and brought itself closer to the rest of the world.

Australia's 'rest of the world' inevitably meant Europe, and more specifically, Britain. Though Australians' national identity was in a slight state of flux, it constantly looked to Britain in matters of culture and history. In doing so, it laid the seeds for an international tourism industry that would be defined by the Kangaroo Route.

CHAPTER THREE
CREATING THE BOOM: WHY GO TO EUROPE?

3.1 Introduction

In Australia, just as in most Western democracies, moving out of the family home, buying a car and securing full-time employment are all seen as traditional ways of marking the transition from adolescence to adulthood. These material examples, which require a concerted effort to obtain, are coupled with more natural examples; the eighteenth birthday, for instance, grants the person in question the right to vote, drink alcohol and drive a vehicle. In the post-World War II period, another experience was linked to the transition to adulthood and the obtaining of one's independence; travel.

For many young Australians, the decision to travel, and in this case to Europe, was made quite early on in life and was verbalised to me, through surveys and interviews, as simply something that the person always wanted to do. For others, however, the decision was more complex. Class influenced the likelihood of a person travelling, as well as the way in which they would travel. This second chapter will look at how and why young Australians travelled to Europe throughout the post-World War II period, drawing heavily on interview and survey material collected over the course of my research.

3.2 The voyage to Europe

It is possible to trace the Australian youth travel boom to the Australian Government's post-World War II 'Populate or Perish' rhetoric. Unlike in Europe, Australian infrastructure had hardly suffered during the war, with the major exception being the then small northern port town of Darwin, close to Singapore, which had experienced bombing by the Japanese. The bulk of the country's able-bodied men returned from their distant wartime posts, but many more were needed to service the booming postwar economy. For the first time in Australian history, the government looked beyond the British Isles and to continental Europe.

That is not to say, however, that British immigrants were not preferred. Sea passages were provided free for ex-servicemen and their families, and highly subsidised for others; ten pounds was all the voyage cost and all children were free. Hence the name 'Ten Pound Poms' was attached to thousands who accepted the offer and settled in Australia between 1945 and 1982.[119] QANTAS offered discounted fares for non-assisted migrants, but these were only accepted by the very rich.[120] It was still very much the age of sea travel, and as such the government repaired damaged boats from the war to keep up with demand, and commercial enterprises such as P&O Ferries also transported thousands of Europeans to their new homeland. By 1955, over one million Europeans had emigrated to Australia, most through assisted passages, since the end of World War II.

Most traffic, however, was one-way and government-owned boats were filled with Australian produce on return for a British population still on postwar rations.[121] Commercial operators however, saw that more profit could be made in transporting people, and began offering cheap fares from Australian ports, specifically targeting young people at a time when air travel was solely first-class and out of the realm of middle class budgets.[122] The ships would carry up to fifteen hundred people, taking approximately five weeks with usually four or five day stops along the way.[123]

In the 1950s, air travel was marketed almost solely to the upper class. This followed a global trend; similarly, the transatlantic air route was advertised as for the upper class and upper middle class well into the 1950s, according to tourism historian Christopher Endy.[124] In comparison, not only was travel by boat advertised as inexpensive, it was portrayed as an adventure in itself. Contiki Tours founder John Anderson remembers his own journey in 1962; 'Boat life was a dream. All we did for the whole journey of four weeks was eat, drink, party and enjoy each other's company.'[125] Marg Miller, who

[119] 'Ten Pound Poms', *Immigration Museum of Victoria*, http://museumvictoria.com.au/immigrationmuseum/discoverycentre/your-questions/ten-pound-poms/, accessed 29 November 2012
[120] Knox, *I still call Australia home*, 21
[121] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 78
[122] Ibid
[123] Ibid, 16
[124] Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 47
[125] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 54

travelled by boat in 1976, agrees. 'During the day there were films and things, and there was always a disco at night.' [126] Even Carol Mattia, who first travelled to Britain (and then on to Malta) by boat in 1969 at the age of thirteen, remembers the sense of freedom she had on the *Achille Lauro*;

> I had my cousin with me, and she was fifteen, we'd go and check out all the boys. I remember we were hanging around with some eighteen year olds, my goodness, they were men! We'd go to the movies, that sort of thing as well. But I could do what I wanted really, I just would have to be back at the cabin by ten o'clock.[127]

However, Australian conservative sensibilities remained, with P&O Ferries having a policy of mixing up ages in cabins, so young people were in a sense watched over by those older.[128] 'I had an older lady with me,' Miller remembers. However, friendships often formed between those sharing cabins and understandings would be forged; 'Whenever any of us guys needed the privacy of the cabin we would put an unobtrusive sign on the door so the others would know not to enter,' recollects Anderson.[129]

Anderson, Miller and Mattia's parents chose to travel by boat between Australia and Britain even when air travel had begun to filter down to the middle class. In Miller's case, she chose to travel by boat between Melbourne and Singapore, before flying the remainder of the distance. She remembers that most people on the boat were people like her. 'They were all people just wanting to travel cheaply. [There were] lots of people travelling to Europe, [and] some returning after travelling in Australia.' Michael Nixon had a complicated journey back from Europe in 1977. '[I travelled by] plane to Singapore, ship to Perth and then a bus to Melbourne,' he recalls.[130]

The journey by boat, though long, also had its advantages once travellers would arrive in Europe. Despite Miller not knowing anyone abroad when she departed from Melbourne, when she arrived in London, 'I was there for a few days, and then the girl I met on the boat and I went over to Paris for a few days'. According to Anderson, who witnessed

[126] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012
[127] Interview with Carol Mattia, 17 December 2012
[128] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 54
[129] Ibid
[130] Email questionnaire with Michael Nixon, 26 October 2012

hundreds of Australians and New Zealanders arriving in London in the 1960s, the time spent by boat also acted as a settling in period, especially if it was the first time the traveller had been away from home. They would meet people, visit a few foreign cities en route, and essentially adapt to a new environment and lifestyle. Now, says Anderson, 'A teary mum, dad, family, friends and relations would gather, with last-minute advice, hugs and kisses and wave them goodbye. Just thirty six hours later they would be in London, all alone.'[131] Leanne Howard, who travelled to Europe on an around the world ticket in 1985, had such an experience; 'I remember being on the plane, you know I was sitting next to people I knew and they got off at Los Angeles and went off and I thought, God what have I done? I just knew nobody.'[132]

3.3 The price war

The fare for the trip by sea was well under what it cost for a similar journey by air. Even in 1976, Miller was swayed by the cheap fares; 'It was cheap, well, as cheap as getting there today... just a lot cheaper than flying'.[133] Indeed, a fare on the Kangaroo Route with QANTAS immediately after the end of World War II cost 525 pounds, a steep price for a time when the average Australian annual wage was 210 pounds. This meant that for the average worker, the fare would cost 130 weeks' pay. However, by 2005, a fare between Australia and London would cost roughly two weeks of the average worker's wage (Figure 10).

[131] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 209
[132] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012
[133] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012

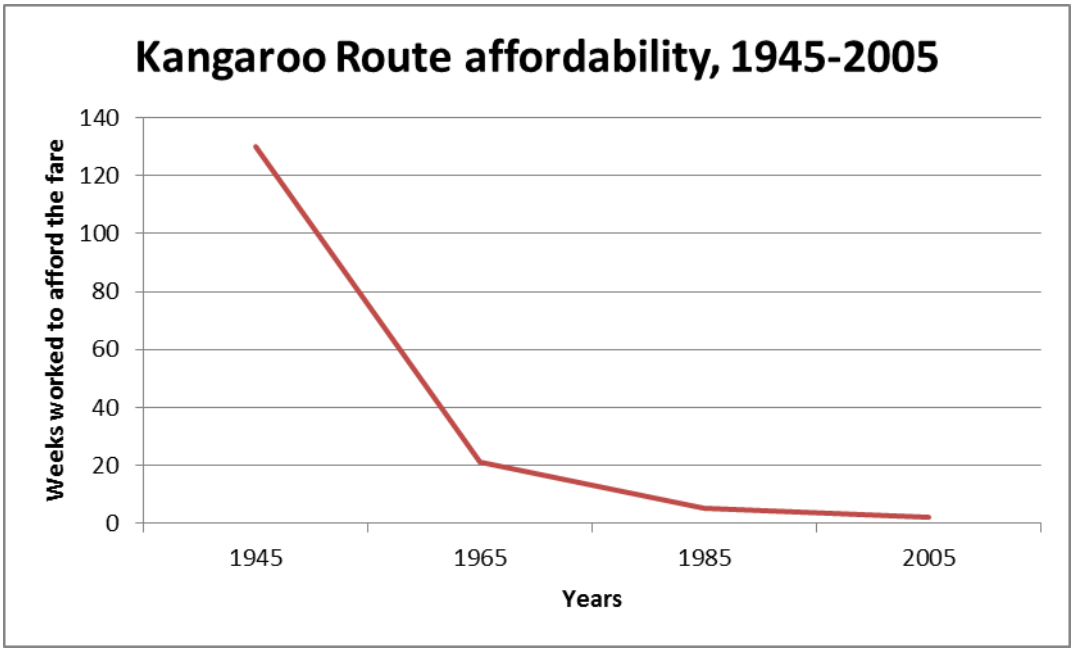

Figure 10: Weeks needed to work on the average worker's salary for a Kangaroo Route fare, 1945-2005.[134]

The effect of this sharp price drop is stark; by the 1960s, air travel had come within the means of Australia's large middle class. Australia was becoming a richer society; in the 1960s it was indeed one of the most affluent in the world.[135] People had more and more disposable income which in turn increased leisure opportunities. In addition, changing economic practices such as the introduction of credit in 1959 meant that individuals could travel after paying only ten per cent of the cost of a ticket, with two years to pay the remainder.[136]

Indeed, the airlines themselves underwent a number of changes in the late 1950s. Before the invention of economy class, which now dominates air travel, planes were first class only.[137] QANTAS introduced a tourist class on their new Super Constellation planes in 1954, and within two years, 44 per cent of passengers chose this cheaper option. By the mid-1960s, this figure had climbed to 77 per cent and the demographics of the flying population had changed completely.[138] The year 1957 saw a million journeys made

[134] Knox, *I still call Australia home*, 121
[135] Ibid, 21
[136] Ibid, 121
[137] Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 128
[138] Knox, *I still call Australia home*, 65

between Britain and Australia by sea, and a million by air; and in the next year, air travel overtook the sea for the first time. In 1958, 1.3 million journeys were undertaken by air, with 964,000 sea passages.[139] Mattia is just one example of those who made the swap; her journey to Europe in 1969 was by boat, but she returned to Australia by plane, as was the case on her repeat trips in 1975 and 1980.[140]

Other airlines had also seen the potential of the tourist class. The United States' Pan-Am did not introduce economy class fares until 1958 on its transatlantic routes, and Iceland's Loftleioir long saw the potential in attracting the tourist market.[141] Introducing low fares across the Atlantic in 1953, Loftleioir attracted largely young people and budget travellers, who were less likely to mind perceived inconveniences such as a stopover in Reykjavik and alternative entry points into Europe such as Luxembourg. The company became colloquially known as the 'Hippie Express' or the 'Hip Hop Airline', even by the airline itself.[142] As a result, by the 1960s, tourism was no longer dominated by luxury and exclusivity; budget alternatives were increasingly adopted and in doing so, took over as the mainstream choice for travel. The effect of making air travel cheaper was clear; many members of the middle class would choose to fly rather than travel by sea if the cost difference was less stark.

Alongside lower prices came improvements to aviation technology. Jet planes were introduced in the United States in 1958, providing for faster, safer and slightly cheaper air transport.[143] In Australia, jet flights to London were introduced relatively quickly, in 1959, with three flights per week. By 1967, demand had forced this to increase to eleven per week, rising again to twenty three per week by 1971.[144] Despite this, not everyone was flying, as the experiences of Anderson, Miller and Nixon prove. QANTAS pursued these potential passengers aggressively; they had already gained the loyalty of business travellers and the upper middle class, but it was tourists who were still divided. Despite the oil crisis of the mid-1970s, QANTAS cut the cost of international fares drastically throughout the 1970s, aiming for, according to QANTAS historian Malcolm Knox,

[139] Knox, *I still call Australia home*, 120
[140] Interview with Carol Mattia, 17 December 2012
[141] Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence', 96
[142] Ibid
[143] Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 128
[144] Knox, *I still call Australia home*, 31

greater market share rather than a profit increase.[145] QANTAS lost money in doing this, but other Australian airlines with fewer passengers lost more and eventually bankrupted many, eliminating the bulk of competition. The 'Pacesetter Fare', costing AU$390 for a one-way ticket to London, for example, was introduced in 1970 and was specifically aimed at the youth market.[146]

Figure 11: QANTAS rigourously pursued the Australian international market and in tun became a national symbol. QANTAS B747-200 over Sydney Harbour, early 1970s. QANTAS, accessed from http://www.qantas.com.au/img/540x360/historical-images/qantas-b747-200-flying-over-sydney-1970s.jpg on 1 February 2013.

The biggest change, which was to revolutionise Australian international travel, was however still to come. The very next year, the Boeing 747 was introduced on the Kangaroo Route. These bigger planes not only offered more seats, but cut the flying time down to less than 25 hours.[147] The transformation translated into an overwhelming increase in patronage; in the 1971-72 financial year, 40,000 people travelled the Kangaroo Route with QANTAS.[148] In 1974-75, that number had increased more than

[145] Knox, *I still call Australia home*, 23
[146] Ibid, 121
[147] Ibid
[148] Ibid, 120

sixfold to 250,000.[149] This effectively led to the end of sea travel. By the early 1980s, virtually all Australians travelled to Europe by air, usually landing at London's Heathrow Airport.[150] A decade-long price war, coupled with a rapid increase in capacity through obtaining Boeing 747s, changed the way in which middle class Australians could and would travel forever.

3.4 The destination in question

Even after the expansion of the airlines, London was still the main gateway to Europe and the city in which many Australians would begin their European travels. Most airlines, with the main carrier being QANTAS, would connect Australia and Europe via the modern Kangaroo Route; a collection of routes from the major Australian cities, via an Asian hub, to London. This has been the norm since the introduction of the Boeing 747 on the route in 1971. The airlines would do this due to two main reasons; the historical development of the route by QANTAS and the London-based Imperial Airways, and the imperial, business and social relationships between the two countries which demanded such a service. The capacity on the route, compared to the scarcity of others into mainland Europe, would force many to fly into London even if it were not their main destination.

Though the Australian connection to Britain has waned over the years, this physical connection has endured through the Kangaroo Route. Today, there are only three airlines which fly directly between Europe and Australia; QANTAS, British Airways and Virgin Atlantic. All three run a daily service between Sydney and London, whilst QANTAS also flies daily between Melbourne and London and also between Sydney and Frankfurt.[151] This focus on London is reflected in the travel patterns of the Australians I surveyed travelling through Europe in the summer of 2012. Of the 77 Australians whom I

[149] Knox, *I still call Australia home*, 123. Please note that Australian financial years are calculated from 1 July to 30 June.
[150] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 192
[151] Data collated from realtime international departures data on http://www.melbourneairport.com.au/ and http://www.sydneyairport.com.au/ and current as of 17 December 2012. There are no direct services to Europe from the other major Australian cities; passengers for Europe must transfer in Asia or the Middle East.

surveyed, 35, or over 45 per cent, entered Europe via London's Heathrow Airport, and more than half entered via a British airport. This is despite all of the surveys being distributed in southern Spain.

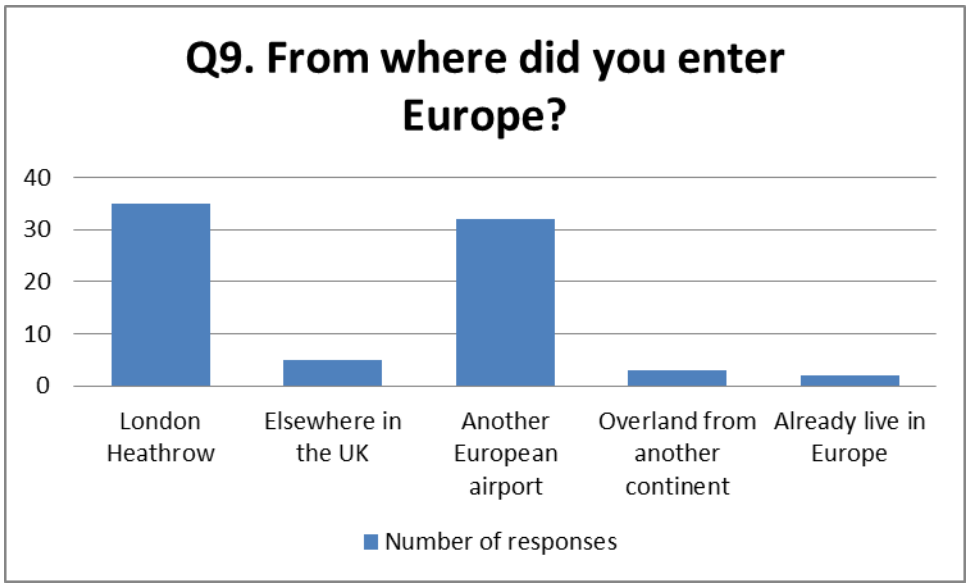

Figure 12: Traveller Questionnaire (Australian responses), Question 9, June-August 2012, Spain.

On the surface, the result of this survey question would seem as if much has changed from the 1970s and 1980s, when QANTAS and British Airways held almost a duopoly on the Kangaroo Route. The introduction and expansion of Middle Eastern airlines such as Emirates and Etihad Airways in Australia in the 1990s linked Australia and Europe differently, doing away with the Kangaroo Route and allowing passengers to transfer for different European destinations in Dubai or Abu Dhabi, for example, rather than in London. Yet despite these services, more than half of those surveyed began their trip in Britain, with the vast majority in London. The tradition of the route, and the close cultural ties shared by the two countries has meant that for young people, the Kangaroo Route has endured even when the duopoly has been broken.

3.5 The desire to travel

Increased capacity is only one factor when it comes to the boom in Australians travelling to Europe. Young people still needed a trigger, a desire to travel, before making the decision to buy a plane ticket or a berth on a ship bound for London or elsewhere in Europe. Of course, these reasons vary from individual to individual. Yet despite this, many simply refer to 'always wanting to travel' despite not knowing of the origins of such a desire, according to sociologist Camille O'Reilly.[152] Over the course of my research, I have come across a number of references to this blind desire. Leanne Howard remembered;

> In the 1960s people would go on a boat to London, it was very much what people did… I mean, it's always been something that we've talked about, and because we're so far from the rest of the world, it's probably been encouraged… I always wanted to go to England and to France... and everyone at that time was going to the Greek Islands, you know it was just one of those sort of places.[153]

Ken Stephenson, who, like Howard, also travelled to Europe in 1985, agrees. 'We [Stephenson and his then-girlfriend Marianne] always wanted to do it… just the chance to be away for five months and see the world.'[154] A similar story can be told of today's travellers. In my survey of 105 people travelling through Spain in the summer of 2012, 77 of those surveyed identified as Australian.[155] When I posed the question of why they decided to travel to Europe, 79 per cent of Australians ticked the option 'Always wanted to travel around Europe'.

[152] O'Reilly, 'From drifter to gap year tourist', 1009
[153] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012
[154] Interview with Ken Stephenson, 12 October 2012
[155] Traveller Questionnaire, June-August 2012, Spain. Respondents could choose more than one option.

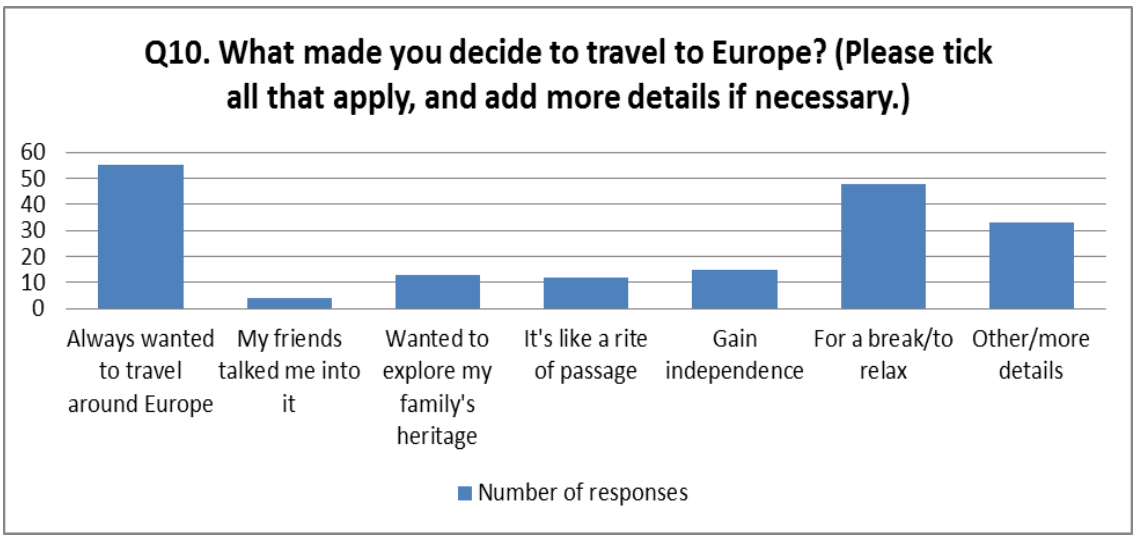

Figure 13: Traveller Questionnaire (Australian responses), Question 10, June-August 2012, Spain.

In a similar vein, there is also a significant amount of societal pressure in Australia on taking an overseas trip, particularly to Europe. Says one young Australian interviewed by sociologists Clifford Lewis, Greg Kerr and Alan Pomering in their 2010 study of holiday destinations of young Australians;

> You don't find many people who are our age who haven't gone to Europe [or] aren't planning to go to Europe. If they say they don't want to do it, you're like WHY [*author emphasis*]? It's almost like why wouldn't you want to go to Europe, why wouldn't you want to do that? Everybody does it. You go and party and you're free and independent.[156]

This pressure is not limited to young Australians. William Sutcliffe's satirical book, *Are You Experienced?*, for example, follows the fictional journey of a young Englishman bound for India 'because everyone else is'.[157] In New Zealand, a working holiday in London combined with European travel has been termed an 'OE', short for 'Overseas Experience'. According to sociologist Claudia Bell, not taking an OE is today seen as unusual for non-Maori New Zealanders (often called 'Pakeha').[158] Even the Grand Tourists of seventeenth century England were conscious of not 'missing out'. Wrote

[156] Lewis et al, 'Self-identity and social norms', 278
[157] William Sutcliffe, *Are you experienced?*, London: Penguin, 1998, quoted in Clare Speed, 'Are backpackers ethical tourists?' in Kevin Hannam and Irena Ateljevic (eds), *Backpacker tourism: Concepts and profiles*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008, 65
[158] Bell, 'The big OE', 145

Grand Tourist Joseph Spence, 'A man who has not been to Italy is always conscious of an inferiority, from not having seen what it is expected a man should see'.[159]

This pressure is felt by young Australians most acutely after graduating from high school. At the age of eighteen, Australians are legally allowed to drive, drink alcohol and vote, which has traditionally been viewed symbolically as an age which delivers a degree of independence.[160] This is slightly different from other similar countries; in the United States, for example, these events are more drawn out, with these three events attached to different ages. However, this symbolic independence is not necessarily a reality.[161] At the age of eighteen, the overwhelming majority of Australians live with their parents or guardians, with moving out of the family home a traditional marker of independence.

Even beyond eighteen, and into one's twenties and thirties, many Australians still choose to live in the family home. In a 2006 study by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, 24 per cent of all Australians aged 20-34 lived with their parents, compared to 19 per cent in 1986.[162] There are a number of reasons for this, though financial reasons were indicated as the most common in the study, with almost half choosing it as their main reason for remaining in the family home.[163] Indeed, these financial reasons have been well-documented in the Australian press, such as the rise in housing prices and the changes in the university system in the 1980s, which introduced both government subsidised and non-subsidised positions for university degrees. Before this overhaul, university was free for students, and usually included direct government financing to assist in living costs.

Tourism, therefore, has long been seen as another way in which young Australians can gain independence. Taking a trip to Europe, or anywhere away from home for that matter, without one's parents, allows an individual to feel a sense of freedom, albeit

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[159] Slava Klima (ed), *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975, 1

[160] Lewis et al, 'Self-identity and social norms', 270. Please note that the legal driving age varies between the states and territories, from 16 years and 6 months in the Northern Territory to 18 years in Victoria.

[161] Ibid, 273

[162] 'Home and away: The living arrangements of young people', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4102.0Main+Features50June+2009, accessed 12 December 2012. Unfortunately, there is not a further age breakdown of this data which would show that the percentage of those in their early 20s would be even higher.

[163] Ibid

temporarily, regardless of whether this is actually the case in their home environment. This independence is not just felt by the individual in question. Leanne Howard reflected on how she felt when farewelling her twenty-one year old son Jack when he was on his way to Europe in 2009;

> I was happy for him but a bit sad for me, knowing that he was going to another part of the world… It feels different that first time, you know, it hits you that they're grown up, they're adults now and making their own decisions… As long as they're living near you, you can tell yourself that life's still the same.[164]

For many young Australians who travel to Europe, however, the trip is not their first independent of their parents. A good example of the way travel is used to usher in independence is another type of rite of passage in Australia; the annual 'Schoolies Week'. First held in 1979, for one week in early December high school graduates celebrate the end of their exams with a holiday in one of a number of tourist spots around the country, with the most popular being Queensland's Gold Coast. [165] Beginning firstly with graduates from exclusive private schools, the tradition filtered down to involve school leavers from all over the country.[166] Here, this transition to 'independence' is more defined; it is set as a specified week for this specific group of people, with organised activities in pre-determined locations. After the week is over, almost all 'Schoolies' return to their family home. Nothing has changed in their living situation, but independence is claimed to have been gained by participants.

The way in which the obtaining of independence or freedom occurs through travel can be expressed in a number of ways, which also became quite apparent in my interviews. For Howard, travel was seen as a way out of a tough life stage and a way in which to gain a sense of freedom. 'I got married young and when the marriage broke up, so I suppose it was… a life-changing moment for me,' said Howard. 'It really was. It was the first time that I felt really comfortable just being on my own.'[167] A similar experience was had by Miller;

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[164] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012
[165] Lewis et al, 'Self-identity and social norms', 271
[166] Jill Stark, 'Schoolies get what they want: Booze and risky sex', *Brisbane Times*, 13 November 2011
[167] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012

> 'I'd just had a bad breakup, and I wanted to get out. Go away, escape. Three weeks later, I booked my ticket… I'd never [left Australia], never been out of Victoria, just one trip to Sydney, and I didn't know anybody who had travelled.'[168]

For these two women, the promise of solo travel in foreign lands was viewed as a way out of normal life, rather than a planned rite of passage. Despite this, and despite being unfamiliar with travel before undertaking such a journey, it was still viewed as a way in which to gain independence.

3.6 The race and class effect

For Sandy Philips, however, travel 'just wasn't on the radar at all'.[169] She points to class as the reason why she did not feel a pull towards Europe until her early twenties;

> None of our, you know it sounds ridiculous, but none of our class, if you know what I mean, none of our friends had travelled. It wasn't part of our social group at all. It changed when I went to university, because then I met people who you know, lived in South Yarra, that sort of thing. And that social group, those people travelled. And I convinced my then-husband that we needed to travel. There was heaps of eye rolling, things like that.[170]

Philips touches on an interesting concept here; the notion of class. Similar to Claudia Bell's observation that New Zealand's OE is undertaken almost exclusively by Pakeha, class largely dictates a young Australian's likelihood of travel.[171] Howard, who works as a school principal in Melbourne's northern suburbs, believes this divide is still present;

> It has to do with your means. I mean, in the next suburb over, the kids in Heidelberg West, I don't think that they're doing it the same, the Europe trip. Probably Bali or Thailand. But I don't know if they'd do the big overseas trip, I don't think they'd feel as comfortable. I don't think they'd have the same access.[172]

[168] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012
[169] Interview with Sandy Philips, 22 November 2012
[170] Ibid
[171] Bell, 'The big OE', 145
[172] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012

Howard and Philips' comments are startling, particularly when compared to Lewis, Kerr and Pomering's 2003 study in which a participant claimed 'everybody' goes to Europe.[173] In reality however, this is clearly not the case and class has been an important part of the sociological debate over the years on the shared attributes of young travellers. One of the original tourism sociologists, Erik Cohen, described in 1973 his famous drifters as 'nomads from affluence' despite working class travel being 'on the increase'.[174] Wanting to update Cohen's definition in 1988, Pamela Riley also described her long-term budget traveller as someone who 'travel[s] alone, is educated, European, middle class [and] single'.[175] More recently, Camille O'Reilly called the backpacker 'primarily, though not exclusively middle class and white'.[176]

It is important to acknowledge here that these academics are more than likely travellers themselves; therefore, the working class and poor are effectively voiceless in this issue. Research through statistics, interviews and observations focuses on who is present, rather than who is absent, and this thesis is no different. Another shortcoming that exists isthat these commentators have overwhelmingly concerned themselves with independent travellers, with studies of those who travel by organised tour lacking. However, according to Philips, the Australian working class was also largely invisible in organised tours. She consciously felt different to other young Australians in Europe during her Contiki tour in 1989;

> We had some pretty young kids on our tour. I mean, you had your kids from farm families and it almost was a coming of age thing, you know, your brothers have all been to Europe so you have to too. Before they go back on the farm. And they were all eighteen. We also had a young girl on the tour who had just finished high school, and her bribe to get her through was the tour. Those kids were just so ill-equipped to be travelling.[177]

Philips' observations as someone who self-identified as travelling for different reasons than the majority are quite telling. As someone who gained independence in what she

[173] Lewis et al, 'Self-identity and social norms', 278
[174] Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence', 89 and 93
[175] Riley, 'Road culture', 313
[176] O'Reilly, 'From drifter to gap year tourist', 1001
[177] Interview with Sandy Philips, 22 November 2012

viewed as the traditional route, such as through buying a house and getting married, she is able to articulate the shortcomings of travel as a single substitution for these traditional means. In Philips' reaction to these other travellers, she also reflects this class divide; she valued this traditional, working class way of gaining independence, which did not include travel. By participating in this middle class ritual, as a member of the working class, she viewed the dynamics of the tour quite differently to others. Brendan Sheehan, who travelled for a year throughout North America and Europe in 1980, identifies this class clash in the reactions of his family to his decision to travel;

> I think our families didn't really understand. I mean, they wanted us [Sheehean and his then-fiancé Julie-Anne] to go and buy a block of land, build a house. But I was always saying that I could do that later, I couldn't do this later! But that's what you'd do, you would save and get married, you'd save for the wedding and then the house.[178]

Sheehan, though, had been exposed to travel through a university trip and was determined to build the trip around attending the 1980 Moscow Olympics. 'Julie-Anne wasn't as keen,' Sheehan remembers, 'So I talked her into it. And we saved for a long time, learnt to be frugal, and she took leave for a year from her job and I had to leave my job completely.'[179]

Just like for Philips, university cut across the class divide and introduced people to travel who otherwise would be been less exposed to the rite of passage. Indeed, in 1972 (until 1989) all universities were made free of charge to Australian residents, with 'studentship' financial support given and jobs guaranteed upon graduation in industries such as teaching and nursing. This period coincides with not only Australia's postwar economic success, but also the rapid increase in international air travel. In lieu of age-related statistics and with a noticeable gap in relevant academic opinion, we must instead rely on the memories of those who travelled during this time, and their united observations of a travel boom amongst young Australians.[180]

[178] Interview with Brendan Sheehan, 23 November 2012
[179] Ibid
[180] References to this travel boom can be found in interview material, as well as in Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence' and Alderson, *The new grand tour*, 12

Whilst Sheehan and Miller left their jobs to travel long-term, this was not the case for Howard, Stephenson or Philips. The latter three instead took advantage of a distinctly Australian scheme, called long service leave, which grants two calendar months' additional paid leave after ten years of continual service to one employer (public or private), and an additional four weeks' leave for every five years following. The scheme, which began in the nineteenth century for some public servants but was made law in all states and territories (as well as New Zealand) in the 1950s, still continues today.[181] Says Stephenson;

> Once [long service leave] became a possibility, you sort of spent eighteen months, two years, thinking well, what can we do if we take two months' long service leave? I mean, we talked about doing it at half pay, so it became a four month thing… So you'd plan that as soon as you were entitled to it.[182]

The introduction of long service leave made long-term travel a reality for many who otherwise could not have afforded the time away from work. Philips worked a second job to be able to afford her first trip to Europe, at a time when it was relatively simple to claim a second job's income as tax-free. 'There was no tax file number so we could all go and do second jobs, and we were able to save enough and go on the tour,' she remembers.[183]

Despite class differences, these five interview subjects all (with the exception of Stephenson who came overland via the Trans-Mongolian Railway to London, and then began another tour departing London soonafter) decided to start their European trip in London. For Howard, there was a sense of familiarity when arriving; 'When I got off the plane at Heathrow, I felt like I was home,' she recalls.[184] This is similar to that sense of 'home' Australians felt for Britain which was discussed earlier in this thesis, and Howard's reaction in 1985 shows its longevity in the Australian psyche.[185]

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[181] Western Australia Department of Productivity and Labour Relations, 'Flexibility in long service leave', *Labour Ministers Council*, May 1999, 8
[182] Interview with Ken Stephenson, 12 October 2012
[183] Interview with Sandy Philips, 22 November 2012
[184] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012
[185] Davidson, '"Are we there yet?"', 117

Carol Mattia, however, was the only person I interviewed who did not include Britain in her independent travels (she visited London with her family in 1969). Due to her Maltese heritage, she decided to take her first independent trip to Malta in 1975, at the age of nineteen. Mattia saved for a year for her ten-week trip; 'Back then we'd get studentship money, so I saved all of that and worked jobs after uni as well,' she recalls. 'That was all for the airfare, I'm pretty sure Mum and Dad gave me some spending money.'[186] However, Mattia's trip, as well as another trip she completed in 1980, was noticeably different to those of my other interview subjects. She stayed in the one place, got to know her family and relaxed on the beach. Was Malta 'home' for her, a second-generation Australian? Unlike those who called Britain 'home' well into the twentieth century, this wasn't the case for Mattia. 'I was born here [Australia]. Australia's always been home.'[187]

Mattia is just one of the many thousands of non-Anglo Celtic Australians to travel to Europe. However, her heritage influenced her destination choice and it was different to the mainstream, which showed on her first trip with her family in 1969; their boat from Australia was Southampton-bound, and they were forced to wait in London for a week until their boat was scheduled to sail onwards to Italy, then Malta.[188] Her later trips had her flying to and from Malta via Rome, but routes in the 1960s, and still to a significant extent today, were focused on Britain. It would be entirely simplistic, however, to suggest that Mattia's non-Anglo Celtic background exempted her, and other Australians of diverse backgrounds, from the rite of passage. I also spoke to Lily Phung, a second-generation Australian of Chinese and Vietnamese heritage who lives and works in London as part of a two-year working holiday. 'What gave you the idea to come and work in London?' I asked her. The response was familiar. 'It was something I always wanted to do,' she replied.[189]

[186] Interview with Carol Mattia, 17 December 2012
[187] Ibid
[188] Ibid
[189] Email questionnaire with Lily Phung, 16 December 2012

3.7 Conclusion

Though its roots are in the late nineteenth century, the tradition of young Australians travelling in Europe took off in the post-World War II period, and especially from the 1970s onwards. There are two ways of measuring this development; from one side, there was an increase in capacity and a decrease in cost, and on the other, an increase in the desire to travel to Europe in the first place.

In terms of capacity and cost, developments in aviation technology meant that it was not just easier to travel by air to Europe, but it was faster, safer and eventually cheaper. Middle class access to air travel through the introduction of the tourist class and the heavy marketing of cheap airfares meant that such a trip became a possibility for many. Still, however, young people needed a reason to want to go to Europe and spend a large amount of money in doing so. Though personal, individual reasons for travel are apparent, two common themes stand out, which are related to one another. One is of independence, which is expressed though the notion of a rite of passage, and the other is the less eloquently stated blind desire, which can be identified through the oft-heard, simple claims of always wanting to go to Europe.

CHAPTER FOUR
RIDING THE BOOM: THE DEMAND FOR A TRAVEL INDUSTRY

4.1 Introduction

Over the preceding decades, thousands of young Australians have made their way to Europe. Some may have dreamt of the trip for years, others may have made a spur-of-the-moment decision to head to the other side of the world. Whatever the case, by the time they arrived in Europe – usually in London – their journey was just about to begin. For some, the trip would not simply be a holiday, but rather a working holiday, and their time in London or elsewhere in Britain would be extended. Others, armed with savings and plans, would head over to 'the continent' with perhaps a Kombi van, a Eurail Pass or a group tour.

Over time, this experience has been altered due to developments in technology, affordability and the popularity of destinations, for example. The Internet has allowed for a greater sense of connectedness, both to home and to the online travel industry. The strength of the Australian dollar and the availability of inexpensive transport opened up the originally exclusive experience to thousands more. The rediscovery of Turkey and the Gallipoli Peninsula has altered travel itineraries over time. At the same time, however, general travel experiences have remained relatively constant. It is to these issues; those in Europe itself; to which I now turn.

4.2 The working holiday

After a long boat journey or flight, many young Australians would arrive in London without accommodation, employment opportunities or concrete travel plans. If they had done some research before setting off, or had contacts already in London, their first stop

was usually the London neighbourhood of Earl's Court.[190] Known as an enclave for young Australians and New Zealanders by the early 1960s, the locale boasted tour company shopfronts, van rental companies and countless sharehouses populated by 'colonials'. Marg Miller lived in Earl's Court for a year from 1976 to 1977. 'Everybody lived there,' she recalled. 'I was in a bedsit, so I'd always share with someone else.'[191]

Figure 14: A typical 'bedsit' in Earl's Court in 1966, which was managed by the Overseas Visitors' Club. OVC, Information booklet, 1966.

The centre of activity however was found on Earl's Court Road, at the Overseas Visitors' Club (OVC).[192] The OVC in the 1960s and 1970s did not just offer newly arrived Australians with employment and travel services; it was a social hub. The basement was a converted disco and restaurant, with bands and DJs playing every night. Contiki Tours founder John Anderson started advertising his new tour company there, remembering; 'Not knowing anyone in London, I was there most nights. I met lots of people who had just returned from touring Europe and their animated tales further fuelled my desire to go.'[193]

[190] Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki"', 116
[191] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012
[192] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 26
[193] Ibid

Figure 15: The OVC's cocktail lounge, which featured 'dancing to a band every night except Sundays'.[194] *OVC, Information booklet, 1966.*

Through its plethora of tourism related businesses, Earl's Court offered much for the young Australian passing through on their way to the European continent. It provided even more, however, for those undertaking paid employment in London, most through a type of working holiday. Before 1972, when immigration laws were overhauled in Britain, Australians were allowed full access to the British job market. Most who arrived however, were young and lacked in-demand skills, and often resorted to temporary office work ('temping') or jobs in the hospitality industry such as bartending. Miller did temping work for a year, and remembers her employers fondly;

> They loved Australians back then, we were in such demand. Work was so easy to find. For temping work, say they'd give you three months' work, and if you did it in two, they still paid you the three months. Because that's how long a Pom would take to do it![195]

[194] Overseas Visitors' Service, 'Going to Europe?' [Information booklet], 1966, accessed from http://www.theoldbluetruck.com/the-overseas-visitors-club/earls-court-the-ovc-and-me/ on 1 February 2013

[195] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012. 'Pom' is Australian spoken slang for an English person, which was originally the acronym 'POHM' or 'Prisoner of His Majesty'.

The benefits of a working holiday, both in Miller's day and now, are numerous. According to Jude Wilson, David Fisher and Kevin Moore, a period of work in London, followed by travel in Europe, offered overseas work experience, a cosmopolitan lifestyle in a global city, easy access to both long- and short-term travel in Europe and a chance to warm up to travel in a foreign country which shares a familiar language and culture.[196] It also alleviated financial constraints; with the plane or boat fare often being a young person's largest ever single purchase, employment was vital in order to save spending money for planned trips.[197]

In 1972, working holidays for Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians were formalised in Britain under the Youth Mobility Scheme, which allowed citizens under the age of thirty from these countries the right to work in Britain for up to two years.[198] In 2012, the countries (and the number of places allocated in brackets) eligible for involvement in the Youth Mobility Scheme were Australia (32,500), New Zealand (10,000), Canada (5,000), Japan (1,000), Taiwan (1,000), Monaco (500) and South Korea (500).[199] Adding to this is the large but incalculable number of Australians working in Britain under a British passport, if they or one of their parents was born in Britain, or a five-year ancestry visa for those with a British grandparent.[200]

[196] Wilson et al , 'The OE goes "home"', 4
[197] West, 'Consuming national themed environments abroad', 142
[198] Wilson et al , 'The OE goes "home"', 6
[199] UK Border Agency, *Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme)*, http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/visas-immigration/working/tier5/youthmobilityscheme/, accessed 11 December 2012
[200] Wilson et al, 'The OE goes "home"', 6

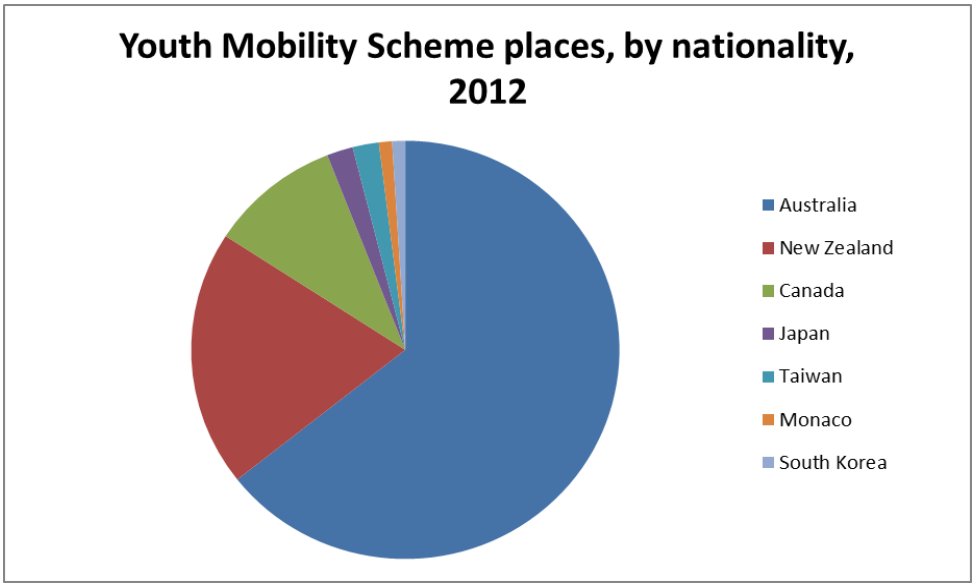

Figure 16: A breakdown of British Youth Mobility Scheme places available, by nationality, in 2012.[201]

It seems improbable that young Australians would travel to the same extent if the Youth Mobility Scheme did not exist. Financially, many would not be able to afford it, particularly those on longer-term trips of more than six months or so. Of course, other working holiday schemes have been made available in a number of western European countries such as the Netherlands, Germany and France, but these were developed in response to Australia's own working holiday scheme, as a way of granting reciprocal rights. In these countries, working holidaymakers are swept up into those generally working abroad, hailing from a number of different countries.

The working holiday scene in Britain, particularly in London with its Earl's Court (and later Hammersmith) enclave is dissimilar. Claudia Bell successfully identified the key difference; she argues that Australians and New Zealanders see the British working holiday as their 'right'.[202] Indeed, legislation was enacted in 1972 for this very purpose. As a result, this form of exceptionalism has allowed a British connection to remain in a modern, transnational way.

[201] UK Border Agency, *Tier 5 (Youth Mobility Scheme)*, http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/visas-immigration/working/tier5/youthmobilityscheme/, accessed 11 December 2012
[202] Bell, 'The big OE', 149

4.3 The route around Europe

When the young Australians in London would begin to plan their travels on the European continent, Earl's Court would be at their service. Most Australians would travel around Europe in one of three ways; independently via public transport, often with a Eurail Pass, independently via their own transport, or with an organised bus tour. Due to difficulties in estimating the number of young Australians in Europe over the years, it is just as difficult to gain a sense of each of these three options' popularity over another, however in my interviews all three of these options were represented.

Figure 17: For those who wished to get around Europe on their own, many would choose to buy or rent a van, such as the iconic 1966 Volkswagen Kombi. 'Kombi Spotting', accessed from http://kombicelebrations.com.au/category/kombi-spotting/ on 1 February 2013.

Earl's Court would advertise potential travelling companions through notice boards at the OVC, which would be necessary if wanting to travel by private transport. The main way of doing this was by renting, or even buying, an inexpensive van around Earl's Court, usually a Volkswagen Kombi or other cheap, large vehicle.[203] A group of three or four would travel together, sharing the costs of fuel and usually staying in campsites along the

[203] Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki"', 122

way. For those opting to travel by public transport, a Eurail Pass, which provided for unlimited train transport for a certain number of days in a selection of countries, was extremely popular. Introduced in 1958 and boasting hefty students' discounts, only non-European residents could apply, which gave the scheme an air of exclusivity.[204] Ken Stephenson travelled for three months with a Eurail Pass and was impressed. He also used the trains to save on accommodation; 'They were fantastic. We used them as accommodation… you'd stay two nights in a hotel, then catch the night train out so you didn't have to pay for accommodation'.[205]

Despite the passage of time, the independent routes taken by most young Australians are remarkably similar to those used by the Grand Tourists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[206] As already indicated, many would begin their journeys in London, crossing over the Channel by ferry, and later by train or plane, to Paris. In their study of van tours (such as those taken independently with Kombi vans) and package tours, Jude Wilson, David Fisher and Kevin Moore are even more specific in identifying the similarities between Australian and New Zealanders' European trips.[207] They believe most summer trips would start in late June, heading down from Paris to Pamplona in Spain for the annual San Fermin (colloquially known as 'The Running of the Bulls') festival in early July. The opposite bookend of the trip was usually in late September or early October in Munich for Oktoberfest, with a drive along the Mediterranean coast, particularly in Italy, also featuring, as well as usually a ferry across to Greece for island-hopping.[208]

Whilst I believe that this is overly simplistic, their hypothesis does hold some merit. Guidebooks explaining van tour itineraries were available in London from the 1970s, and Eurail Passes came with timetables of the most popular routes; Paris to Amsterdam, Florence to Rome and Barcelona to Nice, for example.[209] Tour companies, which will be discussed later in this chapter, planned their itineraries based on these tried and tested

[204] Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 131
[205] Interview with Ken Stephenson, 12 October 2012
[206] Brodksy-Porges, 'The Grand Tour', 183
[207] Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki"', 121
[208] Ibid
[209] Peter Welk, 'The Lonely Planet myth: 'Backpacker bible' and 'Travel survival kit' in Hannam, Kevin and Ateljevic, Irena (eds), *Backpacker tourism: Concepts and profiles*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008, 83

routes, even by the 1950s most rest stops along highways connecting popular destinations provided menus in English and common food options such as salad rolls and hot dogs.[210]

For those travelling independently on a fluid itinerary, a guidebook was often found in place of an organised tour director. Brendan Sheehan, who rented a camper van to travel around Europe in 1980, remembers;

> I would plan the trip, there was part of the camper that would pop up on the top, and I'd sit up there each night with a huge map in front of me, and plan our route for the next day. We'd have an atlas, and then some guidebooks. We wouldn't really have that now, we'd just use the Internet. But we had Fodor's [and] Europe on however many dollars a day.[211]

Whilst guidebooks have been in existence even before the days of the Grand Tour, it was in the post-World War II period when the industry took off, naturally buoyed by the boom in the tourism industry more generally. The immensely popular *Europe on $5 a Day* was first published by Frommer's in 1957, which reviewed sights, accommodation and dining options specifically for American tastes.[212] For young people though, small, independent guidebook publishers ruled the niche market particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, suggesting van tour itineraries and highlighting 'off the beaten track' destinations.[213] One of the bigger publishers to do so was Let's Go, which began in 1960 with *The 1960 European Guide* and catered exclusively to the student market.[214]

By the 1980s, however, the guidebook market for the backpacker trail in Asia was dominated by a husband and wife team who were backpackers themselves. Maureen and Tony Wheeler, otherwise known as the founders of the guidebook publishing giant Lonely Planet, wrote their first guidebook after migrating overland from Britain to Australia, called *Across Asia on the Cheap* or colloquially 'The Yellow Bible' due to colour of its front cover.[215] The 1990s saw the brand expand into Europe, with *Europe on*

[210] Walton, 'The origins of the modern package tour?', 159
[211] Interview with Brendan Sheehan, 23 November 2012
[212] Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, 135
[213] Welk, 'The Lonely Planet myth', 83
[214] 'Our history', *Let's Go*, http://www.letsgo.com/about/history, accessed 17 December 2012
[215] Welk, 'The Lonely Planet myth', 83

a Shoestring earning the nickname of the 'backpacker's bible'.[216] Though the brand has targeted middle class travellers more recently, their budget series, featuring *Europe on a Shoestring* has remained a firm favourite with young travellers on a budget, particularly in Australia where the publisher's global headquarters are located.[217] The statistics behind such a statement are staggering; historian Peter Welk indicates that studies have found that between 60 to 84 per cent of backpackers carry a Lonely Planet.[218]

Reliance on *Europe on a Shoestring*, or any guidebook for that matter, calls into question the idea of independent travel. Stephenson, for example, travelled with a Eurail Pass in 1985, moving around the continent without bookings and visiting places by simply saying, 'Let's get off the train and see what's here'.[219] This haphazard style fits well with Erik Cohen's idealised drifter phenomenon, yet Stephenson also carried Frommer's *Europe on $10 a Day* and often utilised it for its recommended hotels. Cohen however dismissed guidebooks in 1973, the year Lonely Planet published its *Across Asia on the Cheap*, calling them 'the hallmark of sedate, middle class tourism'.[220] Here, Cohen demonstrates a lack of understanding; here he again falls between what Julie Wilson and Greg Richards call the 'gap between backpacker theory and practice'.[221] With a conservative estimate of 60 per cent of backpackers carrying a Lonely Planet, let alone the countless others who carry a Let's Go, Frommer's, Rough Guide or Insight guidebook, to only name a few other popular publishers, Cohen effectively alienates the majority of those he is in fact claiming to study.

Whilst the use of guidebooks has caused some debate in tourism sociology, academics are relatively united when it comes to accommodation choice; backpackers (and for the purposes of my study, young Australian travellers) share a preference for budget accommodation.[222] Though not as cheap as budget accommodation in other traditionally popular backpacker areas such as Southeast Asia and India, Europe is the home of hostelling and has always had a thriving hostel culture. The first hostel was opened by

[216] Ibid, 82
[217] Richards and Wilson, *Today's youth travellers*, 5
[218] Welk, 'The Lonely Planet myth', 85
[219] Interview with Ken Stephenson, 12 October 2012
[220] Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence', 97
[221] Wilson and Richards, 'Suspending reality', 22
[222] Riley, 'Road culture', 319

German schoolteacher Richard Schirrmann in 1910, who had previously used schools as accommodation for his countryside walking tours of the Rhine region.[223] Schirrmann's idea spread rapidly; in 1919, there were more than 60,000 overnight stays in German hostels and the next year, that number had more than tripled to 186,000.[224] The first meeting of the International Youth Hostel Federation took place in Amsterdam in 1932, with 2,123 hostels in operation. In 2004, that number was more than 4,500 in 60 countries.[225]

Not all young Australians used hostels, however. Sheehan and his fiancé, for example, stayed at campsites, locating them along their route through a handbook provided by their rental company.[226] For Stephenson, hostels were ruled out due to the perceived age difference of the guests. 'We never thought much about hostels as places to go,' he recalls. 'Because we were thirty, we didn't want to stay with twenty year olds. We were adults!'[227] Stephenson rather chose budget hotels along the way. Not all were positive experiences;

> In Athens, we spent I think three nights in the worst hotel Marianne's ever seen, she still brings it up… This one was a shocker. She wanted to spend twelve pounds and I wanted to spend eleven. She's sure that would have made the difference. [But] it was all part of the experience. We'd have nothing to talk about if we didn't stay there.[228]

Despite the bad experience, Stephenson remembers the time well and even comments on the fact that it made for a good story. I found other examples of this; Marg Miller used a service called the 'Magic Bus' to take her from London to Athens in 1977. She remembers;

> It was so cheap, but so bad. I think it was twenty pounds or something. Direct, no stops, from London to Athens, through Yugoslavia. There were two drivers, and they'd change without even

[223] Clarke, 'Free independent travellers?', 502
[224] Loker-Murphy, 'Young budget travellers', 822
[225] Clarke, 'Free independent travellers?', 502
[226] Interview with Brendan Sheehan, 23 November 2012
[227] Interview with Ken Stephenson, 12 October 2012
[228] Ibid

> stopping the bus. It was frightening sometimes! But it was cheap… You'd never tell your parents about it. It was so dangerous, those roads, especially in Yugoslavia.[229]

Leanne Howard also shared a story about a questionable roommate during her time in Athens in 1985;

> I shared a room in Athens with this South African lady, and looking back now, and gee how naïve I was, I think she must have been on drugs of some description, she just bedded down. She didn't steal from me, but I look back now and think, she was on something![230]

All three of these moments have stuck in the interview participants' minds, despite occurring up to thirty-five years ago. Most participants had either forgotten or had to be hard pressed to remember the price of their flights, the names of tour companies, or the routes they took, yet these stories were shared naturally. After Miller told me of how her minibus was stripped by border guards when entering the then Soviet Union, I asked her if she was scared. 'Oh, I don't think I was scared,' she responded. 'It was an adventure!'[231] Indeed, that sense of adventure or even slight danger is silently promised with overseas travel, especially when undertaken independently. Though it did not directly come out in the interviews or surveys I conducted, it was slightly implied in the longer, more detailed stories I was able to be given in interviews.

4.4 The case of Gallipoli

The main difference in the European itineraries of young Australians (and New Zealanders) compared to other travellers is the often included Gallipoli Peninisula in Turkey. As mentioned earlier, the Gallipoli campaign during World War I has a special place in the collective memory of Australians and New Zealanders; it was their troops, the ANZACs, who were sent by the British to invade the dangerous territory in 1915.

[229] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012
[230] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012
[231] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012

Travel to places that are associated with death or suffering, called 'thanatourism', is quite different to mainstream forms of tourism which are undertaken for pleasure.[232] Travel to Gallipoli, often termed a 'pilgrimage' is a good, contemporary example of thanatourism, amongst other examples such as Auschwitz in Poland, Hiroshima's Peace Park in Japan and the Killing Fields in Cambodia. More specifically, travel to places of wartime significance is nothing new. In Britain, there are accounts of organised tours to Waterloo in the nineteenth century, and coaches of tourists were witnessed visiting World War I battlefields in Belgium as early as 1919.[233]

The boom in Gallipoli tourism is relatively recent; the annual commemoration of the event, ANZAC Day has experienced ebbs and flows with accordance to the affairs of the day, such as the Vietnam War.[234] In this example, after Australian troops were pulled out of the region in 1973, large-scale ANZAC Day commemorations were effectively abandoned due to the public disapproval of the more recent war. Parallels were drawn between what essentially were two invasions, with Australia in the latter case persuaded to do enter a foreign war by their contemporary ally in the Americans, rather than originally the British.

Since 1990 and the 75th anniversary of the Gallipoli landings, however, there has been a renewed interest in ANZAC Day, both within Australia and in terms of tourism in Gallipoli. Commentators are unsure of the reason for the renaissance; some, such as Brad West, point to a new type of conservatism pursued by successive governments in Australia, in which young people in particular are anxious to define a specific Australian history.[235] Whatever the case may be, it is overwhelmingly young people who travel to Gallipoli.

The village of Ecebat and to a lesser extent the large town of Cannakale on the opposite side of the Dardanelles have been transformed by this interest; hostel and hotel accommodation has been built to cope with the demand which can see over thirty

[232] Peter Slade, 'Gallipoli thanatourism: The meaning of ANZAC', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 30 No 4 (2005), 780
[233] Walton, 'The origins of the modern package tour?', 150 and Slade, 'Gallipoli thanatourism', 780
[234] West, 'Enchanting pasts', 261
[235] Ibid

thousand visitors each ANZAC Day.[236] The Australian influence is highly visible; the Boomerang Bar welcomes you on the sole road into Ecebat and the largest hostel is named 'Crowded House' (a popular 1980s Australian band) and is decorated in Australian memorabilia. Whilst there are a number of examples of backpacker enclaves, such as Kao San Road in Bangkok, Senefelderstrasse in Munich and Bondi Beach in Sydney, their visitors are from a diverse number of countries.[237] This is not the case in Ecebat; almost all visitors are young Australians and New Zealanders.

Figure 18: Renewed interest in Gallipoli even led to the official renaming of Ariburnu to 'Anzak Koyu'; ANZAC Cove in Turkish, in 1985. Author's private collection.

The case of Gallipoli tourism is an interesting one because it draws upon a heritage that is separate to Britain and is uniquely Australian (and shared with New Zealand), despite the heart of it located not in Australia, but again in Europe. Again, this plays on the notion of the tyranny of distance; that even the location of the country's arguably most significant historical event occurred well beyond its shores. It is the access granted by the Turkish people which has made physical commemoration possible.

[236] West, 'Enchanting pasts', 261
[237] Wilson and Richards, 'Suspending reality', 21

Almost all Australian visitors to the Gallipoli peninsula tour the battlefields by organised tour, whether or not they are travelling independently or otherwise. All licenced guides are Turkish, and the information they provide can be confronting for many who learn of their country's role as the aggressor for the first time. Despite the fact that the ANZAC story is taught in Australian classrooms, the curriculum is largely thematic and places a large emphasis on issues of mateship and Australia's 'coming of age' rather than the facts of the campaign.[238] Therefore, a visit to Gallipoli is promoted by its visitors as 'eye-opening' and educational. The fact that most visitors are of the age similar to the many soldiers of a previous generation who died on their own European adventure adds another dimension to the experience and is an important, unique part of the rite of passage.

4.5 The tour companies

The concept of a guided tour has been around for centuries; indeed, Grand Tourists would almost always hire the services of a 'bear leader' to show them around Europe, often in small groups. The modern concept of the package tour, which would include transport, accommodation and sometimes food, was however invented by tourism giant Thomas Cook in the interwar period, according to tourism historian John K Walton.[239] Thomas Cook's customers were, and to an extent still are, an older generation usually aged sixty and above.[240] They would generally have more disposable income than most, often saved after years of work, and would have less of a sense of adventure, according to Walton.[241] This stereotype persisted throughout the twentieth century, with the coach the symbol of the mass tourist, ferried about from sight to sight without any room for individual initiative.[242] Swedish tourism historian Orvar Lofgren explains this perception succinctly;

[238] West, 'Enchanting pasts', 265
[239] Walton, 'The origins of the modern package tour?', 146
[240] Ibid, 157
[241] Ibid
[242] Schuchat, 'Comforts of group tours', 467

> Today [a coach tour] is often seen as a too sheltered and boring way of vacationing, meant for older people or the anxiety-ridden petite bourgeoisie. The bus tourists seem to end up on the lowest rungs of tourist hierarchies, a meek flock of sheep never allowed out on their own, sheltered from any contact with reality behind their tinted windows.[243]

Lofgren's observation is correct and applies more in this case of young Australian travellers than that of Walton's studies. Coach tours have been looked down upon by academics and travellers alike, with Erik Cohen lamenting their lack of spontaneity and appeal to the masses.[244] This perception has continued in more recent times, with Wilson, Fisher and Moore contending that amongst the young Australian travellers, organised tours have long been seen as only for those newly arrived or 'not independent enough'.[245] For Leanne Howard though, it was what she perceived as a lack of local culture which steered her away from tour groups;

> I really didn't want to go with a whole bunch of Australians. I wanted to experience the people who were local… It seemed to me that they'd meet up and they'd go to the Australian bars… Like, look we've been to those places, we've ticked the box.[246]

Howard's opinion of organised tours, in 1985, comes more than two decades after the first modern companies aimed at the young Australian demographic appeared on the streets of Earl's Court. In the early days, they were relatively unsophisticated operations, advertising through word-of-mouth and the noticeboard in the OVC. Many offered a simple van-like tour but on a bigger scale; minibuses were used but routes were able to be changed according to the preferences of the group.[247] Groups rarely numbered more than a dozen people. The concept took off and by the mid-1960s, these kinds of tour companies numbered around two dozen, and were mainly small, independently-run businesses.[248]

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[243] Lofgren, *On holiday*, 171
[244] Cohen, 'Nomads from affluence', 96
[245] Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki"', 124
[246] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012
[247] Ludwig Theuvsen, 'Vertical integration in the European package tour business', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol 31 No 2 (2003), 476
[248] 'Youth on the move: Camping tours seek new market', *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, 31/3/79 and Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 112. Companies I have found reference to as trading in Earl's Court in the 1960s and 1970s are Kangaroo Travel, Autotours, Tan Travel, Protea Tours, Vikings International, NAT, Sundowners, Top Deck Travel, Pacesetter International, Adventure International, Playmates European

The most successful of these companies, in the long run, have been Topdeck and Contiki Tours, which were the only two of the original group of independent tour companies to still be in business by the early 1990s.[249] In fact, by the early 1980s, Contiki Tours was already the biggest tour company for the 18-35 age group in the world.[250] It was founded by New Zealander John Anderson, who sold seats in his minibus to fund his own travels in Europe.[251] Anderson's early approach is quite reflective of the slapdash, simple nature of these early tours and as such, participation in such tours carried less stigmatisation as they were to carry in Earl's Court circles later.

Figure 19: The obligatory tour group photo in Consuegra, Spain in June 2012. The group consisted of thirteen Australians, two British, two Americans and one New Zealander. Author's private collection.

All tours were camping-only until the 1980s, when Contiki Tours introduced 'Concept Tours' for the first time, which was quickly adopted by most other companies. These new tours did away with campsites and replaced tents with hostels, budget hotels and novelty

Tours, Trek Europe, Minitrek, Fun Trek, Suntrek, Capricorn, Contiki, Exodus, Pennworld, Shazam, Transit, Tracks, Young Adult Adventures and Continental Coach Tours.

[249] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 112

[250] Lucy Izon, 'Promise: all the fun you can handle', *Los Angeles Times*, 27/4/86

[251] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 29

accommodation such as a villa in Florence, a schooner in the Greek Islands and a chateau near Lyon.[252] By 1990, the only Contiki camping tour operated in Scandinavia due to the region's notoriously high costs.[253] The reason for the change was simple; Contiki Tours surveyed their existing customers and found that they were willing to pay more for additional comforts.[254] Sandy Philips was one such customer. 'We booked probably the most princess tour of them all. I mean, I wasn't sleeping in a tent, you know!'[255]

It was also during the 1980s when the actual content of the tours began to change slightly. Contiki Tours and Topdeck tended to lead the charge, with activities such as hot air ballooning in southern France, canyoning in the Swiss Alps and attending a sex show in Amsterdam offered as additional extras. To an even greater extent than previously, bars, nightclubs and beer halls were added as daily staples in most cities.[256] Enjoyment was the name of the game; Contiki Tours' longtime slogan was 'As much fun as you can handle'.[257]

In order to fund the purchase of new accommodation points, minibuses were replaced with coaches, meaning the small group atmosphere was pushed aside for the sake of revenue, with up to fifty five passengers per tour.[258] Some smaller operators tried marketing their smaller camping tours, but could not financially compete with the larger companies in a price war. With young people choosing comforts in accommodation over group size and dynamics, many small operators went bust. At the same time, shorter length tours began to be offered, with the original three-month Europe-wide tour phased out. The new target market was those with less time available, yet still wanted to see as much of Europe as possible.[259]

[252] 'Young travellers don't have to rough it', Colin Haskin, *The Globe and Mail*, 14/4/90
[253] 'Be aware of surcharges on some European tours', Lucy Izon, *The Toronto Star*, 24/3/90
[254] 'Contiki adds to its 1989 lineup', *Sunday Mail*, 23/10/88
[255] Interview with Sandy Philips, 22 November 2012
[256] 'Contiki's bus tours designed to appeal to young travellers', *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, 18/9/84
[257] 'Letting the good times roll', Craig Smith, *The Advertiser*, 22/8/87
[258] 'Contiki Holidays to open resort on Whitsunday Island', Lea Wright, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9/6/88
[259] Ibid

Figure 20: A staple of the group itinerary; a walking tour. Valencia, Spain, 29 August 2011. Author's private collection.

With these new developments also came new perceptions of tour groups, especially Contiki Tours which was by far the biggest, most visible and most popular in Australia. The three major negative perceptions regard the fast pace of trips, the connection with alcohol and partying, and general disinterest of passengers. Reinforcing a popular perception that organised tours are too fast-paced and do not allow enough time in places, Philips laughed that her Contiki tour in 1989 involved 'thirty five days and five thousand countries, something like that!'[260] More specifically, the emphasis on alcohol consumption was touched on in a number of my interviews. Ken Stephenson remembered his 14-day Sundowners tour in 1985;

> We were thirty and the rest of them were twenty, and oh my God… we remember we were like that when we were twenty-two. I can think that some of them would say to their kids that yes they did a camping tour through Europe, but if you asked them where they went they wouldn't know. They had a beer somewhere and they had a beer somewhere else.[261]

[260] Interview with Sandy Philips, 22 November 2012
[261] Interview with Ken Stephenson, 12 October 2012

Such observations are not limited to anecdotes. A 1987 article in Adelaide's major daily newspaper, *The Advertiser*, reported on this link between tour groups, partying and alcohol consumption. Former Contiki passenger Mike Armoul called his tour 'the longest party of my life. It went for thirty-seven days'.[262] The last major negative perception, of tour participants lacking interest in their surrounds, is also present but is not a complaint solely about young people. Tour guides of the 1950s spoke to John Walton, remembering passengers sleeping through historically important areas on coaches, for example.[263]

Mark Jayne, Chris Gibson, Gordon Waitt and Gill Valentine recently published a study that seeks to combine these three issues, which I believe to be quite interesting for this thesis. They call their theory 'doing place'; in that for many tour participants, there is a desire to simply 'tick off' a city or famous sight rather than experience it in a way that has been deemed acceptable since the days of the Grand Tour.[264] A good example is a response given to Hazel Tucker who interviewed tour participants in New Zealand. 'You are a long way from everywhere, and when you come that far, you're going to make damn well sure you're gonna say you've done the whole lot.'[265] The emphasis here is on *saying* you have 'done' somewhere, rather than actually 'doing' it at all, whatever that entails. Other sociologists, such as Clifford Lewis, Greg Kerr and Alan Pomering, have also looked at this 'done' mentality, which they observe from the use of the phrase 'I've done', followed by a place name, such as Europe.[266] However, Jayne, Gibson, Waitt and Valentine take this concept further by connecting it with the prevalence of alcohol in backpacking, or young travellers' 'bubbles' or 'enclaves'.[267]

It is this notion of 'doing place', with its alcohol connotations, which I find encapsulates the negative perceptions attached to the tour companies on which I have been focusing. Crucially, however, those that hold these perceptions tend to value the traditional method of travelling, which is not necessarily important to tour participants. This is especially true of young Australians due to the reasons why I have argued so many travel in the first

[262] 'Letting the good times roll', Craig Smith, *The Advertiser*, 22/8/87
[263] Walton, 'The origins of the modern package tour?', 158
[264] Mark Jayne, Chris Gibson, Gordon Waitt and Gill Valentine, 'Drunken mobilities: Backpackers, alcohol, 'doing place', *Tourist Studies*, Vol 12 No 3 (2012), 5
[265] Hazel Tucker, 'Narratives of place and self: Differing experiences of package coach tours in New Zealand', *Tourist Studies*, Vol 5 No 3 (2005), 271
[266] Lewis et al, 'Self-identity and social norms', 279
[267] Jayne et al, 'Drunken mobilities', 5

place; because of the rite of passage and the idea that it is something everybody does at a particular life stage. For those without a particular desire to see or experience a place for traditional reasons, such as an interest in history, culture or language, travelling through 'doing place' is more likely to be the result.

Of course, this theory was developed by and about those who do the perceiving; not the tour participants themselves. For some, like Stephenson and Philips, they actively participated in a tour yet distanced themselves from those they perceived to be the 'doing place' types; the uninitiated as described in the previous chapter for Philips, and those interested in the social side and alcohol for Stephenson. However, when I questioned tour participants about their motives for joining tours in the first place, answers were quite varied (Figure 21). For both Stephenson and Philips, tours were chosen as an introduction to travelling and Europe before undertaking independent travel at a later date.

Marg Miller believes that when she was travelling in the mid-1970s, men travelling solo were more likely to travel in a van, whereas women chose tours.[268] John Anderson agrees, believing that in those early days, just like today, there were more women travelling by themselves than men, and they tended to prefer the security of tour groups.[269] In fact, Anderson is of the opinion that the security tour groups promise allow for more people to travel to Europe than would if such products did not exist. 'There are passengers we carry that only come to Europe because their parents feel comfortable that at least there's somebody… to keep an eye on them,' he told Brisbane's *Courier-Mail* newspaper in 1988.[270]

During Miller's time in Europe, she spent most of her time travelling with organised groups; a tour of Scandinavia and the former Soviet Union was quickly followed by another trip with Adventure International to Spain and Morocco. Miller caught the end of the smaller group era, with around two dozen on each of her tours.[271] Sociologist Hazel Tucker believes the social aspect has been the number one reason why young people

[268] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012
[269] Anderson, *Only two seats left*, 34
[270] 'Mini-bus tour started Contiki empire', S Sealey, *Courier-Mail*, 20/7/88
[271] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012

choose group tours, and Miller was no different.[272] Her reason for choosing organised groups was purely social. 'I was by myself, I wanted to meet people,' she explains.[273] Tour companies saw this market, and pursued it vigorously. For example, almost all of the tour companies, big and small, did not charge single supplements which were common in the sixty plus tours which were already well-established by the 1960s.[274]

Anecdotally, I heard much the same from those I led on my group tours through Europe, that many were on their own and simply wanted to meet other people. I posed the question of why exactly they chose to travel by tour to the 105 people I surveyed during the 2012 summer, of which 100 were aged between 18-35, the traditional target market for young group tours.[275] Of these, 74 were Australian, 11 were from New Zealand, 9 were Canadian and the remainder were evenly divided between South African, British and American citizens.[276]

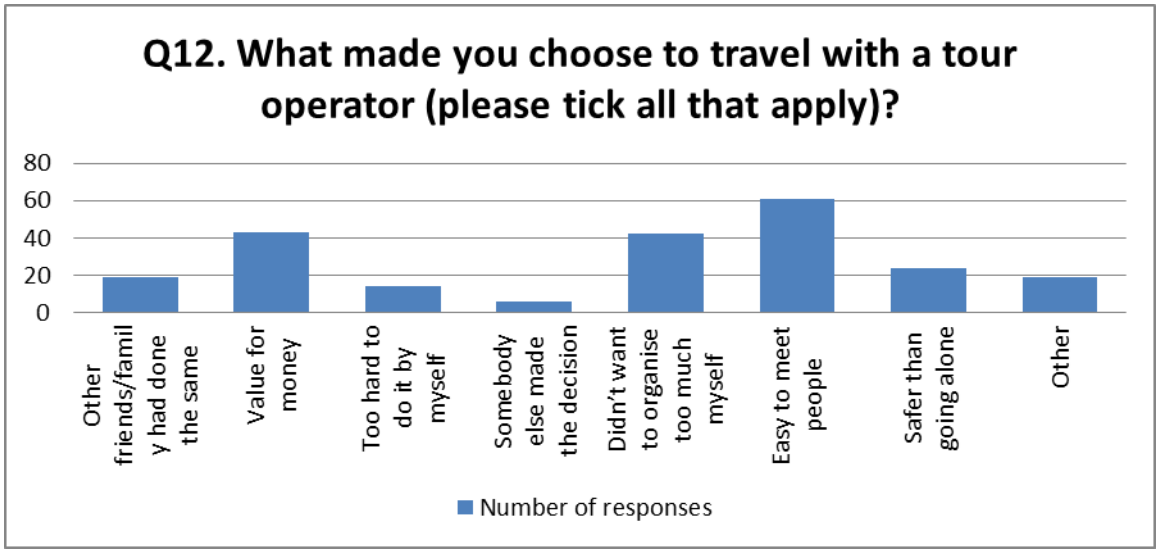

Figure 21: Traveller Questionairre (responses of those aged 18-35), Question 12, June-August 2012, Spain.

[272] Tucker, 'Narratives of place and self', 272
[273] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012
[274] 'Budget travel: cut Europe costs by booking tour', Margaret Piton, *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, 30/1/88
[275] 'Contiki's bus tours designed to appeal to young travellers', *The Globe and Mail*, 18/9/84
[276] Traveller Questionnaire, June-August 2012, Spain.

My survey results closely align with the observations of both Tucker and Miller, with 61 per cent of those surveyed citing social reasons as playing a role in their decision to join a tour. With most tour operators marketing themselves as budget choices the second most popular choice was financial, at 43 per cent. My findings, through interviews and survey results, paint a picture of themselves as more savvy, budget conscious and social travellers rather than the inexperienced, unadventurous types that Cohen in the 1970s and Wilson, Fisher and Moore more recently suggest.

4.6 The changes over time

Whilst travel has changed in myriad ways in the post-World War II period, from the development of air transport to the streamlining of tour companies, the reasons and the experiences of young Australians travelling from Australia to Europe meanwhile have stayed quite consistent, albeit with some changes. Festivals, such as the seasonal bookends of San Fermin and Oktoberfest, still attract young Australians in their thousands.[277] The Eurail Pass still exists and has expanded to cover even more countries since the fall of the Berlin Wall, and Kombi vans are still sold, though namely through the popular online marketplace 'Gumtree' rather than on the side of Earl's Court Road.[278]

Routes have hardly changed in the last seventy years, with the main cities of London, Paris and Rome still mainstayers in itineraries, and scenic areas such as the Swiss Alps and the French Riviera still popular. The fall of the Berlin Wall, however, has opened up Eastern Europe to the masses, though young travellers such as Miller, Sheehan, Stephenson and Philips all included former Warsaw Pact countries in their original travels. All spoke of how they felt intrigued about the mysterious East, and wanted to see it for themselves. Miller remembered;

> In Russia I'd been told how grey and broken everything would look, but it wasn't like that at all. It was clean and people didn't look hungry. But in Berlin, I mean East Berlin, it was just like that. It

[277] Wilson et al, '"Van tour" and "Doing a Contiki"', 125
[278] Ibid

> was so dark and grey. And we went through Checkpoint Charlie, and it was so different. So bright, so much colour.[279]

With younger travellers traditionally more drawn towards challenging destinations than the mainstream, the collapse of the communist regimes seems to have had less of an effect on the itineraries of those I have studied. As a whole though, generalisations about the consistency in the physical travel patterns by young Australians in the post-World War II period I believe are justified.

In addition, just like how the Grand Tourists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries travelled for freedom and personal development, so too do the travellers of the twenty-first century. The working holiday culture is just as strong today and is still centred on London, albeit with the former Earl's Court community largely now residing online. These Australians are also still travelling at a young age, before the burdens of full-time work and home mortgages take hold. In fact, these were the common remarks on the surveys I distributed to my tour passengers. The following are a selection of comments added in the 'more details' section which allowed survey recipients a chance to personalise their response to why they decided to travel to Europe. All responses were by young Australians in the 18-35 age category.

> Lachie Collins: '[It's a] self-discovery cliché.'
> Beckie Haldane: 'To explore, learn and gain a better appreciation of other cultures.'
> Renee Buchanan: 'Last hurrah before buying [a] house and having kids.'
> Marnie Derham: '[I went to] boarding school for four years, and I needed to get away before uni.'
> Nicole Corcoran: 'I loved Roman history as a kid which first started a huge desire for Rome.'[280]

These comments could have come from just about any young Australian who travelled to Europe in the post-World War II period; they are not exclusive to 2012. Just like the reasons for travel given by my interview participants that I discussed earlier, who had all travelled between 1975 and 1989, travel is a deeply personal and important part of these young people's lives. In fact, when I asked my interview participants what, if anything,

[279] Interview with Marg Miller, 14 October 2012
[280] Traveller Questionnaire, June-August 2012, Spain.

had changed since they first travelled to Europe, none mentioned the people or what you receive from the experience itself.

Instead, all of those interviewed spoke of technology, particularly communications technology, as bringing about the most change to the travel experience. As all of those I interviewed have returned to Europe since their original trip at least once, they were quite well-placed to compare these perceived changes. The introduction of the Internet, with email and Skype taking over from mail and the telephone, earned the most attention and many spoke of the formerly popular way of keeping in contact with family and friends at home. Brendan Sheehan, who was away from Australia for a year, remembered;

> The main way we'd be in contact with our friends would be through letters, we told them sort of the main places we'd be going so they could send them *poste restante* to the post office. But sometimes we'd miss them, get there too early, things like that. I remember getting one from Leanne and Dennis, they'd made us a tape! We put it on and we were laughing so hard at the Australian accents, we hadn't heard them for so long! They talked for about ten minutes or so, just the general sort of stuff, news and the footy and things like that.[281]

Leanne Howard, meanwhile, compared her contact with home in her travels in 2010 to her travels through Europe in 1985;

> [I was] in touch with people back home all the time [in 2010], I was on email all the time, so there wasn't that sense of being on your own as much. You weren't isolated. The first time I went over there, that was it, you said goodbye to them and it was a couple of phone calls and postcards. You really were cut off from Australia. This time we could contact Australia every day via whatever.[282]

The reason for the lack of phone calls was the cost, which all interviewees remembered as exorbitant. Stephenson rang home once in a five month trip, relying instead on postcards. 'Gee it was a lot of dough… [But] if you don't ring your mother on her birthday then you're going to get in a bit of trouble!' he joked.[283] This often meant family members would be forced to write more, as Philips remembered;

[281] Interview with Brendan Sheehan, 23 November 2012
[282] Interview with Leanne Howard, 6 November 2012
[283] Interview with Ken Stephenson, 12 October 2012

> We had people [on our tour] spending forty dollars on a phone call to their mother for three minutes… I actually remember going to a thing, I don't know where it was but it was like public toilets, but they were like international telephone booths. You booked a time and went in and someone connected you, and you had your five minutes or whatever. I remember, and this was really nice, the Contiki tour gave you set points at which your family could send you mail. It was the only time in my whole life that I ever got a letter from my mum.[284]

News from home was cherished, and Sheehan even remembered his fiancé going to Australia House in London solely to read *The Australian Women's Weekly*.[285] Since the Internet, however, occurrences such as these are rare.

The emergence of the Internet age is not something that can be discounted. In fact, sociologists have recently coined a new term as a successor to the drifter, long term budget traveller and the backpacker; the 'flashpacker'.[286] Just like the backpacker could be identified by their use of a backpack when travelling, the flashpacker is marked by their embrace of communications technology, particularly through the use of laptops and smartphones, according to Cody Morris Paris. For this new grouping, argues Morris Paris, the Internet is not used simply to connect with those at home, but also to mediate the whole travelling experience. Guidebooks are often replaced by Google, trains and bus timetables can be viewed and booked online and at discount and accommodation can be easily booked in advance.[287] In practical terms, this means the freedom to simply arrive in a foreign city and find accommodation on the spot has largely disappeared, particularly in the high season of the European summer.[288] The result is better preparation, but less romanticised spontaneity.

More people, too, are travelling. This is not just the case for Australians and those from developed countries, but the millions of new international tourists from Eastern Europe, China and India, to only name a few areas. However, my interview subjects concentrated on the perception of more Australians travelling. After analysing Australian Bureau of Statistics figures over the time period in question, I found this to be the case.

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[284] Interview with Sandy Philips, 22 November 2012
[285] Interview with Brendan Sheehan, 23 November 2012
[286] Morris Paris, 'Flashpackers', 1095
[287] Ibid
[288] Richards and Wilson, *Today's youth travellers*, 4

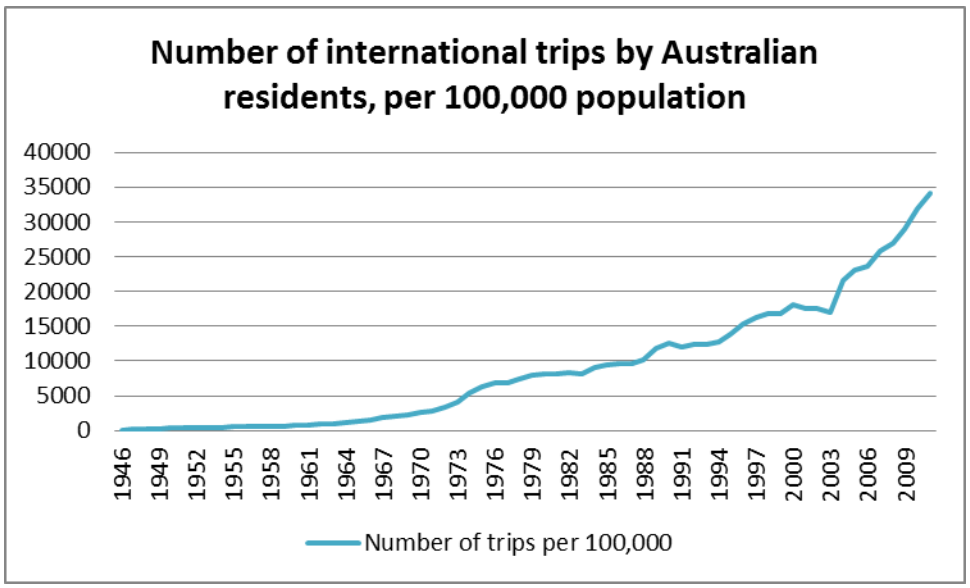

Figure 22: Short term international trips (under 12 months) by Australian residents per 100,000 population and by year, 1946 to 2011. [289]

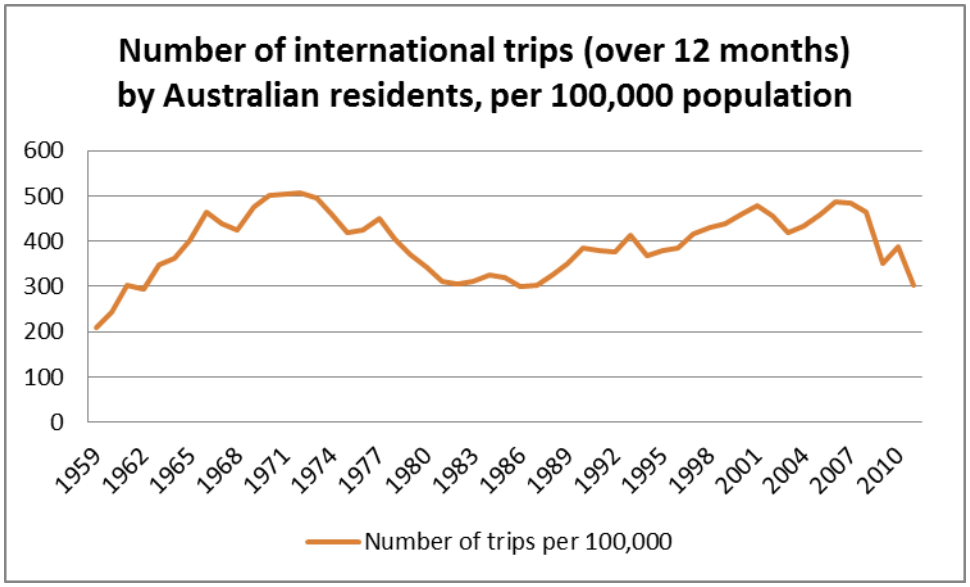

Figure 23: Long term international trips (more than 12 months but not permanent) by Australian residents per 100,000 population and by year, 1959 to 2011. [290]

[289] Data regarding year by year population statistics extracted from 'Australian historical population statistics', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3105.0.65.001, accessed 20 October 2012. Data regarding year by year resident departures extracted from each year's 'Overseas arrivals and departures, Australia', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/second+level+view?ReadForm&prodno=3401.0&viewtitle=Overseas%20Arrivals%20and%20Departures,%20Australia~Oct%202012~Latest~05/12/2012&&tabname=Past%20Future%20Issues&prodno=3401.0&issue=Oct%202012&num=&view=& accessed 21 October 2012. My calculations can be found in Attachment 2.

The data I have extracted does have its limitations for this study. Firstly, and most importantly, this data is not limited to young people as it is based on the information provided on exit cards filled in at airports and seaports, which do not ask for the person's age. In addition, this data includes business and other forms of non-leisure travel (though travel for leisure purposes currently makes up roughly eighty per cent of all international trips), and includes travel to all worldwide destinations, rather than simply Europe.[291] Whilst this data was available publicly it was not dynamic and did not allow for cross-referencing. What I wish to convey here instead is general trends in Australians' attitudes to overseas travel, which is what these graphs provide.

Interestingly, while there has been a marked increase in the number of Australians travelling, this is not the case for long-term travellers. As we can see, there was quite an increase in the number of Australians travelling from the mid-1970s onwards, which can be attributed to QANTAS' aggressive marketing at this time, and the introduction of the Boeing 747 which was targeted at the middle class. Another sharp increase can be seen in the mid-2000s, and my reasons for that are purely speculative. I believe this is due to a combination of factors; the introduction of international budget airlines such as Jetstar and AirAsia, the strength of the Australian dollar and the wealth of the country, which managed to avoid the brunt of the Global Financial Crisis. There is nothing to suggest that this trend will not continue.

For longer term travellers, however, the results are quite different. Whilst again, the data I collated includes non-European destinations, a sizeable amount would in fact be Europe-bound. Britain is the most popular destination for Australians living abroad, with approximately 107,000 Australian-born residents in 2011, including 43,000 in London.[292] The mainstream media, such as The Times in London and The Sydney Morning Herald

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[290] Richards and Wilson, *Today's youth travellers*, 4

[291] Department of Resources, Energy and Tourism, *Travel by Australians, June 2012: Quarterly Results of the National Visitor Survey*, Canberra: Australian Government, 2012, 14

[292] 'Population by Country of Birth and Nationality Datasheets, January 2011 - December 2011', *Office for National Statistics*, http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/migration1/migration-statistics-quarterly-report/august-2012/population-by-country-of-birth-and-nationality-datasets.xls, accessed 20 December 2012. This is a conservative estimate as this would not include naturalised Australians. Figures I found in newspaper sources, such as in 'British paper pleads with Aussies not to go home', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 2008, estimate 400,000 Australians in Britain in 2008, but offer no reference for this figure.

argued that the recent decline was due to the slowing British economy, so too the dip in the 1980s can be seen as reflective of that period's global economic recession.[293] It is clear, however, that it is travel which has grown in popularity in Australia rather than living abroad with the financial risks it entails.

4.7 Conclusion

Once a young Australian would arrive in Europe, he or she was likely to be confronted with a number of different services available to utilise during their travels. If one arrived in London, as the majority always have, even more services would be apparent. For those combining work with travel, an entire neighbourhood was seemingly at one's disposal, from assistance with employment opportunities and accommodation to the offer of service for European travel itself.

On the European continent, even more services have abounded, from the creation of the hostelling culture to the expansion of niche guidebooks, to the boom in tour companies and the invention of the Eurail Pass. Though these developments have continued to evolve, particularly in the Internet age, the travel patterns and experiences of these young Australians has remained remarkably consistent. Services may have improved, but the reasons for travelling, and those who decide to do so, ensure that the content of the rite of passage has been largely unchanged.

[293] Fiona Hamilton, 'London exodus as Australians return home for jobs and sun', *The Times*, 25 November 2008 and 'British paper pleads with Aussies not to go home', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 2008

CONCLUSION

This thesis has addressed a number of questions surrounding the phenomenon of the boom in young Australians travelling in Europe in the post-World War II period. In order to give what seems to be on the surface a consequence of a modern, wealthy society a greater historical emphasis, I have steered the focus of youth tourism studies away from its traditional home of sociology and as a result, have been able to present some relatively new findings.

Firstly, in answer to my first and central question of why so many young Australians travel to Europe, I believe that whilst a plethora of individual and personal reasons exist for travel, a distinct rite of passage narrative has emerged. However, the actual term 'rite of passage' seems to be used only by academics, and is instead expressed by the travellers themselves in the statement 'I always wanted to go to Europe'. Of course, this is a generalisation and not all of those I spoke to during my research indicated this sentiment, but it is a dominant view nonetheless.

Once I was able to acknowledge this pattern, the question still remained; *why* do so many young Australians feel this way? Answering this question was far more complex and involved the recognition of three major themes; distance, affordability and heritage. For most, one or a combination of these three themes largely addressed this question and I will sum them up here. With regards to distance, the 'tyranny of distance' has long been a part of Australian folklore; the feeling of being left out and cut off from the rest of the world. Affordability can also be described through access, in that the increasing affordability of making the trip in the first place has been able to open up travel to more young Australians. Finally, heritage can be seen through Australia's historical connection with Great Britain and London's traditional status as a 'home' for young Australians. In the course of my research I came across a fourth possible theme in class, however I believe that this is adequately covered in the existing theme of access.

By identifying these themes, I was able to better understand how this rite of passage came to exist. What was originally a pursuit of a collection of those with sufficient means of access; the wealthy, and the creative types, who felt the effects of the tyranny of distance and addressed it through European travel, increased as access was broadened. Somewhere in time, and I would argue it to be in the 1970s when air travel became significantly more affordable, European travel for young Australians transitioned from being for solely the creative and the wealthy to being a mainstream pursuit. The current generation of young Australians are the children of those who experienced that transition, and as such, many have grown up surrounded by stories of travel. Hence, for those young people, a trip to Europe simply is something that they have always wanted to do.

The question of whether young Australians travel in a different way to other young people was also quite difficult to answer. I did find that academics, tour operators and travellers themselves all believed that Australians travel for longer than most other nationalities, with the exception of New Zealanders. Indeed, due to the significant amount of research on young New Zealander travellers, I was able to draw a number of parallels between these two groups, who share a common heritage and tyranny of distance sensitivities. A key difference in European itineraries is the Gallipoli 'pilgrimmage' undertaken by many Australians and New Zealanders. The most noteworthy point of difference I found, however, is the London working holiday tradition, which is also shared with New Zealanders. The combination of work and travel is not unique to this grouping, but it is their concentration in one main area over time that warranted my attention.

In conclusion, with regards to whether these young Australians' travel patterns have changed over time, my answer has been a very diplomatic yes and no. Evidently there have been significant changes and I would argue that perceptions of distance would be the most primary change. My interviewees who travelled in the 1970s and 1980s all were of the opinion that this had changed the travel experience; the Internet and associated technologies have made communication with home easier and more frequent, which psychologically narrows and lessens the tyranny of distance. Also, as just described, the increase in access has been another significant change. More Australians are travelling overseas than ever before (Figure 22) though I found the results of long-term travel

(Figure 23) surprising; figures have largely stayed the same, albeit with some cyclical ups and downs. Heritage still remains important; though none of the contemporary travellers I interviewed specifically called Britain 'home', significant numbers still begin their European travels there and it does remain Australia's gateway to Europe.

It is possible, though still wholly speculative, to offer predictions on the future of this phenomenon. There is nothing to suggest that young people will cease travelling to Europe; in truth I believe the opposite to be the case. I see youth travel to be an example of the snowball effect; the more people travel, the more people become exposed to the practice and in turn travel themselves. This has been the case since the end of World War II and as such, travel, and European travel more specifically, will remain as part of the Australian rite of passage for the foreseeable future.

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